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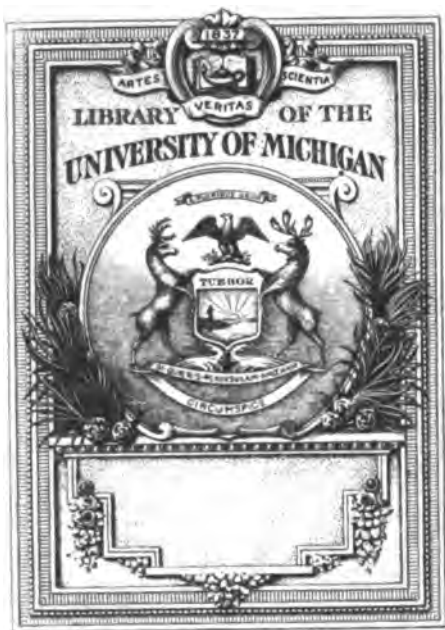
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LONDON.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London.

VOL. V.
1894—1896.



Printed by
CHAS. T. KING, HIGH STREET, LYMINGTON.
1898.



THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885.)

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SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

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*Addendum to p. xli, Meeting on January 8, 1896 :—*The Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Ambassador Ex. and Plen. of the United States of America to the Court of St. James's, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Huguenot Society of London.

January 10 and March 14, 1894.



Printed by

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED, APRIL 15, 1885.)

President.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DU CANE, R.E., K.C.B.
ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.
W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.
ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1893-94.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING:

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 10, 1894.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1894.

TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1894.

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SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1893-94.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY JANUARY 10, 1894.

MR. A. G. BROWNING, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on November 8, 1893, were read and confirmed.

The following five candidates were elected Fellows of the Society:—

Edmund Bourjonval De La Cherois, Esq., M.D., 1, Lower Rock Gardens, Brighton.

William Kenaz Mariott Esq., The Manor, Barking, Essex.

James Touzeau Saunders, Esq., Carvalla Lodge, Wandle Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.

Edward G. Younger, Esq., M.D., 19, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

The New York State Library, Albany, U.S.A.

A Paper was read by Mr. Herbert M. Bower, entitled "The Fourteen of Meaux," (*see* Appendix, p. 1.)

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1893-94.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1894.

MR. A. G. BROWNING, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on January 10, were read and confirmed.

The following four candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Mrs. Burbury, 36, Oxford Terrace, Hyde Park, W.

Thomas Philip Lefanu, Esq., 5 Brookfield Terrace, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin.

The Rev. Robert Rattray Mangin, M.A., Alnwick.

John Thomas Woolrych Perowne, Esq., Hartlebury Castle, Kidderminster.

A Paper was read by Mr. J. W. De Grave on "The Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton and the Churches of the Channel Islands." (*See Appendix, p. 125.*)

TENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1894.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., Vice-President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on March 14, were read and confirmed.

The following seven candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Miss Edith Louise De Grave, 1, Ilchester Gardens, Hyde Park, W.

Lancelot Walter De Grave, Esq., 24, Crompton Street, Derby.

Miss Jessie Gilligan, Clevedon Cottage, Reading.

Lionel Landon, Esq., 34, Carlton Road, Putney, S.W.

Christopher Digges La Touche, Esq., Molesworth Street, Dublin.

Edmond Philip Le Feuvre, Esq., 10, Aberdeen Terrace, Blackheath.

The Signet Library, Edinburgh.

The Chairman then called upon the Hon. Secretary to read the Annual Report of the Council as follows :—

*Report of the Council to the Tenth Annual General Meeting,
Wednesday, May 9, 1894.*

During the past year the Society has lost twenty-seven Fellows by death and withdrawal, being two less than in the year May, 1892—May, 1893, and has gained twenty-three new Fellows as against twenty-four during the preceding year, the actual loss being thus reduced to four only. The number now on the list is 357, in addition to which there are 17 Honorary Fellows, making 374 in all ; and considering the circumstances of the times and the losses suffered by other Societies, the Council think it is very satisfactory to find

that the Society has continued to be so well supported and to shew such good proof of undiminished vitality.

The Treasurer's Balance-sheet, accompanying this Report, shews a total income for the year ending December 31, 1893, of £430 14s. 3d., and an expenditure of £515 15s. 11d., being an excess of expenditure over income of £85 1s. 8d. This deficit, however, is apparent rather than real, being amply covered by a portion of the subscriptions paid in January last, though the accounts are, as usual, made up to the end of the previous month. The actual balance in hand this evening is £206 9s. 8d., subject to a charge of £76 6s. 1d., for accounts now due, and the Society also possesses the sum of £478 1s. 9d., invested in 2½ p. c. Consols.

The Council are gratified to find that in spite of a smaller number of new Fellows having been elected during the past year, the sale of publications has increased from £32 17s. 6d. to £35 1s. 0d., thus shewing that new members are generally anxious to secure complete sets of the Society's volumes.

A double allowance of quarto publications having been issued in the earlier half of 1893, the Council have thought it expedient to delay the present year's issue rather longer than they would otherwise have done. The volume, is however, already nearly complete in type, and Fellows may expect to receive it during the autumn. It will be the continuation of the Canterbury Registers edited by Mr. Hovenden. The volume for 1895, being the first part of the Threadneedle Street Registers, edited by Mr. Moens, is also in the press.

The concluding number of the fourth volume of *Proceedings* will be issued almost immediately with the new annual List of Fellows, and the general Index to that volume is in preparation.

By the preliminary circular sent out in February, Fellows have been made aware of the proposal to hold a Summer Conference this year in Ireland, and the Council are very pleased to find that it has been received with even greater support than they had anticipated, a larger number of Fellows having expressed their intention to attend than on any previous occasion of the kind. The programme suggested by the Conference Committee will be presently submitted for approval, and the Council hope that a very successful Meeting may be the result.

To their colleagues retiring from office, Dr. Collins, Mr. Cussans, Mr. de Grave, and Mr. Waller, to the Auditors, Mr. Ouvry and Mr. Grellier, the Council desire to tender their thanks for constant and valued help during the past year.

They cannot conclude their Report without expressing their unfeigned regret at the absence this evening of the President, owing to prolonged and severe illness. They hope that it may not be long before he is fully restored to his usual health, and enabled to contribute as actively to the Society's proceedings as he has always hitherto done.

The Report of the Council having been approved by the Meeting, the Hon. Secretary read the following Address from the President, who was prevented by illness from being present.

Address to the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London. By the RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY A. LAYARD, G.C.B., *President*:

Ladies and Gentlemen,

In addressing you this evening, I must in the first place express my great regret at not having been able (owing to absence from England) to be with you at any of the Society's Meetings, since the very enjoyable one we held at Colchester in the summer of 1892. I had quite hoped to attend our Annual General Meeting last year, but illness unfortunately prevented my doing so, and at the last moment I was obliged to request your Vice-President, Sir Henry Peek, to take my place and read to you the Address which I had looked forward to delivering myself on that occasion. I would take this opportunity of publicly expressing to Sir Henry Peek my thanks for the very kind way in which he so readily, and to your great advantage, came to my help in this matter.

A few weeks ago I little thought that I should have to make my excuses to you, not only for my absence last year, but for my failing to meet you this evening also. I can hardly tell you how grievously disappointed I am at being again prevented from taking my place amongst you to-night and properly discharging my duty as your President. The disappointment is, if possible, intensified by the feeling that on this occasion there are not hundreds of miles intervening between us as was the case last May, but that I am here in London close by, and yet absolutely unable to come amongst you. But I shall, in thought, follow all your proceedings this evening, and must trust to your kindly forbearance to pardon not only my personal absence, but also the imperfections of the very brief Address which is all that I have strength to send for your acceptance.

It has been said (and, I think, with a good deal of truth) that "happy are the people who have no history"; and, looking back upon the past year, it seems that this old saying may be very appropriately applied to our Society. The twelve months that have elapsed since the last General Meeting have been singularly uneventful, both as regards the Huguenot Society of London and the various other Huguenot Societies on the Continent and in America. I consequently have not the usual numerous items of interest to dwell upon in noticing the work that has been accomplished by our foreign colleagues and by ourselves. On the other hand, I am happy to feel able to congratulate you on the comparative immunity of our Society from the heavy losses which I understand have been so universal amongst other historical and literary Societies in this country during the past year. Several, indeed, of our members, I am sorry to say, have been taken from us by death, but on the whole we have reason to be well satisfied with the numbers we have been able to maintain. As you have just heard by the Report of the Council, we now have on our books 357 subscribing Fellows and 17 Honorary Fellows, and I hope that during the coming year many others may join us. Let me again impress upon you, as I have so often before done, that we should one and all do our best to persuade our Huguenot and antiquarian friends to unite with us in pushing forward the very large amount of work we have undertaken; work which needs not only a steady increase of funds, but also a steady increase of workers.

You will recollect that in the earlier half of last year we were able to issue two volumes of the quarto series of publications instead of only one; and the Council have consequently deemed it advisable to let a longer interval than usual elapse before issuing the next volume of this series. That volume, is however, far advanced towards completion and is, moreover, I am pleased to say, already partially paid for, and we may expect to have it placed in our hands early in the autumn. It will contain the continuation and, I believe, completion of the Canterbury Registers which are being so carefully edited for us by Mr. Hovenden, and which are amongst the most useful and interesting of these old Huguenot records.

We also have in the press, for issue in 1895, the first volume of the very important Registers of the Threadneedle Street Church, under the editorship of Mr. Moens. I have been much concerned to hear that, owing to a prolonged and

serious illness, Mr. Moens has lately been quite unable to attend to this or any other work ; but I am glad to hear he is now recovering, and I hope he may speedily be well enough to resume the labours he has so kindly undertaken in our behalf.

Within the next few days we shall receive the concluding number of the fourth volume of our *Proceedings*, in which will be found an interesting account of the Westminster French School by Mr. Beaufort. This should appeal strongly to our Huguenot sympathies, both as a record of the past and as treating of an institution still existing and doing much good work in a quiet, but thoroughly efficient way.

Having regard to the number of these publications and the very considerable expenditure of time and labour which they involve, I think we may fairly say that we are kept well supplied with much very solid reading ; and I am quite sure you will gladly allow me to express to the various editors and contributors our hearty thanks for enabling the Society to produce so much that is of real historical value.

Although prevented from attending, as I could wish, to my duties as your President in England, I have been doing what I could at Venice to promote the general objects of the Society ; and as the result of my labours during the past winter I have had pleasure of placing in the hands of our Secretary a transcript and translation of some interesting MSS. in the Venetian archives. These consist of some despatches of Marc' Antonio Barbaro, the representative of the Republic at the French Court towards the close of the 16th century, which supplement those already published by the Society and, in fact, complete the series from our Huguenot point of view. These despatches were for many years entirely lost sight of, and were supposed, indeed, to have been destroyed. You can therefore imagine my pleasure when, after a long and fruitless search in the archives at Venice, I was at last rewarded by the discovery of them. I now place the transcript and my accompanying translation of it unreservedly at the disposal of the Council to deal with as they think best. It may not be thought advisable to print them in quite the same form as those already published, but at all events they will remain in our library for reference, and, I trust, be of some use and value.

The mention of these diplomatic relations between France and the Venetian Republic reminds me of the somewhat remarkable share taken by descendants of the Huguenots in

modern diplomacy. Sir Robert Morier, her Majesty's late representative at St. Petersburg, was of Huguenot descent and a Fellow of our Society. His successor, Sir Frank Lascelles, is also I believe of Huguenot origin; and so too is Sir Mortimer Durand, who has recently been appointed British Minister at the Court of Persia; whilst, in connection with this subject, you will perhaps pardon a passing allusion to my own former official residence at Madrid and Constantinople. We may also take some pride in the fact that (for the first time, so far as I am aware) a Huguenot is now Prime Minister of England.

I have said that the past year has been uneventful for our own Society, and it would seem to have been equally so for our friends abroad. We have continued, indeed, to receive several valuable publications from them, but fewer than usual. None at all have reached us from Holland or America, but the *Bulletin* of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français has appeared each month with its accustomed regularity; and we have also had some excellent monographs from the German Huguenot Society, and the periodical publications of the Vaudois and other foreign Societies with which we are in correspondence. Scattered through their pages are many articles of considerable interest, but I do not know that I need commend any of them to your special attention. I much regret that nothing has been published lately by the Huguenot Society of America. It has, I believe, held several Meetings during the past year, at which papers of much interest and importance have been read. I venture to hope that in due time these will find their way into print, so that we on this side of the Atlantic may benefit by them.

I have unfortunately been unable to scan the items of our recent receipts and expenses as carefully as I could wish, but the experience of former years makes me feel confident that our finances have been judiciously administered, and that our Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, has exercised his usual watchfulness over them. You must allow me the pleasure of according him our best thanks for all he has done for us, both in his own special department, and also for the general well-being of the Society.

I should deplore my continued absences from England, and consequently from your Meetings, even more than I do, were I not kept so constantly and fully informed as I am of all your doings and of everything of Huguenot interest occurring here and elsewhere. For this information and for much other

kind help. I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to our Honorary Secretary, Mr. Faber, who, in so many ways and in so great a measure, contributes to the Society's welfare.

I have already alluded to the obligations we are under to the editors of our publications and the contributors of Papers for our Meetings, and in thus commending to your grateful attention the labours of others, I am rendered the more keenly alive to my own short-comings. But I look hopefully forward, and trust that the time may not be far distant when, with renewed health and energy, I may be once more able to do some good service to our Society whose interests I have so much at heart.

On the conclusion of the Address, the Hon. Secretary was instructed by a unanimous resolution of the Meeting, to convey to Sir Henry Layard their thanks for his having so kindly sent it in spite of long continued illness, and to express to him their hearty concurrence in its closing words, and their earnest hope that he might speedily be restored to health and strength.

The ballot was then taken for Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

Officers and Council for the year May 1894 to May 1895.

President,—The Right Hon. Sir Henry Layard, G.C.B.

Vice-Presidents,—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.; Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.

Treasurer,—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary,—Reginald Stanley Faber, M.A.

Members of Council,—Alexandre Louis Foucar, Charles A. Govett, Thomas Noel Hugo, Richard Herbert Lapage, Louis Hooper Le Bailly, P. De Lande Long, T. Miller Maguire, LL.D., Victor Maslin, Henry Merceron, William Minet, F.S.A., William Page, F.S.A., W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A.

A Programme of arrangements for the Summer Conference in Ireland was submitted and approved, and it was decided to hold the Conference on Wednesday and Thursday, the 11th and 12th of July, but owing to the death of Sir Henry Layard on July 5th, all these arrangements were ultimately cancelled.

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

From the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1893.

Dr.		Cr.	
1893.	£ s. d.	1893.	£ s. d.
To Balance brought forward from 1892	19 1 5	By Cost of Printing Re-print of Proceedings, Nos. 1 and 2	25 10 0
" Subscriptions from 283 Fellows	297 3 6	" Cost of Printing Proceedings and List of Fellows	80 16 5
" " 11 " paid in advance	11 11 0	" Cost of Printing Notices and Circulars	106 6 5
" " 4 " in arrear	4 4 0	" " Publications, viz. Denizations	9 2 0
" Entrance Fees from 20 Fellows.	21 0 0	" Dublin Registers	155 6 2
" Composition Fees from 3 Fellows	30 9 0	" Cost of Transcribing Threadneedle Street Registers, (continued)	223 9 0
" Sale of Publications	35 1 0	" Cost of Bookbinding	16 15 6
" One year's interest on Investment of Composition Fees less Tax	12 4 4	" " Rent of Rooms (Hanover Square)	2 18 6
By deficit (covered by draft on Subscriptions due January, 1894)	85 1 8	" " Tea and Coffee after Meetings, and Use of Rooms, " Hotel Windsor "	15 15 0
		" Cost of Stationery	8 8 0
		" " Petty Cash Disbursements, Postages, &c.	5 8 6
		" " Cheque Book and Bank Charges	31 19 11
		" " Diplomas	8 6
		" " Assistant Secretary's Salary	4 17 3
		" " Archeological Congress Publications	50 0 0
		" " and Subscriptions for 1892 & 1893. 2 0 0	6 3 4
		" " Fire Insurance (2 years)	2 14 0
		By Cost of Purchase of £32 0 8 Stock in 2½ per cent Consols (brokerage nil)	31 10 0
			<u>£515 15 11</u>

NOTE.—The Society stands possessed of a sum of £478 1s. 9d., 2½ per cent Consols representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 45 Fellows since its inauguration.

Audited and found correct, REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU, F. CARRINGTON OUVRY, WILLIAM GRELLIER.

Treasurer.
London: April 14th. 1894.

The Right Hon.

Sir Henry Austen Layard, G.C.B., D.C.L.

FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

APRIL 15, 1885—JULY 5, 1894.

The closing words of the President's Address, breathing that spirit of indomitable energy and enthusiasm which characterised him through life up to the very end, have now a pathetic interest for all members of the Society, and especially for those who, in listening to them, felt constrained, though hoping against hope, to persuade themselves that what they heard was indeed the prelude to their President's further work, and not his last farewell. Yet so it was, and in less than two months all was over and the Society was left to mourn an irreparable loss.

Henry Austen Layard was born at Paris on March 5, 1817, his father being an Englishman, but of Huguenot origin and connected with many distinguished Huguenot families. Born in France and brought up in Italy, Layard passed his early life amid surroundings forming a curious counterpart to those of his closing years, which were destined to be so largely spent at Venice and in elucidating the history of France in its Huguenot aspect. At sixteen he left Italy for England, and the future explorer and diplomatist began life in the uncongenial atmosphere of a lawyer's office, being articled to his uncle, Mr. Austen, a London solicitor. Useful as this training was to him (and Layard was not the man to neglect its advantages or disparage its value), it necessarily failed to satisfy his spirit of adventure and natural aptitude for widely different pursuits, and in a very few years we find him turning his steps eastwards to begin that remarkable and stirring series of travels, adventures and discoveries, with which he has made all the world familiar by his successive volumes on Nineveh, Babylon

and (last in order of publication, though first in subject-matter) his early wanderings in Persia, etc.

On such well-known works it is needless here to dwell, but passing mention may be made of their author's habitual reluctance to respond to the attempts so often made to induce him to talk about his own explorations and their interest and importance. A relative of the present writer has told him that she was one of a large party at Burghley House where Layard happened to be staying when in the hey-day of his fame on returning from his first expedition to Nineveh. The lady in question was taken in to dinner by the lion of the evening, her host whispering to her that she (a young girl at the time) ought to think herself lucky in being so honoured. "But," she used to say, "not only did Mr. Layard preserve an almost oriental silence to myself, but not once all through the evening could anyone prevail upon him to tell us anything about Nineveh, and he seemed as unconscious of its existence as if he had never been there!" This reticence and a generally reserved and at times brusque manner, distinguished Layard through life, but he was nevertheless one of the most genial and kind-hearted of men, with a keen sense of humour, full of warm sympathy when his feelings were aroused, and ever ready to help anyone in any way possible. He was perhaps easily misunderstood by those who did not know him, but those who did were wont to regard him with the strongest attachment.

Layard's career in middle life in the field of politics and diplomacy is of minor interest compared with the brilliant achievements of his earlier years, and even these do not appeal to the members of the Huguenot Society so strongly as the memory of him as their first President, and of all the keen interest he took in the Society's work and well-being from the day when he occupied the chair at its foundation to the closing days of his own life, when, as he said in his Address, he had not strength to do more than send those few words to be read at the Annual Meeting. Sir Henry's very last work for the Society was to append his signature to the diplomas of the Fellows elected during the past Session, but after he could no longer attempt even so slight an exertion, he still continued to enquire eagerly after the Society's

affairs and to say how much he hoped it would continue to prosper and carry on the work he felt so happy in having been able to help in beginning.

Although his residence at Venice for the greater part of the year prevented him from being a regular attendant at the Society's ordinary Meetings, Sir Henry was very far from being a merely nominal President. Ample proof of this is to be seen in his literary work for the Society which is patent to all, but few can be aware of the many efforts he was constantly making to promote the Society's objects and welfare in every possible way, of the pains he took to keep himself acquainted with all its affairs, and to do all that lay in his power to prevent his absences from England being in any degree prejudicial to its interests or lowering his high standard of what should be the duties of its President. Time and trouble, talent and influence, were all ungrudgingly bestowed in the Society's service, and Sir Henry's only regret seemed to be that more work could not be found for him to do for it.

Those who have been most intimately connected with him in the administration of the Society will long miss his active help, his ready tact, his wise counsel, in every matter of doubt and difficulty. But even more than all these will be missed the kindly manner, the warm heart, the many little acts of friendliness, which endeared him to his colleagues, and which will ever be a pleasant memory to them.

Not long before his death, Sir Henry Layard had prepared for the press a revised and popular edition of his "Early Adventures in Persia, etc." This will shortly be published by Mr. Murray, and prefixed to it will be a Memoir of Sir Henry from the pen of his old friend, Lord Aberdare, which will give full details of the varied life of our late President.

R. S. F.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Huguenot Society of London.

NOVEMBER, 1894 to MAY, 1895.



Printed by

CHAS. T. KING, HIGH STREET, LYMINGTON.

1895.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

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SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

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THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1894-95.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER, 14, 1895.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1895.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1895.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1895.

CONVERSAZIONE,
WEDNESDAY, MAY 22, 1895.

**FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1894-1895,**

HELD AT

**THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1894.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on May 9, 1894, were read and confirmed.

The following thirteen candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Edmund Bourdillon, Esq., Poundisford, Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Miss M. E. Crallan, Bruce Vale, Hamilton Road, Boscombe, Bournemouth.

Arthur W. Crawley-Boevey, Esq., 78 St. George's Square, S.W.

Sir George William Des Voux, K.C.M.G., Brooks' Club, S.W.

J. Drought, Esq., Woodlands, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

The Rev. W. Flory, Redland Lodge, Leamington.

Mrs. Flory, Redland Lodge, Leamington.

The Rev. A. N. Guest, 1 Gladys Road, Kilburn, N.W.

The Lady Alice F. Archer-Houblon, Hallingbury Place, Bishop's Stortford.

Miss M. La Coste, 54, Inverness Terrace, W.

The Rev. John Richard Magrath, D.D., Provost of Queen's Coll., Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Monsieur Ernest Sarasin, 20, Granville Place, Portman Square, W.

Arthur Vicars, Esq., F.S.A., Ulster King of Arms, The Castle Dublin.

Henry G. Marquand, Esq., President of the Huguenot Society of America, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

The Chairman alluded to the death of Sir Henry Layard, the Society's first President, and spoke at length of his distinguished public career, and of the invaluable services he had rendered to the Society, which had lost in him one of its most energetic supporters.

Sir Henry Peek was then unanimously elected to act as President until the Annual General Meeting in May could proceed to his formal definite election to that office, and a vote of thanks was accorded to him for his kindly undertaking the interim duties of the Presidentship.

Mrs. James M. Lawton, Delegate of the Huguenot Society of America, attended the Meeting as bearer of an invitation to the Society to take part in the proposed celebration by the American Society, in 1898, of the tercentenary of the Promulgation of the *Édict of Nantes*. A cordial welcome was given to Mrs. Lawton and a general hope was expressed that nearer the time of the celebration it might be possible to definitely accept the invitation and to depute some of the Society's Fellows to represent it officially on the occasion.

On behalf of Mrs. Lawton, Mr. W. C. Waller read a Paper embodying the result of her researches as to the use of a particular colour and floral emblem by the early Huguenots in France. Mrs. Lawton's investigations had led her to the conclusion that white was the special Huguenot colour, and the marigold the special Huguenot flower. Her Paper having already appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Huguenot Society of America, is not reprinted here.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1894-95,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1895.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on November, 14, 1894, were read and confirmed.

Henry Sidney Darlot, Esq., and Leonard Hawthorn Darlot, Esq., both of Weld Club, Perth, West Australia, were elected Fellows of the Society.

A Paper was read by Captain W. H. Hinde, R.E., on 'The Huguenot Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.'

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1894-5,

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1895.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting held on January 9, were read and confirmed.

The following five candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

The Rev. Léon Dégremont, Pastor of the French Church, Soho Square, W.

Bradley Depledge, Esq., 3, Gracechurch Street, E.C.

The Right Hon. Sir George Grey, K.C.B., 7, Park Place, St. James's, S.W.

Henry Ainslie Hill, Esq., 4, Rosslyn Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

Colonel Edward Matthey, F.S.A., Beauchamp Lodge, Warwick Crescent, W.

A Paper was read by Mr. Perceval Landon, on 'Heraldry of the Huguenots.'

ELEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,
WEDNESDAY, MAY 8, 1895.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Third Ordinary Meeting held on March 13, were read and confirmed.

The following seven candidates were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Henry John Guerrier, Esq., Colville, Woking.
Albert Edward Towle Jourdain, Esq., 89, Wigmore Street, W.
Mrs. James M. Lawton, 37, Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
Miss Ida H. Layard, 19, Nottingham Place, W.
James H. A. Majendie, Esq., Hedingham Castle, Essex.
Edward Van Notten Pole, Esq., 19, Orsett Terrace, W.
Henry D. Willock, Esq., Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.

The President then read the following "Address":—

Address to the Eleventh Annual General Meeting of the Huguenot Society of London. By SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President :

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you are aware, it has hitherto been the custom at our Annual Meetings to present to you first the Report of the Council, and then for the President to deliver an Address touching on the principal events of Huguenot interest that may have taken place during the past twelve months, both among ourselves and in foreign countries.

But our Meeting this evening may, with good reason, be considered to be of a very exceptional nature, and to call for

some deviation from our ordinary mode of procedure. It has been thought well, therefore, to combine together in a brief form on this occasion the Report of the Council and the Presidential Address, and I have been requested to read to you the following joint remarks of myself and my colleagues on the past and present of the Society.

But before doing this, I feel it is only proper for me to say a few words in my own name only, occupying, as I do, this Chair as your President at the first General Meeting that has been held since the death of its first occupant, the late Sir Henry Austen Layard.

It is scarcely necessary for me to remind you of the immense loss we have all suffered in his death, for I am sure you all feel with me how varied and how valuable his services were to the Society, and what an inestimable advantage it was to us to have had during the early years of the Society's existence, when it had all its way to make, a President of such brilliant talent, such world-wide reputation, and such interest in everything relating to the Huguenots, as Sir Henry Layard. To succeed such a man as President of this Society adds, if anything can add, to the honour which you have done me in electing me to fill that office—an honour for which I beg to return you my most hearty thanks.

I will now no longer delay proceeding to the remarks which have been suggested to myself and to the Vice-Presidents and Council by the anniversary we have met to celebrate this evening.

We have met not only to close the present Session and to enter upon a new year in our history, but to close the first ten years of the Society's existence, a period which perhaps may be considered as the most important through which it is ever likely to pass. We say the most important, for the years of a Society's first beginning, and contending with the difficulties which, in a greater or less degree, inevitably fall to the lot of both Societies and individuals at the outset of life, may be taken as a very good test of its right to exist at all, and of its capability of carrying out the objects for which it was founded.

Some of us here this evening will remember how just ten years ago, on the 15th of April, 1885, a small number of descendants of the refugees who flocked to England by hundreds and thousands during the years of trial and persecution which lasted, with little or no intermission, from the time of the fatal St. Bartholomew in 1572, to the Revocation

of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, how some few of those refugees' descendants met in a room in London to discuss the desirability of founding a Society in memory of their brave and unfortunate ancestors.

Such a thought may perchance have passed through the mind of some amongst them before but, if so, it was but a fleeting one, dismissed and forgotten as quickly as it came. It was reserved for one man alone to seize on the idea, and by anxious thought and self-denying toil to give it form and substance and, with the aid of others whom he had inspired with his own enthusiasm, to found the Huguenot Society of London.

It cannot be unknown to any of us, here in England at least, that for our founder we have to look to Mr. Arthur Giraud Browning, who was not only our guide in earliest days, but to whose constant and unflinching zeal and helpfulness, to say nothing of his consummate knowledge of Huguenot history, we have been unceasingly indebted during the whole of the past ten years. His colleagues in the Council are well aware that the success which has attended his efforts and enabled us to assemble here this evening, is felt by him to be ample reward for all that he has done; but we think you will agree that it would be ungrateful in the extreme if we did not give utterance on this occasion to our keen appreciation of our indebtedness to him. You will share too in our deep regret that, owing to recent sad bereavement, Mr. Browning is not with us to-night to receive the welcome we should have accorded him. But I will ask you to give your unanimous assent to the resolution which I have the privilege and pleasure of proposing. It is this:—

‘That the President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Fellows of the Huguenot Society of London, desire to express to Mr. Arthur Giraud Browning, Founder of the Society, their sense of the gratitude they owe to him, first of all for his exertions in establishing the Society ten years ago and also for the never-failing efforts he has made during those years to ensure its prosperity and usefulness, to make it the means of promoting a knowledge of a most important and interesting portion of modern history, and to bring together in pleasant social intercourse the descendants of those Huguenot refugees, whose best characteristics are so conspicuously reproduced in him. And this Meeting further desires to express to Mr. Browning its respectful and affectionate sympathy

with him and all members of his family, in the deep sorrow which has recently befallen them, and an earnest hope that time may not only soften its bitterness, but even bring them many years of renewed happiness.'

And now to pass in review a few of the salient points in the Society's history since that April day ten years ago from which it dates its birth.

We have, first and foremost, to chronicle the loss of our first President, Sir Henry Layard, and not his loss alone, but also that of several of the Members of our first Council. That was formed of the following twelve gentlemen, Mr. La Trobe Bateman, Mr. W. M. Beaufort, Mr. A. G. Browning, Major C. J. Burgess, Mr. S. W. Kershaw, General F. P. Layard, Mr. F. P. Labilliere, Mr. W. J. C. Moens, Professor Henry Morley, the Dean of Peterborough (now Bishop of Worcester), Dr. R. Lane Poole, and Mr. E. E. Stride. Five of these have passed away from us, viz:—Mr. Bateman, Major Burgess, General Layard, Mr. Labilliere, and Professor Morley.

On referring to the first List of our Fellows, you will find that there are 126 names in it. Of these, nearly one half, viz: sixty-one, have been lost to the Society; many alas by death, some by withdrawal; whilst of the thirteen Honorary Fellows whom we had ten years ago, six have died. The loss of these friends and supporters has been from time to time noticed in our *Proceedings* and we are unwilling to dwell upon so sad a subject, or to bid you linger over melancholy reminiscences at a time which, we venture to think, should be one of rejoicing rather than of mourning; yet we should ill deserve the name of Huguenot, did we not find some place in our memory for our brethren who are not with us to share in this evening's happy gathering. I may perhaps be allowed to specially mention the very recent loss of one of our oldest Fellows, both in date of election and actual age. I refer to the Rev. Dr. Heurtley, who passed away last week at the great age of ninety.

Our first List, as just mentioned, contained the names of 126 Fellows only; our number to-night is 360, and were it not for the blanks caused by the changes and chances of ten long years that number would be far greater, for there have passed through our books so less than 540.

These numbers may be considered highly satisfactory and we may congratulate ourselves on the Society's having commended itself to so many Huguenots both in this country

and abroad. And not to Huguenots alone. Though primarily a Society for bringing together those who can lay claim to that title, yet it is not exclusively so; and as you are aware, we are glad to see amongst us several others who, though not themselves Huguenots, yet take a lively interest in our present work and past history. And more than this even; we may feel justified in priding ourselves in the thought that our work is not only of interest to our own members, but of value to many others in the world at large, if we may take as evidence the fact of so many important public libraries having become regular subscribers for our publications. That our volumes are considered of importance to the historian and genealogist both here and in foreign countries, the names of these great libraries seem sufficient proof. Such, to mention a few only, are the British Museum and the Bodleian amongst ourselves, the Bibliothèque Nationale in France, the University of Ghent in Belgium, the Boston Public Library and Harvard University in the United States, and the Victoria Public Library in Australia.

The volumes thus in demand are in your hands and you are familiar with their contents, which are already sufficiently varied to meet the requirements of all or most of us. Should we go on as prosperously during the next ten years as we have during the past, we may confidently expect that our coming publications will be of importance equal to, if not greater than, those already issued.

The four first volumes of *Proceedings* contain nearly all the Papers that have been read at our Meetings, amounting to some sixty in number and treating of many different subjects. This is not the time for entering into anything like a detailed account of them, but we would in passing call to your memory as of special importance, Sir Henry Layard's articles on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Baron de Schickler's account of the French Churches in London, Mr. Atkinson's paper on the Cardinal de Châtillon, and those by Mr. Minet and Mr. Overend on the French Church and Settlement at Dover. In addition to these essays we have been able to include in the *Proceedings* many valuable notes on a great variety of subjects, embodying a great deal of information never before put into print.

Side by side with the *Proceedings* we have on our shelves the eight handsome volumes of our quarto series of publications which may indeed be rather reckoned as ten, inasmuch as two of them have consisted of two parts each, thus giving us one

quarto volume or part for each year. If the *Proceedings* afford matter more generally attractive and readable, yet it is on these bulkier volumes, the foundation stones of Huguenot history and genealogy, that the Society's reputation will probably ultimately rest. It is our aim to include in them all the existing Registers of the French Churches of the United Kingdom and such other inedited manuscripts as we may be able to avail ourselves of. The Council (and I heartily agree with them) feel that the present is a most fitting opportunity for echoing the oft-repeated words of our late President and reminding you of the enormous debt of gratitude we owe to the several Editors of these volumes for the time and trouble, the care and special knowledge, which they have so ungrudgingly expended for us upon them. You recollect, perhaps, Dr. Johnson's definition of a 'Lexicographer' as 'a writer of dictionaries, a *harmless drudge*.' It is to be feared that the editors of Registers fare little better in public estimation than Dr. Johnson evidently thought he himself would as the compiler of the since celebrated dictionary. We are all of us too apt to look upon the volumes that come to us year after year as just a bare equivalent for our annual guinea, and to regard their editors as 'harmless drudges,' who have an amiable and meritorious weakness, but still a weakness, for providing us with dictionaries of names, on whose outside we look with admiring wonder, but whose pages we seldom scan. Let us however this evening at least do full justice to those who have been, and still are, labouring so diligently and unostentatiously for our benefit, and to the result of whose labours the Society is in great measure indebted for its present position. Two of these unselfish workers, Sir Henry Layard and Mr. Marett Godfray, are no longer with us, but to our other editors, Mr. Moens, Mr. Hovenden, Dr. La Touche, Mr. Chamier, Mr. Minet, Mr. Waller, and Mr. Page, I will ask you to join with me and the Council in the expression of our sincerest thanks and genuine appreciation of all they have done for us.

We are pleased to be able to place before you at the close of this session a very satisfactory settlement of the past year's financial position of the Society, showing a balance to our credit on the 31st of December last of £51 1s. 3d., besides a funded capital of just £500. We have received the gratifying sum of £35 by the sale of our publications to new members, and the Council believe there is nothing to regret in the accounts except the comparatively small item of £18 for

expenses connected with the proposed Dublin Conference. That Conference had, as you know, to be given up at the last moment, owing to the unforeseen death of Sir Henry Layard. All the needful preparations had already been made by our Honorary Secretary and our Vice-President Mr. Hovenden, assisted by many kind friends in Dublin, especially by Dr. La Touche, who was unwearied in his efforts to ensure the Society a pleasant time in Ireland. These preparations necessarily involved some expense, so our surplus at the end of the year was not quite so much as it would otherwise have been.

The Balance-sheet will, as usual, be printed in the forthcoming number of the *Proceedings*; it is attested by the Auditors, Mr. William Grellier and Mr. Rousselet, and we have to thank those gentlemen for having kindly gone through the accounts and carefully verified all items of receipt and expenditure. Such verification is a work of some little time and trouble, but we believe the Auditors will bear us out when we say that their task is rendered as light as possible by the admirably clear and accurate way in which the Society's accounts are kept by our Treasurer, Mr. Reginald Roumieu. Mr. Roumieu was appointed Treasurer at the inaugural Meeting in 1885, and ever since you have, year after year, shown your confidence in him by unanimously re-electing him to fill that responsible office. As the Society has increased, so have its accounts, and with them the Treasurer's duties increased also. But the increase of work has been, the Council feel confident, nothing but a source of rejoicing to Mr. Roumieu, for it has meant increasing prosperity of the Society, an object so dear to him that they believe he would be only too glad to find his toils of office tenfold greater than they are. My colleagues and I now ask you to cordially join with us in passing a vote of thanks to Mr. Roumieu for all he has done for the Society, both in his official capacity and in numberless other ways, during the past ten years, and in expressing our earnest hope that he may long continue to carry on the Society's work as effectively as he has hitherto done.

In taking a retrospect of our past, we must not forget the very friendly and pleasant relations we have maintained with other Societies, especially with those which, in common with ourselves, are more immediately concerned with Huguenot matters. Of these we naturally look on the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français as the chief, and to its

President and Secretary, Baron Fernand de Schickler and Pasteur Weiss, we have been continually indebted for ready help in many ways. The Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes in Holland is another of our oldest allies on the Continent, while across the Atlantic we feel that we have a very firm friend in the Huguenot Society of America, and also in the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Then we are in correspondence with the Huguenot Society of Germany, one rather younger than ourselves, which has already by the labours of its learned President, Dr. Henri Tollin, and others, thrown a flood of light on the history of the refugees in various parts of the German Empire. For everything connected with the kindred subject, the history of that ancient people the Vaudois, we turn to the Society so ably presided over by Professor Vinay. In short, we may congratulate ourselves on having fully attained one of our founder's chief objects—the promotion of a friendly intercourse not only with the Huguenots of our own country, but also with those of other lands.

Allusion has been made to the unavoidable abandonment of the Dublin Conference last summer, and I may mention that it is not proposed to make any excursion to the country during the present year. We shall instead venture on a new departure, namely a *Conversazione* here in London. Notice of this has already been sent to all of you, so I will only express a hope that the experiment may prove as successful as we anticipate, and may result in a very pleasant evening for all who are able to come. We have arranged for a performance of some old French music under the direction of M. Dolmetsch who is, as you know, *facile princeps* in that matter, and there will also be a little exhibition of books, medals, and other objects of Huguenot interest, and the very attractive collection of pictures on view at the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. In my own name and in that of the Council, I can assure you of a very hearty welcome, and that the more of you who can attend, and the more friends you can bring with you, the better.

In the course of these remarks I have referred in sincere terms to our late President and to Mr. Browning's unique services, but should indeed fail in my duty were I to let pass the opportunity of, in your name and my own, publicly thanking our Honorary Secretary for his constant attention to everything which concerns the Huguenot Society. He has, as you know, been associated from the commencement with

the good work already accomplished and we all hope that Mr. Faber may long enjoy the satisfaction of helping forward our increasing prosperity.

One word in conclusion ; we have been enabled to make a good beginning and the ten years now ended have been on the whole, ten years of unclouded prosperity and unchecked progress. May our future be as bright as our past and may we each and all do our best to make the Huguenot Society of London as successful as its most sanguine well-wishers can desire.

On the conclusion of the Address the ballot was taken for Officers and Council for the ensuing year with the following result :—

Officers and Council for the year May 1895 to May 1896.

President,—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.

Vice-Presidents,—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B. ; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A. ; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A. ; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.

Treasurer,—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary,—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council,—Adrian C. Chamier, F.S.A., Alexandre Louis Foucar, T. Noel Hugo, Perceval Landon, Edward H. Lefroy, J. Miller Maguire, LL.D., Victor Maslin, Henry Merceron, William Minet, F.S.A., William Page, F.S.A., W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

NATI. The Society now stands possessed of a sum of £494 13s. 11d., 2½ per cent Consols representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 47 Fellows since its inauguration.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU,

Treasure.

**Audited and found correct, WILLIAM GIBELLICH,
CHARLES K. ROUSSELET.**

10th April, 1996.

[illegible]

CONVERSAZIONE.

By invitation of the President, Sir Henry W. Peek, Bart., a Conversazione was held on Wednesday evening, May 22, in the galleries of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours. A great many Fellows and their friends and other visitors, English and foreign, were present, the number altogether being nearly five hundred. There was a reception by the President and Council from 8.30 to 9.30, after which a selection of French music, vocal and instrumental, was very ably rendered by M. Arnold Dolmetsch, assisted by Mde. Élodie Dolmetsch, Mlle. Hélène Dolmetsch, Mr. W. A. Boxall, Mr. Treffry, the children of the French Protestant School of Westminster, and several friends. The instruments used were the lute, viol d'amore, tenor viol, viol da gamba, and harpsichord, and the music was chiefly of the 16th and 17th centuries, music and instruments being thus specially adapted to each other. The programme was as follows:—

Psalm XLII. (*Comme un cerf altéré brame*). Accompanied by the viols and harpsichord. Translated by Bèze; melody by Bourgeois, 1551.

Psalm LXVIII. (*Que Dieu se montre seulement*). Accompanied by the viols and harpsichord. Translated by Bèze; melody by Greiter, 1539 or earlier.

Two Pieces for the Lute. 1. *A little fantasie for the tunyng of the lute*, by Adrien Le Roy, (pub. 1570). 2. *A prelude from Le Secret des Muses*, by Nicolas Valet, (pub. 1618).

Three Songs. 1. *Charmante Gabrielle*, (accompanied by the lute), by Henri IV. 2. *Plus ne suis ce que j'ai été* (accompanied by the harpsichord), by Clément Marot. 3. *Vive Henri IV*, (accompanied by the harpsichord), a popular air of the 16th century.

Suite of Lessons for the Harpsichord, by Lulli, circa 1660. 1. Allemande. 2. Courante. 3. Sarabande. 4. Gavotte.

Cantique by Bost. *Ils ne sont plus O Dieu, ces sombres jours d'orage*.

Suite of pieces for the Viol da Gamba, accompanied by the Harpsichord, by Marin Marais (*pub.* 1695.) 1. Prelude. 2. Allemande. 3. Sarabande. 4. Gigue.

Song; *Tu crois, O beau Soleil*, (accompanied by the harpsichord), by Louis XIII.

Suite d'Airs à Danser, composed for Louis XIV, by Mouret, circa 1710, for violins, violoncello, and harpsichord. 1. Entrée. 2. Air en chaconne. 3. Air de Paysan. 4. Menuet. 5. Carillon. 6. Rondeau. 7. Passepiéd. 8. Gigue. 9. Cotillon.

March of the Old French Guard, (viols and harpsichord), composed about 1670.

The Psalms in this programme are examples of those most frequently used by the Huguenots. The 42nd. was, and remains to this day, their favourite devotional Psalm. The 68th. was invariably sung on the eve of a battle or immediately before going into action. The measured and stately rhythm of the old-time tunes is in sharp contrast with the rapid singing usual in modern English churches, while the long pause at the end of each line of the Huguenot Psalms recalls the persecutions which beset the 'Church in the Desert' when the ear had ever to be on the alert for approaching danger, even when the lips were praising God, or imploring His protection. It is interesting to remember that in this same month of May, in the year 1558, in the Prè aux Clercs at Paris, a few of the promenaders began to sing to Goudimel's music one of Marot's metrical Psalms. Both music and words were fresh from the composer and could hardly have been learnt except orally, yet we are told that the tune was quickly caught up, and soon the vast concourse, either through sympathy or love of novelty, joined in the singing. The King and Queen of Navarre, and many of the chief personages in the Kingdom were among those who took part in it. The singing was repeated for many nights, until complaint was made by the Doctors of the Sorbonne to the King that to sing the Psalms in the French tongue rather than in Latin was irreverent, and to sing them out of doors tended to sedition, so the King immediately ordered the singing to be stopped.

A loan exhibition of objects illustrative of Huguenot history was arranged in the central gallery: Amongst the articles which chiefly attracted the attention of visitors were the plate lent by the Directors of the French Hospital (*La Providence*), the fine series of medals exhibited by Mr. A. G. Browning, V.P.;

the beautiful miniatures exhibited by Mr. Perceval Landon and friends; the many specimens of Huguenot silk-weaving lent by Mr. C. Norris, which by their brilliant colours and exquisite texture excited general admiration; the celebrated De Dibon Bible shown by the Hon. Secretary; and last, though not least, the two cases filled with engravings, books, miniatures, needle-work, gold-and-silver-work, and other objects of historic interest too numerous to specify, exhibited by Mr. Charles J. Shoppee, Deputy-Governor of the French Hospital.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Huguenot Society of London.

NOVEMBER, 1895 to JULY, 1896.



Printed by

CHAS. T. KING, HIGH STREET, LYMINGTON.

1896.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

President.

SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

Vice-Presidents.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DU CANE, R.E., K.C.B.

ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.

W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

Council.

ADRIAN C. CHAMIER, F.S.A.

FREDERICK A. CRISP, F.S.A.

JOHN WILLIAM DE GRAVE.

ALEXANDRE LOUIS FOUCAR.

WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A.

PERCEVAL LANDON.

EDWARD H. LEFROY.

COLONEL E. MATTHEY, F.S.A.

HENRY MERCERON.

WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

WILLIAM CHAPMAN WALLER, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU.

10 Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Secretary.

REGINALD S. FABER.

10 Primrose Hill Road, N.W.

Assistant-Secretary.

G. H. OVEREND, F.S.A.

71 Stockwell Park Road, S.W.

Bankers.

MESSRS. BARCLAY & Co.

1 Pall Mall East, S.W.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1895-96.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING,

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1895.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1896.

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING,

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1896.

TWELFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13, 1896.

SUMMER CONFERENCE AT RYE AND WINCHELSEA,

FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1896.

**FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1895-1896,**

HELD AT

**THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER.**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1895.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on May 8, 1895, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Henry Bruce Arnaud, Esq., 135, Ebury Street, S.W.

Louis Maurice Brousson, Esq., Geraldton, Sidcup, Kent.

Lester Ramsay de Fonblanque, Esq., 5, Pitt Street, Campden Hill, W.

Robert Llewellyn Devonshire, Esq., 13, Campden Hill Gardens, W.

M. Emmanuel de Witt, Château du Péras, St. Jean-du-Gard.

Mme. Guizot de Witt, 56, Rue de la Boétie, Paris.

Mrs. Gardner, Redland House, Hough Green, Chester.

Miss Amy Goodisson, 22, Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

Arthur Henry Gosset, Esq., Tudor House, Harrow.

Robert Hill Julian, Esq., Assoc. M. Inst. C.E., 6, Adelaide Villas, Summer Hill, Cork.

The Rev. George William Walter Minns, F.S.A., Weston Cliff, Southampton.

Miss Florence Pechell, Alton House, Alton, Hants.

Joseph Henry Philpot, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.P., 61, Chester Square, S.W.

Howard Proctor Ryland, Esq., Moxhull Park, Erdington, Birmingham.

Andrew Robert Wylie, Esq., 7, St. George's Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.

Lincoln's Inn Library, W.C.

Astor Library, New York, U.S.A.

A Lecture on Huguenot history, illustrated with lantern slides, was given by Mr. W. S. Cottew.

SECOND ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1895-96.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1896.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

THE Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on November 13, 1895, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

M. Jean de Schlumberger, Gübwiller, Elsass.

M. Pierre de Schlumberger, Gübwiller, Elsass.

Mrs. Harrison, Silverton, Enfield Town.

Professor Edmund Janes James, Ph.D., University of Chicago,
U.S.A.

Frederick Philip Le Maître, Esq., 263, Brockley Road, S.E.

Edmund J. Spitta, Esq., M.R.C.S., Ivy House, Clapham
Common, S.W.

A Paper was read by Mr. W. J. C. Moens, V.P., on "The Relief of the Poor Members of the French Churches in England as exemplified by the practice of the Church at Sandwich."

THIRD ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1895-96.

HELD AT

THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1896.

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART, President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Ordinary Meeting, held on January 8, were read and confirmed.

The following were elected Fellows of the Society :—

Francis W. Cross, Esq., 11, St. Dunstan's Terrace, Canterbury.

Colonel Horace Montagu, 123, Pall Mall, S.W.

Mrs. Charles Sim, 8, James Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W.

Colonel Frederic Gosset, R.E., The Priory. Westward Ho!
Bideford, was elected an Honorary Fellow.

A Paper was read by Mr. F. W. Cross, on "The Walloon Church in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral in the Sixteenth Century."

VICTORIA

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President

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and foreign Societies with which an interchange of publications and correspondence is established.

For the first few years after the Society was founded, its increase was naturally more rapid than has since been the case, but the Council do not think that the more recent rate of increase can be considered at all unsatisfactory or disappointing, but rather the contrary. It may be interesting to the Meeting to have here a brief statement of the Society's growth :—

Its first year closed with a total number of Fellows of 126 ;

In 1886-87	the increase was	51
" 1887-88	" "	57
" 1888-89	" "	52
" 1889-90	" "	32
" 1890-91	" "	44
" 1891-92	" "	37
" 1892-93	" "	24
" 1893-94	" "	23
" 1894-95	" "	27

whilst the Session now ending closes, as has been already said, with an increase of 36 and a total of 376.

The Treasurer's balance-sheet, to be printed with this Report, shows an income for the past year of £508 10s. 7d., and an expenditure of £436 19s. 0d., leaving a balance on the 31st December last of £71 11s. 7d. The present balance this evening, after payment of all outstanding liabilities, is £190 8s. 11d. The Society also possesses the sum of £596 19s. 4d. invested in 2½ per cent. Consols.

The accounts have been examined and verified by the Auditors, Mr. W. Grellier and Mr. E. C. Ouvry, and the Society's thanks are due to them and especially to the Treasurer, Mr. Roumieu, for the time and attention they have devoted to every detail of the finances.

Since the last Annual Meeting the second number of the fifth volume of the *Proceedings* has been issued, and the ninth volume of the quarto series of publications. The latter comprises the first part of the Registers of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, edited by Mr. Moens. These Registers are amongst the most important of all those with which the Society is concerned, and the present volume is the first that has dealt with any London Register. From Mr. Moens' Introduction to it, and from his review of the Huguenot Registers in the first volume of the *Proceedings*, it will be seen that the Threadneedle Street Registers are very bulky,

£508 10 /

£508 10 7

NOTE. The Society now (April, 1896) stands possessed of a Sum of £596 19s. 4d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 57 Fellows since its inauguration.

Audited and found correct, E. CARRINGTON OUVRY,
WILLIAM GRELLIER.

15th April, 1896.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU,
Hon. Treasurer.

Conference at Rye and Winchelsea; and they hope that, although in smaller places than the Society has hitherto visited, it may prove as pleasant and profitable as all former gatherings of the kind have so invariably been,

After the reading of the Report the ballot was taken for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year, with the following result:—

Officers and Council for the year May 1896 to May 1897.

President.—Sir Henry William Peek, Bart.

Vice-Presidents.—Major-General Sir Edmund F. Du Cane, K.C.B.; Arthur Giraud Browning, F.S.A.; William John Charles Moens, F.S.A.; Robert Hovenden, F.S.A.

Treasurer.—Reginald St. Aubyn Roumieu.

Honorary Secretary.—Reginald Stanley Faber.

Members of Council.—Adrian C. Chamier, F.S.A.; Frederick A. Crisp, F.S.A.; John William de Grave; Alexandre Louis Foucar; William John Hardy, F.S.A.; Perceval Landon; Edward H. Lefroy; Colonel E. Matthey, F.S.A.; Henry Merceron; William Minet, F.S.A.; W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A.; William Chapman Waller, F.S.A.

A Paper by Miss Ida H. Layard on “Loudun sous la Croix” was read by Mr. W. M. Beaufort.

Some ancient Communion plate formerly belonging to the Hanseatic Merchants of the Steelyard and recently presented to the French Hospital (*La Providence*), was exhibited and described by Mr. A. G. Browning, V.P.

ABSTRACT OF TREASURER'S ACCOUNT WITH THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.
From the 1st of January to 31st December, 1896.

1895.	Dr.	1896	Cr.
To Balance brought forward from 1894	£ 51 1 3		£ s. d.
" Subscriptions from 292 Fellows	308 12 0	By cost of printing Proceedings and List of Fellows	76 11 0
" " 16 Fellows (in advance)	16 15 0	" " Canterbury Registers	67 15 4
" " 6 Fellows (in arrear)	6 6 0	" " Threadneedle Street Registers	84 2 6
" " 2 Fellows (paid in error)	2 2 0	" " Notices and Circulars	10 0 0
" Entrance Fees from 26 Fellows	27 6 0		<u>238 8 10</u>
" Composition Fees from 7 Fellows	73 10 0	By cost of Archaeological Congress Subscription	1 0 0
" Sale of Publications	12 3 6	" " " Publications	4 13 9
" One year's interest on Investment of Composition Fees less Tax	13 9 0	" " Bookbinding	5 13 9
" Various receipts	5 10	" " Stationery	3 3 1
		" " Petty cash disbursements and Postages, &c., &c.	4 15 6
		" " Rent of Rooms (Hanover Square)	35 15 10
		" " Tea and Coffee after Meetings, &c.	15 15 0
		" " Diplomas	4 15 4
		" " Fire Insurance Premium	1 3 5
		" " Bank charges and cheque book	1 7 0
		" " Assistant Secretary's Salary	9 9 3
		By return of Subscriptions (as per contra)	50 0 0
		" Cost of £69 2s. 1d.—2½ per cent. Consols (see contra)	2 2 0
		" Balance carried forward	73 10 0
			<u>£508 10 7</u>

NOTE. The Society now (April, 1896) stands possessed of a Sum of £596 19s. 4d., 2½ per cent. Consols, representing the investment of the Life Composition Fees received from 57 Fellows since its inauguration.

Audited and found correct, **E. CARRINGTON OUVRY,**
WILLIAM GRELLIER.

15th April, 1896.

REGINALD ST. A. ROUMIEU,
Hon. Treasurer.

SUMMER CONFERENCE AT RYE AND WINCHELSEA,
JULY 17TH, 1896.

The Conference of 1896 proved a most pleasant and successful renewal of previous similar meetings, the last of which was held so long ago as 1892, when the Society visited Colchester. The proposed Conference in Dublin in 1894 having been given up on account of the death of Sir Henry Layard, which occurred only a few days before the date fixed for the journey to Ireland, and a *Conversazione* having been held in London in 1895, an unusually long interval had elapsed since the Society had met in any country place associated with Huguenot history, so that many Fellows present on this occasion had not before taken part in any gathering of the kind.

About forty Fellows and their friends attended and, reaching Rye soon after 11 a.m., proceeded to the Town Hall where they received a cordial welcome from the Mayor, Councillor Cuthbert Hayles, to which Sir Henry Peek, President, responded on behalf of the Society. Through the kindness of the Mayor and the Town Clerk, Walter Dawes, Esq., a number of the valuable records, maces, and other interesting objects belonging to the Corporation, were on view. After inspecting these and doing justice to the refreshments the Mayor had hospitably provided, the party proceeded to St. Mary's Church where, in the absence of the Vicar, the Rev. A. J. W. Crosse, they were received by the Rev. P. E. F. Berry, Curate, and Mr. Churchwarden Sharpe. The St. Nicholas chapel in the church was formerly allotted to the refugees as their place of worship in Rye, and a communion flagon used by them is still preserved and was exhibited with the Registers which contain many entries of Huguenot names.

In the churchyard considerable perplexity was caused by a tombstone bearing the following inscription, the modern date of which seemed very incongruous with the allusion to a persecution in Holland accompanying it :—

"In memory of James Worsell buried here October 3, 1824, aged 47, who was exiled from Holland on account of his adherence to the protestant faith.

Also to Elizabeth, wife of the above, buried at St. James' Cemetery, Copt Hill, Dover, 1868, aged 87."

Thanks to the investigations of the Rev. A. G. T. Saville, this statement has since been explained away. Mr. Saville writes,—“Some time after the decease of Elizabeth Worsell, her son who resided in Folkestone as a butcher, ordered the stone to be cut and inscribed and sent to Rye to be placed over his father's grave. He had heard the family tradition that they had descended from the Huguenots, and then through great ignorance blundered into the thought that it was his own father who was an exile. One aged relative, a Mrs. Worsell, passed away last April; with her the mistaken inscription was always a sore grievance. Her son, aged 60, gave me the above explanation which he had heard again and again from his mother's lips. It is said that the stone in question is placed very near the grave of the original exile. Tradition says that he married a woman from Winchelsea named Webb. Of course the original name was not Worsell; this must be its anglicised form.”

The Ypres Tower, Land Gate, St. Augustine's Monastery, and the old house formerly the Mermaid Inn, were next visited under the guidance of Mr. Saville, who most kindly placed at the Society's disposal his intimate knowledge of the local history and antiquities.

After luncheon followed a pleasant drive to Winchelsea, where, in the absence of the Mayor, F. A. Inderwick, Esq., Q.C., the Society was received by the Deputy-Mayor, Major R. C. Stileman, who afterwards conducted the party to his picturesque grounds where are the remains of the Franciscan Friary, of the history of which he gave an interesting sketch. The fine old Church of St. Thomas was visited under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. N. Patch, who gave an exhaustive description of the many points of interest therein. The Mayoress, Mrs. Inderwick, then entertained the Society most hospitably at afternoon tea at Mariteau House, and a visit to one of the many extensive vaults (whose origin and use seem to be still disputed) with which Winchelsea abounds, brought to a close a very successful expedition.

THE LIBRARY.

During the past year donations of books, pictures, etc., have been received from Sir Henry W. Peek, Bart., *President*, the Rev. Professor H. M. Baird, D.D., the Rev. A. W. Cornelius Hallen, the Rev. J. J. Kotzé, D.D., Pasteur L. Dégremont, Pasteur A. Lièvre, Messrs. W. M. Beaufort, E. Belleruche, F. A. Crisp, R. Day, J. W. de Grave, E. C. Fâche, J. J. Green, H. D. Guyot, S. W. Kershaw, E. H. Lefroy, H. Loriquet, G. H. Overend, H. Pechell, C. A. Rahlenbeck, C. H. Shoppee, Van de Sandt de Villiers and Co., M. G. Wildman, Miss M. H. Gosset, Lady Layard, Miss F. L. Layard, Miss I. H. Layard, Mrs. Mayor and Mrs. Flory.

The usual interchange of publications has been maintained with the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, the Commission pour l'Histoire des Églises Wallonnes, the Genealogisch en Heraldiek Genootschap de Nederlandsche Leeuw, the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, the Deutsche Hugenotten-Verein, the Verein für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt-am-Main, the Société d'Histoire et Archéologie de Genève, the Société d'Histoire Vaudoise, the Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria, the Société Jersiaise, the Royal Archæological Institute, the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, the Huguenot Society of America.

APPENDIX.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Huguenot Society of London.

November 11, 1896.



Printed by
CHAS. T. KING, HIGH STREET, LYMINGTON.
1898.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885.)

President.

SIR HENRY WILLIAM PEEK, BART.

Vice-Presidents.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDMUND F. DU CANE, R.E., K.C.B.

ARTHUR GIRAUD BROWNING, F.S.A.

W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A.

ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

Council for 1898-9.

LIEUT.-GENERAL STEPHEN H. E. CHAMIER, R.A., C.B.

T. C. COLYER-FERGUSON.

FREDERICK A. CRISP, F.S.A.

MAJOR-GENERAL M. W. E. GOSSET, C.B.

JOHN WILLIAM DE GRAVE.

WILLIAM JOHN HARDY, F.S.A.

EDOUARD MAJOLIER.

DAVID MARTINEAU, J.P.

COLONEL EDWARD MATTHEY, F.S.A.

WILLIAM WYNDHAM PORTAL, M.A.

ERNEST SUTTON SAURIN, M.A.

WILLIAM A. SHAW, M.A.

Treasurer.

REGINALD ST. AUBYN ROUMIEU.

10 Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Secretary.

REGINALD S. FABER, M.A.

90 Regent's Park Road, N.W.

Assistant-Secretary.

G. H. OVEREND, F.S.A.

71 Stockwell Park Road, S.W.

Bankers.

Messrs. BARCLAY & Co.

1 Pall Mall East, S.W.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

SESSION 1896-97.

FIRST ORDINARY MEETING,

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1896.

VOL. V.—NO. IV.

**FIRST ORDINARY MEETING OF THE SESSION,
1896-97,
HELD AT
THE HOTEL WINDSOR, VICTORIA STREET,
WESTMINSTER,
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1896.**

SIR HENRY W. PEEK, BART., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, held on May 13, 1896, were read and confirmed.

The following]were elected Fellows of the Society :—

**The Right Hon. the Earl of Crawford, K.T., Haigh Hall,
Wigan.**

Mrs. E. A. de Brett, Bombay, India.

Edward Alexander Fry, Esq., 172, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

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**Mr. W. Minet read some "Notes on the Communion Cups
of the Dutch Church of Norwich," and exhibited the Cups
referred to.**

THE FOURTEEN OF MEAUX.

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—o—

FACSIMILE (reduced) OF A PAGE IN CRESPIN

BRIÇONNET, BISHOP OF MEAUX, 1516-1534

MEAUX FROM THE EASTWARD [Seventeenth Century]

MANGIN PEDIGREE

LE PONT ET LA PORTE DU MARCHÉ

MEAUX IN 1546.—SKETCH-PLAN

*France proper,
re LeClerc; who,
October, 1546.*

560) and various

AT LAW.

Esq.,
ield, Ripon.

the old silver
ting tradition,
rum—Joannes
full interest of

the passage on
ast conduct of
terrible trials,
plete, without
have tried to
nd for English
rom exhausting
ported Crespins
l even hostile
gin and Pierre
rtling events of

t, at its culmin-
men, if not them-
the "*Reformed*
the long-suffering
troubled French
which may well

rum ſanctiſſimorum Martyrum teſtiūque Jeſu Chriſti adauxiſſet. Cum perueniſſent Meldas, in carcerem omnes incluſerunt: ac tū quæ-
 rere tormentis extraordinarijs, vt vocant, cæperunt: præſertim in illos
 XIII. ad accuſandum eos qui eādē doctrinam fouerent, quorum ta-
 men nullus eorum ore accuſatus aut nominatus fuit. In ea quæſtione, Virtus tu
mana ſup-
rior.
 cū crudelē in modum tortores membra eorum diſtraherent, ac tan-
 tum nō dilacerarent, quidam ex iſtis animo confirmatioꝝ, carniſcibus
 clamaſſe dicitur, hortatūſque fuiſſe, ne miſero corpori parcerent, quòd
 tantoperē ſpiritui voluntatīque Creatoris ſui reſtituiſſet. Poſtero die
 quo erant ſupplicio afficiendi, diſputationem cum ijs doctores theologi
 renouarunt, præcipuē de ſacramento Cænæ Domini. Sed Picartus &
 cæteri, incerti quid dicerent, planē obmuteſcebant cū Clericus quæ-
 reret ab eis, in quo fundata eſſet iſtorum tranſubſtantiatio, & an cū
 panem ederent aut vinum biberent, aliquem carnis ſanguiniſue guſtū
 perciperent. Poſtremo hæc illis conditio oblata eſt, vt qui vellent in au-
 rem ſacerdotis inſuſurrare, quod illis eſt peccata cōfiteri, ij aliquid gra-
 tiæ obtinerēt, nec lingua eis præciderentur. Itaq; ex XIII. quos ſuprà
 nominauim⁹, ſep̄tē ea conditionē acceperūt, aut quòd id nō magni mo-
 menti eſſe arbitrarentur, aut quòd eo pacto beneficium vocis redimere
 ſe poſſe exiſtimarent, idque maximo dolore cæterorum, qui nullis nec
 nūis nec promiſſis ſecti, à ſententiāq; deduci vnquā potuerūt. Hora
 autē poſt meridiē ſecūda, quæ ſupplicio dicta erat, cū ē carcere edu-
 cerentur, carniſex linguam primū à Stephano Mangino poſtula-
 uit, quam ille præbuit libenter atque exeruit: qua præciſa, ſangui-
 nem euomens, loquutus eſt, ita vt ſatis intelligeretur, huiſmodi ver-
 bis ter precatuſ, Sit nomen Dei benedictum. mōxque ſuper cratē tra-
 ctuſ fuit, quemadmodū & Clericus: cæteri verò plauſtro impoſiti
 deportabantur, quos quidem ij qui non ſuerant, damnati capitis, pro-
 ximi pedibus ſequebantur vſque ad forum magnum. Quo in loco qua-
 tuordecim patibula forma circulari crecta erant, atque è regione do-
 mus Mangini poſita. Et aliud patibulum ſeparatum ab alijs ac paulò
 longius remotum, in quo ſub axillis ſeſpēdēdus erat adoleſcens, Mi-
 chael Viquerius nominatuſ, quem propter ætatem quò minus crema-
 rent, pudore impediēbatur. Tum verò carniſces, eos non ſecus atque
 agnos ſacrificio deſtinatos alligarunt. Quoniam autem ij quibus lin-
Mangino
præciſa
lingua lo-
cutuſ
Fideles o-
ues maſta-
tioni deſta-
nat.

The Fourteen of Meaux.

An account of the earliest "Reformed Church" within France proper, organized on the Strasburg model by Etienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc; who, with twelve other persons, suffered death by fire on the seventh of October, 1546.

From Crespin's "Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum" (1560) and various other authorities; with historical notes and introduction.

BY HERBERT M. BOWER, M.A., BARRISTER AT LAW.

Introduction.

To E. A. MANGIN, ESQ.,
Aldfield, Ripon.

MY DEAR MANGIN,

When you shewed me among your curiosities the old silver cup to which your family attaches an interesting tradition, and the copy of "Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum—Joannes Crispinus, MDLX," we neither of us knew the full interest of the event you related to me.

The translation which I then undertook of the passage on folio 121 of that work, describing the steadfast conduct of Étienne Mangin and his companions under terrible trials, would have seemed to your friends incomplete, without a rendering of the whole chapter. This I have tried to carry out with equal respect for accuracy and for English idioms. But even that chapter appeared far from exhausting the subject; and a larger enquiry not only supported Crespin's account by the corroboration of other and even hostile historians, but soon indicated for Étienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc a more important position in the startling events of the sixteenth century than I had dreamt of.

These two leaders of the Meaux movement, at its culmination in 1546, were certainly among the first men, if not themselves indeed the first, to plant a root of the "*Reformed Church*" in France proper. It is true that the long-suffering Vaudois community, on the uncertain and troubled French frontier, had a historic church of their own, which may well

have influenced the Franco-Swiss protestants of the Reformation. The Vaudois sought, and accepted, doctrinal assistance from that vigorous young school of thought, and rejected the Roman Communion. They suffered a dreadful massacre, (under some authority of the recently constituted "*Parlement*" of Aix and the French government), in 1545. Again, several towns even in the heart of France had doubtless furnished, as Meaux herself had already done, many individuals, and even some congregations, favourable to the new ideas. Whether before 1546, any of these last had advanced so far as Meaux towards a stable constitution, is perhaps impossible to find out. Be this as it may, one thing seems almost certain: namely that, as implied by a marginal note to the *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises réformées* (Édition nouvelle 1883, Vol. I, p. 67), and by other authorities, Meaux produced strictly the first "*Église Réformée*", in the accepted sense, in France proper.*

A visit to the town of Meaux, recently undertaken, had the result of furnishing me with considerable confirmation and elucidation of Crespin's really classical narrative; for I was there able to obtain a copy of the now rare, and happily unprejudiced, "*Histoire de Meaux*," published in 1865 by A. Carro, late official Librarian of that town; also to copy out two passages, used by him, in reference to these events, from an interesting MS. by Rochard, dated 1721, and preserved in the Town Library. These writers used some much older but inedited manuscripts,† which any one of antiquarian taste may perhaps find interesting. I also obtained at that town a copy of the "*Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*," 1731, by Dom Toussaints du Plessis, a worthy representative of the learned Benedictines of S. Maur.‡

The "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées*," attributed to Théodore de Bèze, and first published in 1580, gives an account of this tragedy, which is said by the editors of the modern reprint to be drawn from Crespin's work. [See the Paris edition of 1883. Vol. I. page 70, note; referring the reader also to Toussaints du Plessis]. Sismondi, in the 17th volume of his "*Histoire des Français*," follows Théodore de Bèze and other writers. In main features Crespin and Bèze agree. Some variation will be remarked on in my notes. It would be useless to repeat the history in Bèze's words also.

* See notes 3, 25a, and 29, hereafter. † MSS. by L'Enfant and by Janvier.

‡ The "*Mémoires de L'enfant*," cited by Toussaints du Plessis, are no doubt the inedited MSS. of that writer. Cf: Hist: de l'Egl: de Meaux, Tome I, p. 348; and Carro, Hist: de Meaux, pp. III, IV, V.

Again, Carro's account of the affair appears to be merely a modern *résumé* from Rochard and Toussaints du Plessis ; so I have been content to add to Crespin's narrative separate translations from these two writers. They seem to give independent histories of the tragedy from a point of view hostile to the reformers. They, however, singularly corroborate Crespin as to main facts and many details.

The official judgment in the case is still extant among the Archives at Paris ; and, considering that the versions printed in different histories somewhat vary, I thought it well to make, and add here, a careful translation of the whole judgment as copied out for me from the original.

As you, and some other friends, have suggested that a wider public than your own family might like to see the present account, and the Huguenot Society of London has kindly taken the same view, some justification becomes due perhaps to readers unknown to me, for the bulk of the notes I have appended. While all of these may, I hope, be useful, there are very special grounds for several of them. The note on Étienne Mangin and his family is, I think, a fresh and important contribution to Huguenot information. The position, too, of his house, is now brought to light, by the admirable exertions of M. Moussé, of the *Hospice général de Meaux*, whose efforts in this matter deserve the heartiest thanks ; and the note thereon needs probably no apology whatever. Again, some of those families which may be concerned with the event of 1546, (when sixty named persons were apprehended,) or are otherwise interested in Meaux, would find great difficulty in obtaining the history of that town. The note on that subject is chiefly drawn from Carro's Work. The note on Crespin speaks for itself. That on the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the Meaux Gospellers will, though a long one, be excused by any one who bears in mind the difficulties under which these people laboured, and reads the judgment against them. The shorter notes on the organization and discipline which they found at Strasburg, and on the Psalm tune sung at Meaux, will, I hope, justify themselves. Those on Briçonnet's work and contests, and on King Francis I, could hardly have been shortened or left out, in justice either to the former himself, to the subjects of the latter, or to the historical import of the Meaux movement.

In any notice of a religious struggle it is inevitable that doctrine be mentioned, or even made the subject of some remark. But I have avoided disputation on warmly contested questions of Divinity. The occasion does not seem in the

least suitable, even should one wish to discuss these matters. The subject is approached from a point of view essentially memorial and historical.

It may be asked what accounts there are already in English of the appalling execution of these prisoners. There is a slight mention of it in "Fox's Book of Martyrs." (See the edition of 1846, Vol. II, p. 134.) But there seems to be some confusion in that book as to the exact identity of the Fourteen, nor does the story itself agree in every detail with these French authorities. Reece's "Compendious Martyrology" (1813, Vol. II, p. 75), gives an account almost identical with that in the "Book of Martyrs," but names only Mangin and "Peter Clerk." I have never been able to see the alleged English translation of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," (see Note 1, hereafter). Maddock's "Popish Tyranny" (1780) is an abridgement. Laval's "History of the Reformation in France," (1737, vol. I, pp. 61, 62), gives some short account of the event. Baird, in his excellent "History of the Rise of the Huguenots" (1880), gives to this particular movement and martyrdom a very important place and a concise narration. It may well be mentioned in various other books unknown to me.

My hearty thanks, for kind assistance given in various ways, are due to M. Andrieux, Librarian to the Town of Meaux, and to the authorities of several other Libraries; to M. Moussé, *Econome Secrétaire à l'Hospice Général de Meaux*; to M. Weiss, Secretary to the French Society for Protestant History in Paris; and to various other persons, including Miss Mangin of West Knoyle near Bath, and yourself.

In order that members of your family, and others interested, who have not the time or opportunity to examine the various necessary books, may still have the events of those days brought readily to mind, I have ventured to write the following introductory paragraphs, on the Fourteen of Meaux; and attempted, after consulting the pages of good historians, to illustrate, however imperfectly, that dark but pregnant age.*

It has been said that the Reformation had a double aspect, disciplinary and doctrinal. It should not however be thought

* The authorities chiefly used have been :—

Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum (Crispinus, 1560.)

Histoire des Martyrs (1582, 1885, etc.)

Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier 1515-1536: publié par Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1854.)

Liturgia Sacra *Argentinae* (Valerandus Polla, 1551. Preserved in the British Museum.)

that a single party, in or out of the Church, was sole champion of both these tendencies, or of either. Perhaps a still more profound idea, or principle, underlay and dictated the two.

The earlier part of the sixteenth century, as exhibited in the pages of Ranke and other historians, is lively with new or restored ideas. The middle age was passing away, and, with it, waned the dubious political influence of the Latin Church. Corruption, common perhaps among temporal principalities, was by no means excluded from that wide temporal and spiritual dynasty. The ill-conduct also, and ignorance, of many priests, impaired the Church's credit; and the western world, long indeed her submissive pupil, was now seeking further instruction, and making up, for good or ill, a mind of its own. It is plain that the Latin Church needed at least administrative

Arrêt de Meaux (1546) [A MS. copy, furnished through the kind offices of M. Weiss, from the original "Registres Criminels du Parlement de Paris."] *Pseaumes de David mis en Rime* (appended to "*La Bible*," printed by Iaquy, Daudeau, and Bourgeois, 1560.)

Les Pseaumes mis en Rime (Lyons, De Tournes, 1563.)

Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées (a new annotated edition, 1883, of that book, which was published in 1580.)

Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonets (Guy Bretonneau, Paris, 1621.)

Historie of the Councill of Trent (Paolo Sarpi Venetiano [Pietro Soave Polano], Brent's Translation, London, 1629.)

Somma Conciliorum Omnium Ordinata etc. (Bail, Paris, 1675.)

Monumentorum Ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini etc.: (Le Plat, 1782.)

Histoire du Calvinisme (Maimbourg, Paris, 1682.)

Antiquitez de la ville de Meaux (Rochard, MS., preserved at Meaux, and dated 1721.)

Histoire de l'Église de Meaux (Dom Toussaints du Plessis, 1731.)

Histoire de Meaux (Carro, 1865.)

Petit guide dans la ville de Meaux (Le Blondel, 1888.)

A French MS. book of the Mangin family, containing pedigree from Estienne Mangin nearly to the present generation, and short accounts of him and others.

La France Protestante (Haag, 1846, etc.)

Correspondance des Réformateurs (Herminjard 1866, etc.)

Joannis Calvinii opera etc. (Baum & Cunitz, 1867, being the XXXIVth volume of the "*Corpus Reformatorum*.")

Histoire des Français (Sismondi, vols. XVI, XVII, 1833.)

Histoire de France (Michelet, 1857.)

View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages. (Hallam, New Edition, 1872.)

History of the Popes (Ranke, translation by Foster 1866.)

Church History (Hardwick, Edited by Stubbs.)

History of the Reformation (D'Aubigné, Translation, by H. White.)

History of the Rise of the Huguenots (Baird 1880.)

Der Kirchengesang in Basel seit der Reformation (Riggenbach, 1870.)

Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot (Douen, 1878.)

History of the Waldenses of Italy (Comba, Translation 1889.)

Encyclopédie (Diderot & D'Alembert, 1765.)

Encyclopædia Britannica.

Besides other works, and books of reference.

and moral, if not intellectual, reform, when we find that even a Pope of that day* was considered quite remarkable for being "not proud, no trafficker in church property, not avaricious, "not given to pleasure, moderate in food, frugal in dress, "religious and devout." The existence of abuses was indeed so well-known as to be practically acknowledged, and the serious proposal for a Council, about 1523, is said to have lowered considerably the price of the saleable offices at the Court. The Concordat between the Pope and the French King, officially read at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1516, unpopular though it was, had been a plain example to Western Christendom, that money might be the price of spiritual prerogatives. For Leo X, thereby, in consideration of receiving first years' profits, leased to the King, though subject to Papal approval, appointments to most bishoprics and abbeys in France, which had formerly been supposed elective.

The Lateran Councils contain distinct and frequent injunctions as to discipline. Lapses towards simony seem to have been prevalent, and are a suggestive indication of the views of their office, then common among the clergy. Even the celebration, or sacrifice, of the Mass, accepted at the same time as an extremely solemn sacerdotal or Divine ceremony, was bought by laymen, and sold by priests, with such boldness, that the Franciscans of Meaux, to protect the traffic, brought the matter to an issue in a distinct charge. This comprised a series of articles, wherein the Franciscans imputed certain teachings to Martial Mazurier, alleging that he had, *inter alia*, condemned as impious the sale of a Mass for five farthings. So thoroughly was this system established, that the theologian, thus charged, repudiated the propositions complained of.†

About four centuries had already passed since the First Lateran Council, which by its XIth Canon awards remission of their sins to those who visit Jerusalem, and give efficacious assistance in defending the christian people, and destroying the tyranny of the infidels. This offer, made by the loftiest spiritual leaders to the fighting public, was in the thirteenth century, under the Fourth Lateran Council, even extended (with certain limiting words) to exterminators of heretics.‡ Such an adjustment of Divine claims on man is a vivid mark of the supernatural powers claimed, doubtless still earlier, by priests. As ages wore on, they were willing to sell to man some minor though kindred indulgences, even for money when this was intended for pious uses. Pope Leo X countenanced

* Clement VII. Cf. Ranke, Vol. I, p. 75 and note.

† See note 8, hereafter.

‡ See :—Summa Conciliorum Omnium Ordinata. [Bail, Paris, 1675.]

such a trade to raise funds for St. Peter's. Opposition to it was notoriously the occasion of Luther's first appearance in 1517.

That period was a crisis for the power of Rome. Learning had sprung again into life. The different books of the New Testament were read and translated into various languages. The art of printing had recently been developed, and men's minds, seldom vigorous without some speculation, had begun again to question, not only the conduct of careless and greedy priests, but the doctrines which they and their brethren were supposed to teach. Hardly anything can be more certainly affirmed of mankind, than that perpetual absenteeism of officers and inefficiency of subordinates, must sap the discipline of any organization, and also put in question the principles supposed to be associated with it. Nor could a reader of general history have expected to find even a zealous priesthood successful in maintaining, against human temptations, any large system of traditional doctrine uncorrupted, through fifteen centuries. He would perforce further suspect its purity, when the hierarchy in question was found to have amassed for itself fabulous wealth and enjoyed unheard of worldly power.

We are accordingly told that not only were doubts abroad, but that even among Italian priests themselves might then be found some countenance for doctrine akin to that of the northern protestants, while the highest in the Roman system knew that discipline needed amendment. Pope Adrian VI, in his day, made an unsuccessful effort towards reform in the matter of indulgences and sale of preferments. His successors, Clement VII, and Paul III, were perhaps too anxious in political affairs to be thoroughly active in reform. The last named, however, exercising a liberal discretion in his appointments, elevated Gaspar Contarini to the College of Cardinals, who soon protested against abuses profitable to the Curia, and, slighting the notion that what former Popes had done was necessarily to shut up the mouths of those who would mend matters, pointed out that the true dominion of the Papacy was a dominion of reason not of individual will.*

Whether or not Contarini brought about the Papal commission for reform, at any rate the Pope appointed this thoughtful man his legate to the Ratisbon Conference in 1541; who perhaps reached the limits of his commission, in the endeavour to promote at that conference a unity of doctrine. He, however, maintained the authority of the Pope and the

* See Contarini's two Epistles to Paul III, 1538; printed by Le Plat, "*Monumentorum etc.*:" 1782, Vol. II, pp. 605 etc. Also the Report of the Council of Select Cardinals and others in 1538; printed by Le Plat, *ibid.* pp. 596 etc. See also Ranke.

Apostolic See, and no reconciliation was confirmed. Contarini's attitude was evil spoken of at Rome, as if he were tainted with Lutheranism, but he satisfied the Pope, at Lucca, upon rendering account of his legation.

A complication of the difficulty was the distinction between two systems of Clergy: namely, the Regulars who professed Religion according to the rules of certain societies, and the Secular Clergy who generally had cure of souls. Though the monks in very early days had not been deemed eligible to the priesthood, yet they had soon been admitted to those orders. The Benedictines presently became the missionaries of Friesland and Germany; they furnished indeed the *litterati*, and many of the highest officers in the Church. The later rise of the Franciscan and Dominican friars, (each rule dictated by a fresh though perhaps untempered enthusiasm), had further much increased the number of Non-parochial Clergy. The existence of so many Religious rules, societies, and houses, notwithstanding the divers aids so rendered to the Church of Rome and the Papal ascendancy, had often caused local anxiety, if not jealousy, from their insubordination to Bishops, their competition with the Parochial Clergy, lapses from strict rule, and perhaps from those risks of exaggeration to which the monastic idea is obviously exposed. From the fourteenth century, discipline within these societies seems to have fallen very low. Historians have charged them, variously and perhaps too sweepingly, with waste, idleness, frauds, mummeries, false miracles relics and superstitious trifles employed for gain, scandals, and immorality. Even the most cautious reader of poets and satirists is compelled to see some indication of misconduct, in the tales of Chaucer and the cynical allusions of Rabelais. In 1538, (some time after Bishop Briçonnet's dispute with the Franciscans of Meaux), a strong Committee of Cardinals and others was formed. Its Report is profoundly interesting, as an official criticism of Rome, and the Church, at that time. Not Protestants, but very high Dignitaries of the Church here boldly sketch a system of sordid, and extremely unspiritual, greed. Among other matters, too, they report to Pope Paul III that the orders of *Religiosi* have so deteriorated as to be a grave scandal to Seculars.* This Committee, among whom were Contarini, Sadolet, and Pole, went so far as to recommend measures for the abolition of all those existing bodies. The dispute between the Regulars and the Prelates ran high at the Council of Trent. Paolo Sarpi, in his history of that Council, tells us that about readings and preachings there were terrible controversies; the Regulars

* See the Document in *Le Plat*, cited above.

being already in possession of them as well by the Pope's privileges as by the practice of 300 years; while the Prelates alleged that they were usurped, and claimed restitution.* The learned modern historian Hardwick seems, however, to give to the Parochial and Secular Clergy themselves almost a worse character than to the Regulars, in the matters of ignorance, sloth, and misconduct, where he deals with the period 1305 to 1520. Probably there were, in both departments, various degrees of discredit†.

The wish for reform and better discipline had, however, appeared in the very region of the societies themselves. New associations were formed at this time: for instance, the Theatines, founded in 1524, not as a monkish house, but as an aristocratic seminary, with the rigid clerical duties of preaching, administration of the sacraments, and care of the sick; while among the Franciscans arose, in 1525, a real revival of selfdenial, or discipline, represented by the austere, devout, and courageous Capuchins.

But later still had been discovered one of the most sagacious plans for attaining disciplinary sternness in the Church at large, which the world has seen. The soldierlike but visionary Loyola, so long a student in the severe school of his own asceticism, gradually thought out, and at last founded, the famous "Society of Jesus," which was fully sanctioned by the Church in 1543. The conventual idea, of filling up time with devotional exercises, was abandoned for the strict rule of the three virtues thought to be more essential: namely obedience, chastity, and poverty. The duties were chiefly those of preaching, confession, and education of youth. The organization was practical: an extreme obedience its distinguishing mark.

There was, then, about this time, a decided movement towards discipline within the church, together even with some faint hint of the possibility of fresh light in matters of doctrine. This last was a delicate subject for so absolute and determined a power as the Latin Church. One of the most crucial doctrines which we find agitating the Protestants of the sixteenth century, that of Transubstantiation, had, along with the Apostolical succession of priests, been distinctly affirmed already, by the Fourth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1215. It must, however, have seemed desirable to ecclesiastics to confirm and extend doctrine by removing doubts, that now existed even

* Historie of the Councill of Trent, pp. 161 and 167.

† It must be remembered that (leaving out of account the drastic reformers Wycliffe and Huss) the Church during this period could boast of such men as Thomas a Kempis and Dean Colet. Probably many monasteries, and many parishes, showed real devotion.

in the south ; while the northern situation was very serious.

Luther, excommunicated in 1520, had suffered in 1521 the Ban of the Empire. But Emperors, or their servants, do not always stick to one side in a religious quarrel. An army of adventurers soon after assembled in Italy. This force consisted of reckless Italians, together with Spanish and Lutheran soldiers, accustomed to war, to penury, and to pillage. In 1526-7, they sacked the Eternal City herself. Michelet says that the Emperor, though he disavowed, yet approved this event.* The league of Schmalkald in 1530 bound the evangelical or protestant districts of Germany into a new organization. The Swiss had shown a very independent attitude in matters of doctrine ; and, represented by Zwingli, had even held a discussion with Luther, in 1529, on the vexed question of the Eucharist, in spite of the Lateran Council before mentioned. In France, counting perhaps on the support of the French King, if not even on that of advanced Italian thinkers, Bishop Briçonnet had at Meaux carried his zeal for reform beyond the usual measures of the prelacy at that time, and appointed to his readerships, about 1521, men of liberal learning. He checked the Franciscans or Cordeliers, used other disciplinary methods, and, soon after, opened the way for even doctrinal discussion, by permitting copies of the gospels in French to be circulated in his diocese : thus encouraging a new and uncalculated movement in France also. On the frontiers of that country the old community of the Vaudois had shewn a fresh activity, and, by successive conferences, a real desire for union with the German and Swiss dissenters. Again, though the days of Wycliffe were past, yet the English, (whose character was generally independent though conservative), were increasingly impatient of Roman interference. They were headed by a king, called Defender of the Faith, but wilful and wayward still, whose fancy or policy had led to a difference with Rome, and might make him a bitter enemy. This nation was also indignant at the supposed murder of Hunne in London, and was encouraged in reformatory ideas by students at Cambridge and at Oxford. Parliament had made inoperative the Roman licenses for pluralities which the clergy might purchase ; and, in 1534, the Act of Supremacy contradicted the assumed jurisdiction of the Pope over Englishmen, by declaring the King head of the Church of England.

* Gibbon declares that the ravages of the barbarous Goths, under Alaric, in 410, were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of this Catholic prince, Charles the Fifth, eleven centuries later. [See History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Edition 1828, Vol. IV, p. 118.]

The Danish King, Frederick I, early adopted a really modern policy of toleration; while Gustavus Vasa, the liberator King of Sweden, boldly undertook, in 1527, to reorganize the Church in that country. Upon the doubtful ocean of European orthodoxy the cosmopolitan Erasmus, representative of shrewd learning, hung, like some undeclared ally, to windward of the two fleets. Death overtook him in 1536.

It must not be thought that, in these early days of the Reformation, any fresh and detailed confession had been adopted by any Universal Body called "Protestants." Each nation may almost be said to have had its own school of reformers: some of them, perhaps, survivals of old attempts obscured to the modern world by the thick smoke of persecution. But the main grounds of protest against the alleged abuses of Rome were now everywhere nearly the same. They were: criticism of priestly conduct and claims, and study of the four Gospels. While well to do and educated people were increasingly impatient of ignorance and pedantry, the poor and the simple felt a need of religious consolation, which the Clergy of that day could not, or would not, regard. The exact conclusions reached by persons far divided geographically and socially were various indeed. The Mass was attacked here, tolerated there; while the dogma of "Transubstantiation" was vigorously discussed by two divergent parties of ardent reformers, a *via media* "Consubstantiation" being suggested by one of them. The whole movement had to encounter difficulties of an extraordinary kind. No new religion was aimed at, but a restoration of primitive doctrine; and, in face of a priesthood whose remarkable historic career seemed to glorify the attitude of an existing trades-union, the extreme sections of the reform party would have to use all their scholarship, all their zeal, and all their powers of conciliation among themselves, to reach any coherent exposition of doctrine. The "Protestant" princes of Germany undertook, in 1530, to put forth the most moderate statement of their views; and the Augsburg Confession, accordingly drawn up by Melancthon, was free enough from intolerant aggressiveness. This was, however, only a sign of a general effort, which aimed at a direct worship of God, and opposed the continued adoration of saints, use of images, number of sacraments, traffic in Masses, monastic vows, celibacy of the clergy, the detailed enumeration of sins to priests, indulgences, satisfaction by ceremonies or by works, and papal or episcopal power over kingdoms and laws. Many reformers, as above suggested, saw in the dogma of "Transubstantiation" an irreconcilable

quarrel between the existing Church and themselves. And all kinds of Protestants were, whether each individual realized it or not, joining in a great revolt against the claims of the Sacerdotal corps, to Supernatural powers, Heavenly knowledge, and Terrestrial domination.

A fine passage in Neander's "General History of the Christian Religion and Church,"* dealing with an earlier period, indicates the terrific social force of such engines as ecclesiastical Excommunication, Anathema, and Interdict. Is it not permissible, (or inevitable), to suppose that, throughout the Middle Ages, hundreds or thousands of even devoted Churchmen saw in such measures the "losses irreparable," which the later Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis† perceived in the startling tragedy of the Fourteen? Certainly the intellectual and moral movement of the sixteenth century would find multitudes of people, both devout and indifferent worshippers, who had no ardent love for the priesthood of that day; and the persistent incursion of ecclesiastics into legal, social, and political affairs, had created a terrible danger of even social and political revolution, when the nations should realize that fact. Luther's Reformation is sometimes regarded as the strenuous revival of sacred family life and happiness. It is not indeed surprising to find the Religious Reformation closely connected with mundane events, if we remember the pretensions of the Hierarchy.

The Pope, then, would, under all these circumstances, be well advised to hold a Council, whether he personally wished it or not. Assured of adherence from friendly princes, he took a favourable occasion to call one himself, and the Council of Trent was opened in 1545, whose sessions extended over several years. There were various decrees for the ordering of Church ceremony and amendment of Church discipline. The protestant doctrine of "Justification" was by this Council rejected. Revelation was discussed; and it was settled that certain unwritten Tradition must be accepted as reverentially as Scripture. "Transubstantiation" was again affirmed. The doctrinal result of the Council was to thwart the new reliance on the Scriptures as complete authorities, and, by practically retaining in seven authorized Sacraments‡

* Torrey's Translation 1889, Vol. VI, pp. 153, 154. See also Hallam's Middle Ages, Chapter VII.

† Histoire de l'Eglise de Meaux, 1731. Tome I, p. 348.

‡ Though the seven Sacraments were already recognized as early as the ninth century, when the custom of priestly unction was definitely sanctioned, yet the name had been applied to other religious usages that were excluded later. (See Neander, Vol. VI, p. 146.)

a strong control of the hierarchy over the life of man, to assist the uncertain discipline of the churches.

If an ordinary observer of mankind be asked what would probably happen under the conditions which preceded this tardy Council, will he not suggest that the growing disciplinary vigour would seek to exercise itself, in some form or other, upon the doctrinal dissidents? Such in fact was the case. The guardians of discipline, with all their wish to support their orders, to do their official work, to restore strict observance of religious duties, or to keep their own places, properties, and influence, found themselves face to face, not merely with careless incumbents and ill-behaved friars, but also with the many extreme advocates of reform for both hierarchy and doctrine. These might possibly, on their side, not have gone so far in their doctrinal dissent, had the Church's disciplinary reformation shown more reality, with less bigotry and desperation. Indeed, in England and Germany, where the Reformation succeeded more easily than in the South of Europe, the Churches so re-cast seem less bitterly hostile to Latin opinion, than were the dissenters of France and the South.

The protestants generally were so zealous, however, for what they considered vital doctrines, and so frequent in their attacks on the abuses of the priesthood, that the Roman Church, weakened as she was, found her disciplinary powers needed to crush these people. This, in an age which little regarded human suffering, easily led to her employment of the Inquisition, her punitive alliance with the still jealous Civil Power, and the nett results of torture and death to the protestants.

Ages before the time we are particularly concerned with, the Church had used means for enquiring into heresies, and punishment of heretics. The system took definite form in the establishment of the Dominican Inquisition in the 13th century. That institution had fallen into decay, though protestants against the clergy and their teachings still suffered from time to time, and a supreme tribunal for Spain had been established. After the abortive termination of the Ratisbon Conference, Cardinal Caraffa, to solve the difficulty, had spoken for a searching Inquisition. He was supported by Toledo of Burgos. The policy adopted was: to suppress and uproot "errors," and let no vestige of them remain.

The plan was a supreme tribunal of Inquisition at Rome, on which the others should depend. Loyola supported the proposition. The bull was published in 1542. Ranke says: "a fearful state of things, and then more especially so, when

"opinions were not well fixed or fully developed, and many "were seeking to conciliate the more profound doctrines of "Christianity with the institutions of the existing church."* The startling fact of its establishment, during that time of intellectual revival, indicates the attitude of a threatened, or even desperate, hierarchy. No doubt the sad events that happened at Paris, and at Meaux, were part of the general policy, so far as the French King, and his advisers, concurred in it.†

Men do not, however, speak only by the mouth. You might even destroy the hand, while the work of the pen it had held escaped you. The Church made no such blunder. Custom-house officers and booksellers were enjoined to notify writings and printed books to the Inquisitors. There arose, soon after 1543, an index of prohibited books. The example was set outside Italy, Louvain and Paris taking the lead. Other places followed; and in 1559 a formal publication was made at Rome. It would be childish, indeed, to cry over the loss to literature. The loss is to man himself, who has suffered spiritual guides to obliterate the vivid thoughts of his own ancestors. It was even made a matter of conscience for private persons to denounce forbidden books, and do their best towards their destruction. One instance of successful suppression, notwithstanding the new power of the printing press, seems to have been that of a very remarkable book. It may have been both theologically unorthodox and argumentatively wrong. No man can judge. For Ranke tells us, that not one copy among many thousands, of the work "On the Benefits bestowed by Christ," survived its proscription and can now be found. One is appalled to think what knowledge and what ideas, in earlier ages, may have been summarily destroyed in manuscript, before the development of printing required an Index.

A notable example of the Church's condition, in both general and particular features, during this period, is furnished by the Diocese of Meaux. At no great distance eastward from Paris, nor very far from Lorraine and the Low Countries, that district seemed marked out for all the troubles of war, for easy interchange of European ideas, and for a chequered history. The town, again, cut in two by a great bend of the river Marne, was divided against itself: no bad type of what might occur there in any dispute—civil, military, or religious. The southern portion, named after the great market there

* History of the Popes. Vol. I, p. 159.

† Compare notes 17, 24, hereafter.

situated, was a fortress in itself; had been defended by the nobles in the peasant war, when the *Jacquerie* held the town; was now a nursery of Gospellers; and, some time after the terrible death of the Fourteen, we find the *Grand Marché* a stronghold of *Pieds Nus* or *Huguenots*. It was subsequently the scene of various episodes in the religious war.

The elements of discord were, however, at Meaux as elsewhere, deeper than any geographical features. Considerably before the Huguenot League, Meaux was the arena of a bitter and too memorable religious contest. That double movement of doctrine and discipline, which, in the churches under Roman influence, led to persecution, was early astir at Meaux. Indeed, one of the most interesting traits of that sad period is the way in which the double movement caused, as time went on, an apparent change in the policy of Guillaume Briçonnet, the reforming Bishop of Meaux. After a short absence on duty at Rome, he entered, in 1518, very actively on his episcopal work. This was only the next year after Luther's Wittenberg propositions against Indulgences. The bishop early showed himself both a firm disciplinarian, and a favourer of the new religious learning represented by Lefèvre.

The condition of the Church at Meaux, as related by the studious Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis, and by Carro, was doubtless a type of the general laxity and abuse, and might well have staggered a more obstinate reformer than Briçonnet; though M. Jules Zeller is able to say, that, under that bishop, the Diocese was an oasis of piety in the midst of the general corruption.* It is recorded that ecclesiastical discipline had been almost ignored at Meaux. The *curés* hardly worked at all in their parishes, and we are told that the bishop could scarcely find resident, in the whole of his diocese, fourteen priests really capable of instructing the people and of administering the sacraments. Towards such neglect, Briçonnet, himself an apostle of duty as well as of education, showed an indignant sternness, while displaying some power of organization. Among other measures, he promptly and repeatedly admonished his clergy to reside, attaching penalties to disobedience, and thus anticipating, in his own diocese, the restoration of disciplinary canons, to be, after great opposition, solemnly and prudently adopted many years later by the Council of Trent. He also provided for the better instruction of the people, by arranging thirty-two preachers' stations in the diocese: an institution which,

* François I. Paris, 1882, p. 142.

Toussaints du Plessis says, remained, with some modifications, to his own day, two centuries later. One man, and that a Bishop, was not perhaps likely to clearly illustrate the tendency to form still further societies of *Religieux*. Yet we learn from Longpérier's "*Notice héraldique sur les Evêques de Meaux*," (1876, p. 78.), that a house of the Canons regular of the order of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1533, that is, within Briçonnet's episcopacy. I know not whether he may have encouraged this fresh brotherhood, perhaps with a view to counteract the unworthy representatives of the old Franciscan rule. But, apart from new monastic institutions, it is not perhaps too fanciful, for a modern visitor to Meaux, to people for a moment that noble vaulted college in the episcopal palace, with earlier and less pretentious classes of scholars,* taught by the learned Lefèvre and his colleagues, animated by the zealous and accomplished Briçonnet, vigorous with that exercise of their talents which he expected of them, and proud of their mission to a neglected people.

For Briçonnet tried to use at Meaux the learning which had lately been revived in Europe; which, indeed, moving hand in hand with a generous zeal for reform, might become its guide and moderator. The strange position this learning was itself to bring about could be, perhaps, at first as little realized by the bishop, as the future influence on the Swiss Church, and on Europe, of Farel, one of his own earlier preachers and Erasmus's future enemy, who soon became too vehement or extreme for Meaux, and had to leave. A more important, nay, probably the greatest representative of scholarship at Meaux, or in France, was Faber, [or Lefèvre,] of Étampes. A very famous teacher at Paris, he enjoyed the favour of Briçonnet and the King. A sentence of his, written so early as 1517, quoted in Whitaker's "Disputation,"† is gently suggestive of the young religious movement, so soon to powerfully engage Europe, and offend the priesthood. He says: "The greatest part of the world now, when they pray, I know not whether they pray with the spirit, but they certainly do not with the understanding; for they pray in a tongue which they do not understand. Yet Paul approves most that the faithful should pray both with the spirit and the understanding; and those who pray so, as is the general practice,

* Crespin, in opening his account of Pavannes, says: "*Briçonnetus ille episcopus Melensis, initio quidem in sua diocesi scholam aperuerat Euangelio...*" [Actiones, 1580, fol. 52, verso.]

† Parker Society, Whitaker," p. 273.

'edify themselves but little by the prayer, and cannot edify others at all by their speech.' His views were not agreeable to the Sorbonne. That theological college, so famous throughout Europe, was disposed to burn Lefèvre, who had differed with it on the curious question of Mary Magdalene and the three Marys. The Bishop drew him to Meaux, showed great confidence in him, and seems to have distributed within that diocese, the French translations of the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament and the Psalms, which Lefèvre published from 1520 to 1525. In this year he was included in the notable proceedings against the bishop and others: and though protected by a letter from the King, he quitted Meaux.

Briçonnet however did not content himself with disciplinary advice to his curés, and the use of more modern instruction. The people, untaught in religion, were yet not likely to entirely neglect the ancient consecrated days. They were usually accustomed to certain public dances on Sundays and the feasts of the Virgin, which entertainments seem to have been thought not conducive to morality. The people were also familiar with a somewhat debased form of the mystery plays: that curious and popular kind of drama, which, based on man's liking for supernatural or divine subjects, has the widest possible stage, and the most varied opportunities. In our day the religious drama still survives in strange and divers forms, embracing the grotesque, the intellectual, and the impressive: showing such different specimens, as perhaps the children's Punch and Judy show, certainly Goethe's dramatic poem of Faust, and the solemn though doubtless painful, Oberammergau performances. Briçonnet found the phase of mystery play then favoured at Meaux far from edifying, and took measures at different times to stop these and the dances respectively.

Was there, however, no sort of religious ministration at Meaux apart from the Bishop's importations of men and ideas, and the fourteen qualified pastors for two hundred parishes? Here, again, Meaux is an admirable example of the European Churches at large: for there were several societies of regulars; and especially active in asserting their claims were the Religieux of the order of St. Francis, called the Cordeliers. They had a house at Meaux from which they issued, not only to beg, but to claim some at least of the many pulpits neglected by the parochial clergy. The stern Franciscan rule of poverty had degenerated here into a method that would have made St. Francis weep. It had become a mean peddling

of Church Services, together with systematic *quests* at holy periods, and from the richer congregations. The Franciscans seem at once to earn the displeasure of Bishop Briçonnet, the historian Crespin, and the Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis. It is perhaps unfortunate that Crespin, generally so well corroborated in this story, has given us no details of the Meaux Franciscans, contenting himself with very general though severe allusion to them and their important action. For he attributes it, perhaps rather by surmise than by knowledge, to Satan himself. But we ought to remember that Crespin lived at a time of real and startling events, when thoughtful men of various opinions boldly introduced theology and demonology into the actual interpretation of life. It seems true enough, however, that these poor Religieux did preach in their own way; sufficiently to lay claim to the right; though their conduct was disfavoured by the bishop, their view of life, like that of so many disciples, a mockery of their founder's idea, and their teaching we may fairly suppose on a par with their church discipline.

There prevailed, then, between the bishop and the Franciscans of Meaux, that long contest mentioned by Crespin, and related with so much more detail by Toussaints du Plessis. It well illustrates the great and general quarrel between regular and secular clergy. The Bishop forbade these men to preach, though not to beg, and prohibited the representation of their Saint with the *Stigmata*; while they persisted in their claim to preach without the episcopal licence. The dispute reached its acme in the year 1525 to 1526; when, in the king's absence from France, the bishop and several other persons were made the subjects of legal proceedings before the *Parlement de Paris* on charges akin to heresy. Some of his important subordinates left Meaux, and Briçonnet himself was remitted for interrogation before certain counsellors.

Whether his aristocratic and ecclesiastical position, the royal favour, his doctrinal orthodoxy, his fidelity to discipline, or any concession to the *force majeure*, saved him from the modified retirement of Lefèvre and of Roussel, he at any rate did remain at Meaux to continue his reformatory work, and to see arise a fresh and dismal phase of discipline in which the bishop would now and then have some incidental duty whether nominal or official. Upon a story of this kind it is easy to found a charge of inconstancy, especially where a great name is concerned. Crespin, D'Aubigné, and Baird comment unfavourably on the bishop's change of position, the last named allowing



*Briçonnet, - Bishop of Nîmes,
1516 - 1534.*

*(Facsimile from Bretonneau's
"Histoire etc. des Briçonnets," 1621.)*

himself some sarcastic words. Is it not true however that the position itself of the various gossellers and doctrinal reformers underwent a change or at least a surprising development becoming all over Europe a serious and increasing menace to Rome, and indeed to Briçonnet's own Church? Little liking as we of the nineteenth century are supposed to have for bigotry in power, may we not feel some sympathy for a man who, at first seizing on the four gospels as a fresh and ancient exposition of Christianity, found later that this authority was taken by many to justify doctrines and actions that he could by no means approve? Who will cast blame on him for holding rightly or wrongly to the church of which he had so long been an enthusiastic and dutiful pastor? We may be sure that this man's influence would be on the side of mercy.

Briçonnet illustrates in himself many varied aspects of the early reformation. He was the advocate of contemporary learning while firmly adherent to discipline; the purifier of manners and the respecter of ceremony; the free employer of printing, distributor of the gospels, and organizer of preaching stations; but the opposer alike of parasitical and degenerate brotherhoods, of parochial negligence, of aggressive dissent, and apparently of Lutheran doctrines. Under Briçonnet (at that time one of the most conspicuous ecclesiastics in France) the reform movement reached a critical point. And it is unfortunate for him that the stream divided in his lifetime, forcing him to choose between the new antisacerdotal consequences of the gospel movement and his continuance as an exact officer of his own hierarchy. The fact remains that in Briçonnet's diocese, both during and after his lifetime, there is an example of discipline, needed within, being turned by the Church's sons against those fresh minds that boldly enquired into doctrine.

From about this time the progress of the French reformers, though itself of necessity obscure, is marked by conspicuous martyrdoms well established in history. Divergent opinions so nearly crystallized throughout Europe, were speedily hardened and hostility embittered in France by destruction of images on one side, and of men on the other. Jean LeClerc, a devoted propagandist from Meaux, who died at Metz a victim to his own consistent enthusiasm, is considered by the French protestants as their first martyr in this period of history, though Metz at that time was not actually part of France.* His death was soon followed by many

* Michelet says however that Chastellain was the first, who was burnt 12 Jan., 1525; and that his death animated LeClerc. As to Pavaues see Crespin and notes hereafter.

others especially at Paris, including that very noted case of De Berquin an accomplished gentleman of Artois.

Here we must for one moment pause to consider how a degraded ecclesiastical discipline realized itself in France. King Francis I, autocratic, profuse and favourable to learning, was if popular yet an untrustworthy king. We cannot attempt to follow him among the intrigues of parties and of court ladies, or into his negotiations with Pope and princes: matters which in this or that way affected his treatment of French reformers. His impetuous career may have been marked by a dashing kind of bravery and by his active encouragement of taste and intellect, but was defaced by self-indulgence and irregular attention to business, as well as by an extravagant personal jealousy of the Emperor Charles V. Lost in the maze of sixteenth century politics and war, he at one time even seized for a clue some secret understanding with the Turkish invader of Europe. A character masterful, pleasure-loving and vain, not balanced by any fine sense of honour, was open perhaps to the influence of liberal ideas, certainly to that of distinguished flatterers; and it is not wonderful to find this versatile friend of Briçonnet, and brother of Marguerite, receiving also the very different political instructions of Louise his mother, and of Duprat. Bibbiena, an acute legate of the Pope, who arrived at the French Court in 1518, noticed how far the young King's conceit of power left the real guidance of affairs in the hands of Louise.*

An important influence in France was that of the chancellor Duprat, who, after the loss of his wife, took orders, becoming later both cardinal, and Pope's legate. He constantly set himself to increase beyond measure the arbitrary power of the Court, and joined with Louise in flattering the tastes and passions of the King. This oppressive chancellor, immense pluralist, and creator of venal offices, had an overbearing disposition. It is said to have been Duprat who originated the idea that heresies were attended with blasphemy and came within the jurisdiction of the *Parlement*. At the same time he would weaken even that constitutional jurisdiction by the use of special commissions. The historian Martin attributes to Duprat the rejection by Louise of Marguerite's influence, and even the activity of the Sorbonne and the Gallican Church. Duprat presided over the Provincial Council of Sens held at Paris in 1528, and perhaps

* See Sismondi Vol. XVI, 67, 68.

then aided the adoption of certain disciplinary reforms required among the clergy, and also of various severe decrees against heretics. His personal interests were hostile to the protestant movement. He amassed great treasure, which is said to have been, by his own admission, designed for attaining the tiara. The calm "*Bourgeois de Paris*," who seldom if ever awards praise or blame, speaks with admiration of Duprat's talents, and mentions the regard he had for Francis. The Cardinal died on the 9th of July, 1535, Francis seizing a large part of his enormous property at that moment.*

It would have been vain for the Gospellers to count with confidence on help from any institution, high officials, or class of men in France during this reign. The king was more a man of taste than of religion, and his friends among reformers were more mystical than protestant. Again the *Parlement de Paris*, which had no doubt some tradition of independence, was no longer independent. Though at first perhaps disposed to resent papal legislation, it seems to have had little liking for new ideas and unaccustomed theology. This judicial body and the University were after obstinate resistance coerced to register and accept the Concordat, that unpopular result of Duprat's negotiation. Not only was this most telling victory for the king accompanied by the abasement of two venerable institutions, it was also a triumph for the Court of Rome over a third, namely the Gallican Church. Another disaster to the already impaired character and credit of the *Parlement* occurred in 1522. Copying perhaps Pope Leo X, who had created thirty cardinals at once, King Francis suddenly instituted twenty new counsellorships for sale. The King denied that they would be sold, but Louise the Queen Mother replied cynically to the remonstrant deputies, that the new appointments did not particularly matter, if the *Parlement* would only find the money in some different way. Other offices were similarly corrupted and the springs of justice further fouled.† Again the Concordat placed so many benefices in the hands of the King that, notwithstanding the higher qualifications also now imposed, the University theologians became too dependent on the minister, to whom they looked for

* The "Journal" pp. 425, 460, 461. Sismondi, Vol. XVI, p. 439. Martin, *Histoire de France* (1878), Vol. VIII, pp. 157, 158. Bayle, *Dictionary Historical etc*: 2nd Edition, English (1737), article "Prat (Antony du)" and footnote. *Biographie Universelle*, Paris (1855), article "Duprat."

† Compare Michelet, Vol. VIII, pp. 67, 68; also "Journal d'un Bourgeois d: P." pp. 58, 122 to 127; and Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 136, 137, 138.

preferment. Useful servants or the nominees of women were among the recipients. The natural odium however, in which a theological College like the Sorbonne held the reformers, needed no stimulus. Indeed the University partizans received some check from Francis in their rancorous but at first unsuccessful persecution of Lefèvre.* Furthermore the interest of many nobles told for the clerical party. Laymen claimed lucrative rights within the Church and, entertaining no disposition to forego them, would not wish her to be over-reformed. The populace itself which could, like the King, tolerate or even enjoy amusing disparagement of living monks and priests, might yet be counted on to frantically resent attacks on images or contempt of the Mass. The timid were also disturbed by perpetual wars, the incursion of soi-disants Lutheran Germans into Lorraine, (condemned by Luther,) and lawless visits from numerous bodies of Italian and French soldiers and vagabonds. The social condition of that time in France, and the world, favoured a general feeling of unrest and suspicion. We must bear in mind that nervous but strong preservative instinct which, though it often saves a nation, yet sometimes roused into a frenzy promotes misfortune.†

The varying treatment of the French reformers depended then on the divers combinations of these several elements, on the ever-changing posture of external politics, on the activity of the reformers themselves, and on the complexion which all those circumstances wore in the view of Francis, the Queen Mother, and their advisers.

This thirty years' reign may be divided into three nearly equal parts. During the first, 1515 to 1525, little or no severity was used by the government. The second was marked by some executions, but the legal machine seems to have been not then in full working order. The third began with the terrible year of the placards (1534-5), saw the gradual arrangement of procedure, and concluded with the massacre of the Vaudois, the execution of the Fourteen of Meaux, and others.

* Compare Crowe's *History of France* (1860), Vol. II, pp. 574, 578, etc. Michelet, Vol. VIII, pp. 215, 216. Baird, *Rise of the Huguenots*, Vol. I, pp. 71, 72. Toussaints du Plessis, Vol. II, p. 282. Compare also Note 18, hereafter.

† See Haag: preface. Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 197, 235, 236, 345, 359, 425. The "*Journal*," pp. 176 etc., 201, 232, 244, 245, 249, 280. Michelet, Vol. VIII, p. 266. Compare also Note 24 hereafter.

During the first of these three periods, the French Court seems not to have apprehended any great danger to the Church. No doubt the King himself was a great promoter of the Renaissance in France, and favoured that heterogeneous party of mental illumination which, opposing fanatical ignorance as such, promised then to shed a glittering lustre on the reign. So little anxiety did he feel for the Church's position, that in 1524 he even allowed in his presence the acting of some mystery play, wherein the Pope and monks were treated with derision.

However, the disastrous battle of Pavia, the King's short captivity, and troubles in Suabia and Lorraine, put the country in panic. Louise, now Regent, consulted with the Sorbonne, the *Parlement* and the Pope. This spirited woman sought to divide the enemies of France, obtaining in 1525 a defensive alliance with England. But she saw also in a papal alliance a chance of deliverance for her son and support for France. The Church at that time, though no absolute arbiter of Europe's fate, could powerfully assist either Francis I or his great rival the Emperor Charles. The odium theologicum was let loose, not to be easily chained again. Thus began the second period of the reign. The *Parlement*, sensitive as to its own authority, agreed to the appointment of a special mixed commission against heretics; and Louise ordered the publication of Clement VII's bull in that business, which Michelet condemns as not less cruel than the Roman Inquisition. Another historian ejaculates:—" *Triste émulation entre Rome et le gallicanisme.*" Francis I was himself indeed no certain ally for the Pope; but later on in this second period the outward submission of a proud nation to the Roman See was exemplified at the Marseilles conference. For in 1533 King Francis, his sons and his nobles, there greeted Pope Clement VII with a pompous servility that would surprise or amuse the most exacting of barbarous tyrants.*

In such a state of things there suddenly appeared the placards of 1534. This event acted like a brusque declaration of war in the religious world of France. The document, printed at Neufchatel and distributed about the streets and cross-roads of Paris, plainly attacks the priesthood with the Mass as idolatrous and vicious, and expounds a distinct doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Whereas Briçonnet had directed men's eyes to certain ancient authorities, the present propagandist

* Cf: generally, Note 17, hereafter; also Haag, preface, and pièces justificatives; Michelet, Vol. VIII, p. 371; Martin, *Histoire de France*, (1878), Vol. VIII, pp. 151, 152; Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 etc., 404, 405.

ventures some striking conclusions therefrom. One copy is said to have been affixed to the King's own door. Indignant and no doubt startled, he at once reverted to or reindorsed the policy for some time active, and but lately moderated within his kingdom. The pomp at Marseilles was now followed in 1535 by a more gloomy state procession in Paris. King Francis set an example of devotion to the sacrament of the altar by attending the Host, head bare and torch in hand, on a day when six heretics suffered death. Sismondi's assertion that the king witnessed their actual execution is doubted by Michelet.* That point is of less historical importance than the extravagant injunctions to inform and to destroy, which he delivered after dinner. Henceforward a succession of edicts deal severely with the heretics, though with divers degrees of leniency and oppression. The accomplished DuBellay, the mystical Marguerite and the German protestant princes no doubt from time to time inclined the King to mercy; while the increasingly powerful Spanish party, grouped around Montmorency and the Dauphin, were on the side of an inflamed clergy little restrained by a now corrupted *Parlement*. The *Parlement* did however refuse to register an extraordinary edict of the King, (after the Placards), in suppression of printing, for which the Sorbonne had even before petitioned. To allay distrust of the Church, or to attain the success of a punitive policy, it was needful to enlist the full co-operation of the French Courts of Justice. Eventually in 1540 the noted edict of Fontainebleau, containing a formal recital that the king wishes to satisfy his duty and title of "*très chrestien*," established a course of procedure for the Royal courts in set terms. Unwilling officials were exhorted to prosecute zealously, and were threatened with penalties. Heresy was declared to contain within itself High Treason "*divine et humaine*," and sedition. Thus a grotesque ecclesiastical discipline was regularly enforced on laymen by the French courts of law. Yet it is something to the credit of the invalid King that, notwithstanding all the tragedies of his reign, his death in 1547 is said to have caused five thousand persons to seek safety at Geneva. The celebrated chamber known as the "*Chambre Ardente*" does not seem to have been organized till 1547-8.†

* Sismondi, XVI, 424-426; Michelet, VIII, 411-413; The "Journal" pp. 442-444.

† Compare Weiss, *La Chambre Ardente*, (1889,) LXXII, footnote. See also note 105 a. hereafter.

But what was the course of events at Meaux in particular which in 1546 brought that congregation under the harsh discipline of torture and death? It seems that, whether Briçonnet would approve it or not, a school of thought had early arisen at Meaux, of which, about twelve years after his death, this church was the result. Even in Briçonnet's and Lefèvre's time there were held colloquies of wool-carders and other supposed ignorant people in the very cathedral itself after Roussel's discourses or readings there. We can hardly think that such an assembly survived the proceedings of 1525, at any rate in that building. Indeed the "*Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées*" dates the early dissipation of that body at 1523. But the effect of the preachings of Roussel and others at Meaux was that very shortly, according to Haag, "*elles convertirent la plupart des ouvriers des nombreuses fabriques de Meaux.*" One cannot lay down for certain the exact form of doctrine to which these were converted. Some guide is found in the general religious movement then overspreading Europe, which took so special and distinct a form at Geneva and Strasburg. With this latter place at least Meaux was in some correspondence, and a letter of 1525, written by Roussel at Strasburg to Le Sueur at Meaux, gives an important indication of the sacramental opinions then probably engaging both communities. We have also the contemporary case of the young scholar Pavanes, who suffered death for some specific doctrine of the Lord's Supper, probably the same. The cases of Denis de Rieux and of Jean LeClerc give further indications. Again, the "*Bourgeois de Paris*," while speaking of the year 1526, comments on the great spread of Lutheran heresy at Meaux and gives some slight detail. He mentions also a native of Meaux who died for repudiating the worship of the Virgin in 1528. Upon a review of the evidence we find that about this time there were persons at Meaux who accepted, at least, views so characteristic of the Protestant or Evangelical movement as :—one Divine Sacrifice, repudiation of the mass and of transubstantiation, as well as of purgatory, indulgences, prayers for the departed or to the Virgin Mary, images, holy water, and the Pope's authority.*

History says that, later on, congregations of reformers were in existence at different places. The Meaux Gospellers had apparently a sort of prééminent fame; and the so-called "luthériens de Meaux" might soon become not only proverbial as such in France, but possibly known to the world as

* "Journal" pp. 277, 375. See also Notes 21, 29, hereafter.

organizers of a metropolitan church. The aspirations noticed by Crespín in his account of the Meaux reformers imply that that town was looked on as the centre from whence a light should spread over all France.

These Gospellers, who came occasionally upon the stage of history as sufferers for protesting against Mass or Pope, whose own various meetings were held here and there, but in secret or by the favour of some rich or great man,* these Gospellers were I suppose without any real organization, and, while condemning the decay and abuse of the church's ministry, had as yet no set scheme of discipline among themselves. Can we not easily picture the state of things at Meaux itself, among men whose ideas were, with all their enthusiasm, still perhaps unsettled in some points of doctrine, who also, when met together for worship, would choose on each occasion for their minister him who seemed to know most scripture? A congregation so incoherent and irregular was, unless composed of very sober minds, obviously open to all the risks of anarchy, disintegration and ruin. We know not at what time Étienne Mangin the Lorrainer went to Meaux. Lorraine was an early field of religious persecution, Meaux an early centre of religious activity. Mangin was probably related to a former curé at Meaux of that name, one of Briçonnet's readers, and to Faron Mangin of Meaux whom Crespín praises for his work at Orleans. He is described by Toussaints du Plessis as "*Cardeur de laine*"; and, since the family history attributes to him property at Meaux, and is corroborated by the fact now very well ascertained that he had a house at the *Grand Marché*, with a long garden abutting on the ramparts, we must suppose that he was either retired from business, or else a master employing some of that heretical trade of wool-carders. He may well have been a type of those well instructed men of business, who, combining an ardent energy with firm opinions and practical sense, have at different periods of history moulded its course. It is clear that in a large upper room at his house was in 1546 collected a congregation from town and country, freshly organized on the model of the Strasburg Refugee Church, to attend the ministrations of Pierre LeClerc. This Pierre, brother of Jean LeClerc, was well-read in French books of theology, and was, after fasting and prayer, solemnly appointed to the permanent superintendence of this little Church's worship. The discipline necessary

* Compare the recitals to the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, Haag, La France protestante, (pièces justificatives).

to any successful association for a common purpose was thus introduced among the Meaux Gospellers by these two men, who were doubtless fully acquainted with the wretched details of many executions for heresy, and with the horrors of the Vaudois massacre of 1545. There can be little doubt that the definite organization of a "Reformed" Church at Meaux was approved at Strasburg, and was part of that general forward movement after 1541 in the protestant system of the South, noticed by Maimbourg, who attributes it to Calvin. It would be highly interesting to find out what were, if any, the relations between Calvin and the Meldensian leaders; and whether LeClerc was by him in any sense either nominated for the suffrages of the congregation or else confirmed in his office. The genius of these particular churches appears however to have been rather representative than dynastic. The organization was itself presbyterian.

To compare the early work of Briçonnet at Meaux with that of the later Mangin and LeClerc is both interesting and touching. Each attributed a high importance to the study of the gospels, but they reached or accepted different doctrines. Each introduced or restored discipline; and each, though very differently, suffered for doing so.

When the sixty are apprehended in 1546 at Mangin's house, so soon after this perilous venture of a "Reformed Church" within France, do we find any signs of rebellion, sedition, iconoclasm? On the contrary, there is no sign of any offence, apart from religious dissent, either visible in their own demeanour, or reflected in the very judgment of the court that dealt with them. Even if they or their friends sang with enthusiasm on the way to prison a psalm, wherein they figuratively condemned this violence and claimed to be sufferers in the cause of God; even if Pierre LeClerc, when pestered later with hostile injunctions, indignantly quoted some words recorded of a more ancient encounter, surely it would need a pedantic martinet of silence to attach any blame whatever there.*

Of the death of the Fourteen the reader will find in Crespin's and Rochard's accounts sufficient details. Could Mangin now speak to us, perhaps he would rejoice more in the quiet behaviour of the congregation and the self-possessed constancy of his fellow sufferers than in any other feature of the story. The willing devotion of these reformers themselves need not however prevent us from

* See the translations hereafter, and notes.

deploring the savage view of life and religion which inflicted such punishments upon them; which indeed so darkened those pages of history with blood, that the important tragedy of the Fourteen of Meaux is hardly conspicuous among many martyrdoms and wholesale massacres.

What were the various degrees of conviction, of constancy, or of supposed guilt, among the sixty prisoners, we do not know. The judgment, outspoken and even opprobrious in its general condemnation of their "Lutheran" doctrines, is yet far more detailed as to punishment than it is as to crime.* Fourteen of them were evidently regarded as chief offenders. After enduring those inquisitorial tortures called the *Question extraordinaire*, and firmly refusing to name their brethren in religion, the Fourteen were burnt. Seven or eight of these, including Mangin and LeClerc, first suffered the mutilation of their tongues. The others may have either promised not to address the crowd, or, at last overpowered by bodily and mental exhaustion, conceded some point of doctrine.†

This is certainly not the place to discuss the ground and sanction of those tenets for which the Fourteen died. The tenets themselves may be gathered from the old Geneva and Strasburg liturgy, edited and re-printed in 1867 by Baum and Cunitz among Calvin's works. The presbyterian organization and discipline at Strasburg, and (by necessary inference) at Meaux, will be found in Valerandus Polla's interesting pamphlet of 1551.‡ We must doubtless allow for the necessary modifications at Meaux, where as yet no other sister churches existed.

Such chief points in their teaching or actions as were odious to the current opinion of that time may, I think, be gathered from the various authorities, and set down broadly as follows. Most of them appear more or less clearly in the narrative of Crespin.

- (i). They relied on the scriptures as an exposition of religion.
- (ii). They rejected transubstantiation, the adoration of the elements, the sacrificial use of the Mass, the worship of the Virgin Mary, confession to Roman priests, supremacy of the Pope.

* See the translation and note 49 hereafter.

† Compare Crespin and Rochard hereafter, and note 66. See also a postscript or rider to the judgment.

‡ Particularly referred to in one of the notes hereafter.

- (iii). They held that the gospel religion was more spiritual than that taught by the priests.
- (iv). It must be inferred that these Meaux reformers held the usual protestant views of justification, use of only two sacraments, and so on.
- (v). Rejecting the Mass as corrupt, they believed in the spiritual benefit of the Lord's Supper, and accounted this, as celebrated then at Geneva and Strasburg, a restoration of the ancient Christian ordinance.
- (vi). They thought it valuable or dutiful to hold assemblies for reading and expounding the gospels, for prayer to God, and for use of the Lord's Supper. And, whereas the toleration of their views seemed at last hopeless under the Roman system, they regarded it as right or dutiful, under these circumstances, to solemnly and independently appoint a pastor for their edification, and for administering the Lord's Supper *; and also to adopt a presbyterian organization for the permanent control of their congregation.
- (vii). They believed that theirs was the true cause of God, and had His support. Also that their pastor, LeClerc, had some gift from Him.†

The above sketch merely represents the salient points of difference. An elaborate scheme of the theology of the Meaux Gospellers or reformers, though it might be hazardously conjectured from the various influences of Briçonnet, Lefèvre,

* The reader, though he may dislike the words, will certainly accept the intimation of Crespin, that this particular boldness mightily inflamed the clergy. These, whatever their own character, conduct, and attainments might be, would by a claim of apostolical succession profess a mysterious and exclusive power, and seek to support an exclusive right, to discharge all such offices both instructional and ministerial. That claim, in connection with the dogma of "Transubstantiation," and their supposed power over the benefits of religion, and salvation, was the final secret of the great awe in which they were held in the middleages. The views of Augustine, an orthodox opponent of heretics in the Fifth Century, and perhaps the declarations of Paul in the First, were now being restored to comfort the afflicted with some doctrine of God's supremacy. For Calvin, more than a thousand years after the controversy between Augustine and Pelagius, preached, again, Divine predestination to salvation. We may wonder whether Augustine, had he seen the Middle Ages, would have applauded the solemn establishment of this *ecclesiola*, or condemned it as schismatic. In the present case the Judgment contains indications that the independent action of the defendants in 1546 was considered one of their most serious offences. [See Crespin, Toussaints du Plessis, the Judgment, and Notes hereafter.]

† See at least a phrase of Crespin's hereafter.

Calvin, and the Strasburg churches, or indeed from other sources also, cannot be exhaustively laid down here, nor ever perhaps in complete detail. So far indeed as it was then elaborated, it probably differed little from that of Calvin and the French Refugee Church at Strasburg.*

However the reader may be inclined to view the tenets and discipline, we are obliged to conclude that the enterprising and firm conduct of these men encouraged the timid, and eventually helped towards the establishment in France of a strong party for independent opinion. That party soon became numerous indeed at Meaux and in France, receiving the support of noble and simple adherents. Churches soon sprang up in many places and the first Synod of the "Reformed" Churches in France was held in 1559. A deplorable though perhaps inevitable civil war however broke out. The French protestants were eventually almost exterminated by the desperate massacre of St. Bartholomew's day 1572. But their resolute devotion was part of a profoundly remarkable, less troubled, and more rapidly successful movement in Europe at large.

It should be perhaps noted that the leaders at Meaux in 1546 were, through Strasburg and Calvin, connected with the reformers of Geneva, who, during severe civil and religious struggles, to some extent borrowed and used in their turn the policy of compulsion or punishment, under which the French protestants were themselves so bitterly suffering. There is no sign that their co-religionists of the Meaux congregation under Mangin and LeClerc desired any such weapon, justified or excused as it might then appear to be by very formidable precedents. France along with the rest of Europe truly furnished types of fortitude, enterprise and moderation, worthy to pioneer and to die for that intellectual liberty at least, whose principles were for a time ignorantly thwarted by those in power, and were according to Guizot† not then properly understood by the reformers themselves.

Seeing the many desperate expedients to which ignorance, selfishness and fear have perpetually led mankind, we ought to observe great moderation when we apply even obvious

* The most specific feature of their liturgy, the substitution of the Lord's Supper for the Mass, is dealt with in one of the notes appended to the translations.

† "Histoire de la civilisation en Europe" Paris, Edition 1856, Douzième Leçon, pp. 345, 346. Compare with this Michelet's emphatic estimate of the service rendered to intellect by that "Contraction suprême de la Réforme sur le roc de Genève". Histoire de France. Vol. VIII, p. 15.

principles to the criticism of past times. But no apologist for mediæval opinions and manners will convince thoughtful persons that adherence to the religious views of the day ought to be a condition for peaceable life and protection. Boisterous offences against various forms of religion, and insults to doctrine established and not established, may indeed be moderately punished as dangerous to peace and hurtful to good conduct or social discipline; while every really healthy state may and ought to protect itself against the undue power of spiritual leaders. For they are not always spiritually minded, devout and wise; not always examples of patriotism and behaviour; nor always content with even that ghostly influence to which mankind so readily bows. But to punish with torture and death either the leaders or the followers of a religious cause that does not imply any wrongdoing, cannot be excused even plausibly except by a superhuman allowance of wisdom and virtue, or indeed by an abject lack of them. No doubt these propositions seem to-day to be platitudes too mild and commonplace to insist on. They were far from being so considered in Europe considerably after the dawn of the modern era. But their acceptance now will probably lead people of any persuasion to regard with admiration the conduct, and with compassion the cruel sufferings, of these Meaux Gospellers, whose actions and professions seem to modern minds quite free from punishable offence.

Those who talk lightly of the suffering reformers should bear in mind that it was not to them a question of mere speculation or of casual interest. There was, in very acute form, an extreme and inhuman discipline arrayed against their doctrines. It was plainly a question not only of torture and capital punishment, but of judicial reproach, and also of probable ruin to their families. This grave fact entirely removes their enterprise from all comparison with the licensed freedom of our modern quill, or with our sleek and indifferent indulgence of any devout or even fantastic idea. We need not and will not discuss how far Mangin, LeClerc, and the other twelve, had attained exact theological or metaphysical truth: the grand ambition of innumerable and opposed philosophers and theologians throughout time. We need not discuss the claims of these (or any martyrs in the universe) to the title "Martyr" in its absolute or transcendental sense. Its strict and its careless use seem often to depend more on the opinions of those who lightly read, than of those who have painfully made history. The thoughtful reader however

will certainly deem the Fourteen well worthy of such poor crown as man can award to his devoted brother. And the friends of the Fourteen themselves, who sought not worldly happiness, but truth, and the glory of Another, must be content if we rank with them many also whose thoughts were not as theirs. The Strasburg and Geneva liturgy of that time, (whereof complete monuments remain, which also Meaux almost certainly used), was simple, elevated, severe, and agreeable to good conduct. We need not laboriously ascertain how far these thinkers were accomplished in primitive, orthodox according to mediæval, or prophetic of modern theology; whether they reasoned correctly as to Substance and Appearance; Spiritual Presence; Free Will, Predestination, or Causation; Justification, Faith, Grace, Works, and Sacrifice; the episcopal Laying on of hands; or as to the critical problems of Revelation, Tradition, Inspiration, and Writing. Their aim we must perceive to have been, in most black times, a moral and a spiritual aim; their worship aspiring and reflective; their conduct blameless and heroic. The firm constancy to their faith and friends, fitting sequel to the courage they showed in organizing this church, must be commended by any one that reads their story.

These last are some of the prime virtues, then illustrated at the rack and stake in many countries, and, though not of course approved in every period of history, yet generally admired by humane persons. There is some danger of that brave conduct being minimized and disparaged by our own ungrateful age, which, so fully benefiting by it, has itself had no pressing need to practise it. We meanly regard even devoted men of action with an eye askance, pretend to analyse their aims, and almost demand that a hero of the past should be also a philosopher of to-day. Let it be that the long-silent "Fourteen" died for religious faith. We have to seek about in their strong hearts for a sentiment easy of comprehension to the uncontrolled minds of the nineteenth century. As, then, the intent fixing of the eyes on some spot in the heavens seems to bring an unseen and lesser star into the edge of our view, so those men of Meaux, in the strenuous pursuit of their convictions, may have dimly perceived that pale illumination, wherein we wantonly exult to-day, as if we had ourselves discovered, not inherited, intellectual and religious liberty.

To you, for whom the following accounts have been collated, the fate of Étienne Mangin must be particularly touching.

He was cut off in the pursuit of that "Reformed Religion" for which he is said to have gone to Meaux. Of its definite establishment there he was a regulator or moderator, exhibiting, if we may judge from consequences, such discretion only as would agree with firm principles and with courage. We will hope that his and his companions' conduct, doubtless honoured by generous opponents and by any that learn this history, may far in the future be remembered, as an example of lofty fortitude, by the posterity of your own little Étienne.

I am greatly obliged to you for having pointed out a short passage in an old book, which has opened to me a view of so much interest; and remain,

Your sincere friend,

HERBERT M. BOWER.

Elmcrofts, Ripon, 1894.

Translations.

*Translation of a Chapter from Jean Crespin's ⁽¹⁾ *Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum* (MDLX) (Folio 117, verso. etc.)*

THE PERSECUTION OF THE MELDENSES.

The remarkable confession of Gospel doctrine, and persecution of the faithful among the Meldenses, of whom fourteen suffered the extreme punishment of burning.

Meaux illuminated by the Gospel.

Among the many cities of the kingdom of France, which were by the word of God made sharers and partakers in heavenly grace, the town of Meaux ⁽²⁾ should be given the first place.⁽³⁾ It is situated in Brie on the river Marne at a distance of ten leagues from Paris. Very few communities will be found in which, though under the unholy tyranny of Antichrist, so great faith was shown in proclaiming the truth of God's word; such zeal and fervour in its acceptance; such vigour in its growth; and where, after a very rapid expansion, it was established and defended with so much firmness. Now the mode by which the Lord enlightened this city, whither hardly any other ⁽⁴⁾ kind of men resort save artisans and mechanics, was of this nature. Guillaume Briçonnet ⁽⁵⁾ was Bishop there, a man of the highest literary training. At that time he was fired indeed with a praiseworthy zeal both for learning the truth and for imparting it to others. When he was first made Bishop he duly visited the churches of his diocese and discharged the duties of inspection as a true pastor should.⁽⁶⁾ He thus found that the people were quite without the knowledge of God,⁽⁷⁾ for their teaching by the Franciscans and other mendicant friars consisted solely of matters pertinent to their cloister and to the filling of the

Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux.

belly.⁽⁸⁾ On discovering the impostures and tricks of these, the Bishop's heart was deeply moved with a holy zeal. He withdrew from them the right to preach anywhere in his diocese,⁽⁹⁾ and replaced them by calling in other men, whose probity of life was as thoroughly established as their learning and understanding in holy things. Among these were: Jaques Lefèvre of Étapes,⁽¹⁰⁾ Michel d'Arande,⁽¹¹⁾ Martial,⁽¹²⁾ and Gerard Roussel.⁽¹³⁾ The faith and diligence of these men assisted the extraordinary zeal and fervour of the Bishop, who was himself at that time actively spreading the truth of God, and indeed spared no expense in the preparation of books that might be conducive to this end.⁽¹⁴⁾ The knowledge of the Gospel was thus propagated far and wide. The brilliant fame of this great and comfortable work of God sounded through all France.⁽¹⁵⁾ To some it came as the sweet breath of life, while others found it instead a stumbling block and offence.⁽¹⁶⁾ However, in this church the seed sown began to flourish daily more and more. It yielded the richest fruit to the consolation and well-being of the elect. But at last Satan, prince of darkness, and the greatest foe to this wholesome light, perceiving that the ruin of his kingdom was imminent, called to action his familiar slaves. These were certainly the Franciscans. They summoned Bishop Briçonnet to judgment before the supreme Court⁽¹⁷⁾ on a charge of heresy.⁽¹⁸⁾ The doctors of the Sorbonne and other enemies of the truth readily joined their party. With such instruments to his hand Satan quickly conquered the faith of the Bishop; and, after attaining his defection, attacked the rest with all the more power. These however he found more firm and constant in the faith. Some of them were burnt, and among their number that man of whom we treated at the end of the first book. This Jaques Pavanes⁽²⁰⁾ began to teach the truth with such fervency of soul that he was the first to suffer death by fire in Paris. The chief ground for this punishment was his advocacy of that doctrine concerning the Supper which but few then recognized. Others were scourged, exposed with ignominy in a public place, or sent into exile, and cast out of the kingdom itself.⁽²¹⁾ In a word the enemies of the Gospel would never cease their work till all liberty to preach the truth should be taken away, till that wholesome understanding should be crushed, that lately risen light extinguished. Indeed no sooner had the Franciscans succeeded by persistent effort and bold scheming in the re-establishment of their accustomed assemblies, than they

The Franciscans forbidden to preach.

Briçonnet's defection from the Gospel.⁽¹⁹⁾

Jaques Pavanes.

Persecution of the people of Meaux.

began over again to thrust on the people their familiar falsehoods. Nevertheless, thorough and complete as were their attempts, they did not so far succeed as to eradicate the truth from those many hearts wherein its knowledge was fixed and imprinted; they could not wipe it out. Pious men in whose souls the fear of God along with that knowledge had found a home, saw clearly enough that the truth was banished from public places, as well as liberty to worship God in a simple worship.⁽²²⁾ They therefore began to hold among themselves secret assemblies, following the example of the prophets under Ahab's rule, and of those Christians who in the infant days of the church were forced by horrible persecutions to seek out hidden places of worship. So these men acting in the fear of God would meet together, sometimes at a house, again in some retired valley or cave, or indeed in the very thickets and forests, as the means and opportunity offered. At any such meeting or assemblage, that one among them who, they thought, had most knowledge and training in the holy Scripture, would comfort the others, giving them instruction and exhortation from the Divine word. When this office was performed they would then all join in cordial and fervent prayer to God. And there was continually nourished and fostered among them the hope that all France⁽²³⁾ would soon receive the Gospel and throw off the impious and wicked tyranny of Anti-christ. However, after long waiting, they came to see that the time was still far distant⁽²⁴⁾ when religion should be again cleansed of her impurities, and that on the other hand the foul superstitions and abominations introduced by the Pope daily grew and were more confirmed in the Church. Therefore very many of the more fervent in spirit, who, from their first reception of the doctrine, had kept themselves quite pure and undefiled from all idolatry of Masses, resolved in the year 1546 to establish among themselves a small and dutiful church on a certain model. They were impelled to this course mainly by the example of a French church which had been excellently established at Strasburg,⁽²⁵⁾ and was at that time famous far and wide for its religion. Some of them therefore visited this church, and carefully enquired into it.⁽²⁶⁾ The chief authors and regulators of this undertaking were: Estienne Mangin,⁽²⁶⁾ a very good man of advanced years; and Pierre LeClerc,⁽²⁷⁾ by skill and profession a carder, but exceedingly well versed in sacred literature, at least so far as it was treated in the French language. These men with some forty or fifty others took

Secret
assemblies
of the faithful.

A small
church
founded at
Meaux.

Mangin and
Le Clerc.

counsel together as to electing a minister from among them, who should preach to them the word of God and administer the sacraments. They did this in no spirit of rashness or levity; for they all with one consent first devoted several days to fasting and prayer; after which they proceeded to elect their minister, and Pierre LeClerc was chosen by their unanimous voice.^(27a) This man showed the greatest diligence in supporting the office so undertaken. He collected the people together to the house of Mangin⁽²⁸⁾ on the Lord's days and festivals. In such assemblies he would expound to them the scripture as God had imparted to him grace and power. At these meetings they united in prayer and supplication to God, and sang psalms and spiritual songs. They testified there that they never would give adherence to Papistical idolatries, after which they celebrated once or twice the holy Supper⁽²⁹⁾ as it had been established by Christ the Lord. So in a short time this small church increased to such degree that three hundred or four hundred of both sexes and of all ages were found flocking to it; and that not from the city only, but also from country districts to a circuit of five or six leagues.⁽³⁰⁾ This caused them to be forthwith discovered and watched by some mischievous persons. They were indeed warned by certain friends and kind people to be on their guard against the crafty devices in preparation for them. Their reply was, that even the hairs of their head were numbered and that would occur which to God might seem fit.⁽³¹⁾ In the year 1546 then⁽³²⁾ on the eighth of September, a day consecrated by the Papists for celebrating the nativity of the virgin Mary, there came to the magistrate at the seventh hour of the morning an informer, who declared that the congregation had already begun to collect. On receiving this information the magistrate⁽³³⁾ of the city came to the house of Mangin aforesaid. The Provost⁽³⁴⁾ also came with his escort and officials, as well as that officer whose duty is to superintend the apprehension and punishment of robbers throughout that district.⁽³⁵⁾ He also was encompassed by a strong band of attendants.⁽³⁶⁾ At this moment⁽³⁷⁾ Pierre LeClerc was in the midst of the congregation expounding a certain passage of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. The whole were gathered together in an upper room. The officers' attendants, who entered here, stood for some time in a silent group as if thunderstruck. At length the Examiner⁽³⁸⁾ put the question, what brought so many persons there and kept them from attending their own parishes. Merely that which thou seest,

The true
practice of
the Supper.

said LeClerc; But wait with patience until we bring these duties to a close. Then said the other officers of the Magistracy: Nay, but you must go to prison. Let us go, said he, if God has thought fit. At the same moment he suffered himself to be bound and tied. His gentleness was imitated by all the rest, both men and women, sixty two ⁽³⁹⁾ in number. Among these was a girl, as yet too young to understand the degree of animosity and oppression with which the truth of God's word was met. When she perceived that she was led away in bonds for being found at a meeting so good and holy, she said to the magistrate: If you had seized me in a disorderly house or in some shameful place, you would never have cared to constrain me with these bonds. The magistrate used his authority to silence her, and ordered the whole multitude to be brought into the city jail.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This was indeed a sight to wonder at, when so many persons of each sex were led away by so few, and shewed therein so much docility and willingness. For had they shown any will to resist, they could easily have been freed by their kinsfolk and neighbours who were in that city. So far were these, however, from meditating any violence or rebellion, that on the other hand their progress through the streets was blithe and cheerful. They sang psalms, and especially with uplifted voices the 79th: O God, the heathen are come. ⁽⁴¹⁾ As soon as they were shut up in the prison an enquiry was instituted into their impious meetings ⁽⁴²⁾ and conventicles, for, by such invidious and slanderous names, was designated their most sacred assemblage. Among other accusations this was brought as the gravest charge against them: that they had ventured to perform the Supper of the Lord. ⁽⁴³⁾ And as to this matter it would be vain indeed to ask what offence and exasperation ⁽⁴⁴⁾ the mere phrase would have aroused in the whole order of monks and priests. They saw here that their estimation was being destroyed; and further that their authority, hitherto inviolate and long guarded with such anxious care, was now slipping away into the hands of the unskilled. They saw also that the rich sacrifice, which among themselves was less a celebration of the memory of Christ than a careful preparation for the satisfaction of mere appetite, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ was already vanishing away in smoke. As soon as they had carefully enquired into every circumstance tending to overwhelm their defence, ⁽⁴⁶⁾ they placed them bound on carriages without so much as straw litter to give them a chance of repose; and brought them with

The independent speech of a girl.

A sight to move the wonder of angels and men.

People of Meaux taken away to Paris.

every care for speedy journey to Paris, no interruption or relaxation thereof being permitted. Notwithstanding that very many of them were already worn out by age and toil, as well as weakened by the exertion of the journey and motion of the vehicles, yet they ceased not to exhort and encourage each other by the way. On entering the city of Paris they still sang psalms on their way to the prison of the Palace, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ where they were received only to be further harassed by piteous torments. These inflictions were indeed heavy and unremitted; nay, they were most carefully selected for their severity, especially in the case of fourteen defendants who were condemned to death by the supreme court in Paris. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ This is amply established from the decision of the judges, which was then published in Paris to perpetuate the memory of the affair. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ Indeed that sentence comprehends the greatest judicial severity, especially against the fourteen men, who, being the most steadfast of all in the confession of their faith and of their holy doctrine, were therefore subject to the gravest accusations. These were ⁽⁵⁰⁾ Pierre LeClerc, Estienne Mangin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jean Brissebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honnoré, Jean Baudouin, Jean Flesche, Jean Piquery, Pierre Piquery, Jean Matheflon, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, and François LeClerc, who were all condemned to be first drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution ⁽⁵¹⁾ and then burnt alive in the great market place at Meaux close to the house of Mangin. Punishments of less severity, but still various in degree, were ordained for the rest, who were less conspicuous for their firmness and constancy in the pious doctrine they had adopted. These cases included both sexes. Some were beaten with rods and sent into exile; and it was ordained that others should be spectators of the bitter punishment suffered by those fourteen we have named, being themselves stationed in the greatest ignominy. One among them was ordered to be hung up by the armpits, his neck in a noose, and in that posture made a spectator of their extreme punishment. ⁽⁵²⁾ Indeed some women were condemned to look on in disgrace while the execution of the men was carried out. ⁽⁵³⁾ Finally it was decreed and ordained by the same court that the house of the aforesaid Mangin, which it was said had been used for their meetings, should be entirely razed to the ground, for a perpetual mark of their impiety, as it was pronounced to be. On that spot a chapel was to be reared, wherein the Mass should be celebrated on each Thursday, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ a service instituted for the adoration of

Judgment
of the Parle-
ment de
Paris.

Names of the
fourteen
who were
burnt.

Barbarous
rage against
buildings.

that chief god of the Papists which they falsely pretend is in the sacrament. The necessary supplies for this were to be furnished ⁽⁵⁶⁾ from the property and fortunes of those men whom they would cruelly spoil of everything, even life itself. Such are the glorious monuments of a Parisian Areopagitic Council, the injustice of which will be easily estimated by any one that has tolerably sound judgment. But let us see what was the subsequent management of the business after this decree was made. The counsellors of that chamber then having pronounced the sentence, Satan was not content with the blood of the innocent. He perceived that in fact nothing had been done of real benefit to his kingdom, nay, that he was vanquished and confounded should these remain steady in their confession of the truth they had adopted. He therefore tried by every argument to lead them away from their determined opinion, seeking to pervert their constancy which force could not break. At that time the Premier President of the Court was Pierre Liset, originator and contriver of all ill. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ He strove to persuade the rest of the senatorial judges that the fourteen who were condemned to death should be separated from one another and distributed among the monasteries, and that so the faith and constancy of each might be examined apart from the others. At last, having tried them by all methods and found their attempts powerless to weaken their resolution, and that it was impossible by any means to lead them from the opinions they had adopted, they handed them over to Gilles Bertelot, ⁽⁵⁷⁾ who at that time was Provost Marshal, to be brought back to Meaux for punishment. The fourteen aforesaid were placed in a vehicle by themselves; and, by way of molesting them in every way, and depriving them of all solace, two of the Sorbonne doctors ⁽⁵⁸⁾, Maillard and Picard ⁽⁵⁹⁾, mounted on mules, rode close to their carriages, and ceased not to bellow into their deafened ears such hateful words as might seduce them from the truth. This went so far that Pierre Le Clerc was moved with indignation, and said to Picard: Get thee from us Satan, and hinder us not from remembering and pondering on the benefits our God has given us. In the course of this journey, full as it was of all annoyance, an event by God's providence occurred which is assuredly memorable. It cheered and confirmed these unfortunate people, so wearied with every hardship both in soul and body, and their strength nearly worn out. As they passed through the forest of Livry, which is three leagues from Paris, a certain man, a master weaver, came out from the neighbouring

The witnesses of Christ are in their death victors over satan.

Maillard and Picard the Achilles of the priesthood.

Unhoped comfort.

village of Couberon to meet them. ^(59a) He followed their carriages and began exhorting them to hold fast the confession of the truth, saying: Be strong and of good courage, brethren and friends, and be not weary in that faithful testimony you owe to the Gospel. However, the carriages were moving forward at such a high speed that he could not be easily heard by those who were in front. So, raising his hand to heaven, he cried out: Brethren, remember him that is in heaven above. Then the escort and other attendants in the train of the Provost Marshal, deeming the man a Lutheran, ⁽⁶¹⁾ bound him fast, without any enquiry, and so cast him into the carriage where the fourteen were already in bonds. Such are the wonderful ways of the Lord, understood by none but those who make trial of his good will and providence. He ever relieves them in their infirmities and in their saddest tribulation. This man, who so appeared by God's goodness to them on their road, not only renewed their strength with his vigorous and zealous ardour, but also restored confirmed and refreshed their hearts by this latest proclamation of God's promises. Some of them avowed that new strength came to them by the unlooked for meeting with this man as if he had been an angel sent from heaven. Those who were silent through the weight of their grief began to lift up their heads and rejoice in the holy Spirit. Thus did this artizan, coming out of the forest solitude, animate them in their guardianship of the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. Shortly after this they came to the district called Livry ⁽⁶⁰⁾, where the people, pouring out from all the places round, on to the road by which the defendants had to travel, easily recognised that man who had come forward. Indeed some of them cried, saying that he was a Lutheran ⁽⁶¹⁾ and better deserved the punishment of fire than did those with whom he was placed. This moved the Provost Marshal and his escort to bind him more firmly. There is recounted a similar story of a certain martyr in the primitive church, who most willingly offered himself to share the punishment of those whom he saw being led to their death. Being unknown, he received the name of Adauctus ⁽⁶²⁾ because by him was increased the number of Jesus Christ's holiest martyrs and witnesses. On arriving at Meaux they shut them all up in the prison, and then began to interrogate them, with tortures extraordinary ⁽⁶³⁾ as they are called. This method was employed especially in the case of the aforesaid fourteen, to obtain the accusation of those who cherished the same doctrine. None

Christian
encourage-
ment from a
countryman

God's won-
derful provi-
dence.

God knows
how to de-
liver his
people from
trial.

A virtue
more than
human.

The absurd-
ity of tran-
substantia-
tion.

Mangin
spoke after
his tongue
was cut off.

The faithful
as sheep
appointed to
be slain.

however were named or accused by a word of theirs. In this inquisition their limbs were cruelly racked, and all but torn asunder, by the ministers of torture ; yet it is said that the executioners were exhorted by one of exceptional fortitude, who cried out to them not to spare the wretched body since it had so much resisted the spirit and will of the Creator. On the next day, ⁽⁶⁴⁾ whereon their punishment was to be carried out, the doctors of theology renewed the discussion with them, dealing especially with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But Picard and the rest were uncertain of their argument, and had nothing whatever to say when LeClerc asked them what was the ground for their transubstantiation, and whether in eating the bread or in drinking the wine they perceived any taste of flesh or of blood.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the end these terms were offered, that any who were willing to whisper into the ear of the priest, which is a phrase they use for confessing sins, should obtain some favour, and their tongues should not be cut off. Out of the fourteen above named, then, seven accepted this condition,⁽⁶⁶⁾ whether because they considered it of little moment, or because they thought they could by this stipulation redeem the privilege of speech. This caused profound sorrow to the others, whose resolution was never relaxed, nor their determination ever abandoned, for threat or promise. Now at the second hour of the afternoon, which had been fixed for the execution of their punishment, when they were led out of prison the executioner first demanded of Estienne Mangin to put forth his tongue. He put it forth in ready compliance. It was then cut off, and he, spitting out blood, yet spoke in a manner to be fairly understood, and prayed three times with such phrases as : Blessed be the name of the Lord. He was presently dragged upon a hurdle, as was LeClerc also. ⁽⁶¹⁾ ⁽⁶⁷⁾ ^(68a) The rest, however, were placed on a cart, and so carried off. Those that were not condemned to death followed close by on foot, to the great market place. Here were fourteen gibbets put up in a circle in the neighbourhood of Mangin's house.⁽⁶⁸⁾ A separate gibbet was also erected, a little further off, on which was to be hung up by his armpits a youth called Michel Piquery ⁽⁶⁹⁾ whose tender age, and the shame it would cause, saved him from being burnt. Then like lambs for the sacrifice these men were bound fast by the executioners. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Those whose tongues had been cut off still ceased not to call with stammering voice on the Lord ; while the others, who had the full use of speech, kept singing psalms. This threw the priests and monks present into a frenzy of

rage, who on their part struck up their monotonous chants; ⁽⁷²⁾ *Thema d bel-*
 O Salutaris Hostia, ⁽⁷³⁾ then, *Salve regina*, ⁽⁷⁴⁾ and other *lowing of the*
 like blasphemies. Nor did they leave off this impious and *priests.* ⁽⁷¹⁾
 insane singing until those most holy victims ⁽⁷⁶⁾ were burnt and
 consumed as a sacrifice of sweetest savour. On the following
 day, ⁽⁷⁶⁾ the eighth of the month, the adversaries, as if
 they had well conducted their operations, and were willing to
 bring the truth conquered and captive to adorn their triumph, *Public*
 arranged a magnificent procession. Here they carried round *prayer*
 that all healing idol of theirs ⁽⁷⁷⁾ accompanied by numberless *before the*
 torches and tapers lighted at the height of day. Arrived at *couches of*
 the place of execution, where the fire was still burning, they *the gods.* ⁽⁷⁸⁾
 there set up their idol. Picard then mounted a platform in
 the middle of the market place, covered with a canopy or
 golden integument, a splendid and comfortable protection
 for the head of some luxurious person. So placed, that
 remarkable theologian began after his wont to rage without
 measure against those on whom punishment had been carried
 out. His exhibition of anger went so far that he distinctly
 affirmed it was necessary to salvation to believe that they *Behold thy*
 were condemned to the pit of hell, ⁽⁷⁹⁾ and that, should an *Rhadaman-*
 angel from heaven say otherwise, he was to be rejected; nay, *thus.*
 that God himself would not be God unless he condemned them
 for ever. However, the wives of the burned men could never
 be brought to that opinion of their husbands, even on being
 liberated from prison. ⁽⁸⁰⁾ On the other hand they rather *The wives'*
 contended that during the whole time they had spent together *loyalty to*
 in this life, they had found their husbands blameless in the *their hus-*
 fear of the Lord and in true piety, and that this integrity *bands.*
 is generally the companion of eternal life. Now their enemies
 were not satiated nor contented with shedding the blood of
 these men, but summoned all their zeal and endeavour to the
 work of scattering the Lord's flock, of crushing and entirely
 wiping them out. Thus many of them, fugitives from this
 great and barbarous persecution, came into various towns near
 and distant. ⁽⁸¹⁾ This scattering and dispersing of the Church
 caused the Gospel to be more spread abroad. Each man took
 upon him the duty and study to use every occasion for con-
 fessing and testifying to the truth. Such was at Orleans ⁽⁸²⁾
 and other places the behaviour of Pharon Mangin ⁽⁸³⁾, who
 showed the greatest fervency of spirit; such also at Aubigny ⁽⁸⁴⁾
 was the conduct of Pierre called Bon-pain ⁽⁸⁵⁾ who soon after
 was burnt at Paris. ⁽⁸⁶⁾ *A benefit*
from the
dispersal of
the faithful.

Translation of certain passages from an old MS., in the Public Library at Meaux; entitled

"Antiquitez De la Ville de Meaux.

"..... Par Claude Rochard

"Mtre Chirurgien Juré et Chirurgien

"du grand Hotel Dieu dudit Meaux"

1721.

[At page 379 of the First Part.]

In the year 1546 on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady the Lieutenant General of the said Meaux who then was *Maitre* Philippe Rhumet, and the King's Attorney⁽⁸⁷⁾ who was *Maitre* Louis Cosset, were advised that at the *Marché* of the said Meaux were assembling many persons both from the said *Marché* and from the country, who held conventicles⁽⁸⁸⁾ at the abode of Estienne Mangin and that they entered the said house over the ramparts.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The said Lieutenant General and his King's Attorney having been advised hereof, they sent for the Provost of the city who was *Maitre* Adrien de la Personne, and all the sergeants⁽⁹⁰⁾ of the said Meaux, and with them the Provost Marshal, by name Gilles Berthelot, with all his archers⁽⁹¹⁾. In entering the said house they feigned that they would seize some persons who, they said, had stolen salt in some boats that were on the river. The assemblage of all these officers took place at the abode of *Maitre* Antoine du Guet an attorney dwelling in the *Place Saint Maur*.⁽⁹²⁾ As soon as they were all assembled they walked some by the *Grand Marché* and the others over the ramparts towards *la folie*.⁽⁹³⁾ The said *Sieur* Rhumet was the first to enter the house, and opened the upper room⁽⁹⁴⁾ where were assembled those whom they sought; and when he saw so large an assembly, not having his retinue near at hand, he certainly had some fear, as he afterwards owned.⁽⁹⁵⁾ At last he shut again the door of the said upper room and, while awaiting his band, he listened to what was being said. One of those that were within, called Pierre LeClerc, who was reading and explaining some text of the Bible, continued nevertheless, though they had perceived the said Lieutenant General, and though they even heard some noise from those who attended him. And at that moment when he was joined by those people they went in there armed; and, having made provision of ropes, they took and bound the said Estienne Mangin and all the others, whom they brought to the prisons of the castle of the said Meaux;⁽⁹⁶⁾ the number of which

prisoners, men as well as women, girls and lads of an age to marry, sixty; against whom charge was made; and being examined they were all brought into the Court with their charge; in which Court by judgment⁽⁸⁶⁾ made in the Chamber of Vacations, the said LeClerc, Mangin, and twelve other men were condemned to be burnt alive

[At page 397 of the same MS.] "Execution de l'arrest des "Quatorze Huguenots (^{86a}) Bruslez Vifs au grand Marché de "Meaux."

Following the said judgment and to cause it to be executed the seventh day of October in the said year 1546, the said imprisoned Blasphemers were put into the hands of Gilles Berthelot Provost Marshal (⁸⁷) who conducted and brought them, assisted by his lieutenants and archers, into the said town of Meaux on the said day. Two doctors were appointed by the said court or chamber namely *Maitre* Maillard and *Maitre* Picard who were conveyed to the said Meaux, to subdue and convert the said blasphemers. (^{87a}) And the next morning the Lieutenant General of the said Meaux, accompanied by the Lieutenant Particular (^{87b}), King's Attorney and Advocate, the Provost, with several other officers of justice in different ranks of the said Meaux (⁸⁸), caused the torture and *question extraordinaire* to be given to fourteen of the said Lutherans according to the import of the said sentence. On the said day people began to throw down and demolish the house of the said Estienne Mangin, where the said blasphemers had been found and made prisoners in the act of holding their conventicles; and before the said house the next following day of the said month they erected fourteen gibbets in a circle at the *Grand Marché* of the said Meaux; and in the midst of them was a great quantity of faggots, straw and gunpowder, brimstone, barks of timber; and close by there was a great platform for those who should not be punished with death, and who had to be present at the said execution; and around the said gibbets there was a barrier to place the officers of justice apart from the said blasphemers and heretics, on account of the great quantity of people at Meaux. And before the said Huguenots came from prison the tongues of eight (⁸⁹) of the

said blasphemers were cut off, because they would not confess at all nor turn to the Catholic faith, and died stubborn. On the said day the said blasphemers and heretics were brought to the said *Grand Marché*, to be executed. The Provost Marshal walked first with his lieutenants and archers, the said Mangin and LeClerc ^(68a) were seated each on a hurdle, ⁽⁶¹⁾ on which they were brought to the place of punishment; after went three carts whereon were the other heretical blasphemers, and after walked on foot the rest of the said prisoners; and behind them walked the said Lieutenants General and Particular, King's Attorney and Advocate, and the Provost of Meaux, with several advocates and attorneys and the chief merchants of the said Meaux, who accompanied them to the said *Marché*, and in this order they passed before the cathedral church of Saint Estienne. Being arrived at the *Grand Marché* the said fourteen heretical Blasphemers were bound with ropes and iron chains, each to a gibbet, by the executioner of the High Justice of the city of Paris with that of the *Baillage* ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ of the said Meaux; then they were raised into the air having their faces towards each other, their heads and breasts towards the fire, which was lighted shortly after, and were thus burnt alive. ^(100a) During the said execution a young lad called Louis Piquery ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ was continually in the air hung by the armpits to a gibbet which was near. There were sung: O Salutaris hostia, and other hymns in honour of God and of the glorious Virgin, wherein the priests and the people sang, and this was done until the said fourteen were burnt and fallen into the said fire. And that Piquery, after the execution, was beaten with rods by the executioner of the said Meaux. And upon a platform adjoining the said place of the execution were the rest of the poor imprudent people, who had been present at the diabolical readings, and at the blasphemies against the honour of God and of our mother holy Church. The which were to the number of thirty-six, ^(101a) both men and women, of whom there were four in shirts the rope round the neck, who ⁽¹⁰²⁾ were flogged and beaten with rods at the said *Grand Marché* and cross-roads (*), of the said Meaux, after which they were brought back to the prisons of the said place.

The next day there was made a general procession at the said Meaux, where was carried in great reverence the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. [First came] the scholars and other children of the said Meaux; thereafter the torches which were to the full number of 3000, or about, and perhaps more; after followed the clergymen, namely the monks of our Lady

of Chaage, and other monks of the said Meaux, each in his place and in very good order⁽¹⁰³⁾; after walked the chaplains and vicars of the said Meaux, and the Canons, with many clergymen both of the said Meaux and of other places who were in great number; and after was the precious body of Our Lord; then walked the said prisoners in order two and two; after them walked the officers of justice and governors of the said Meaux; after walked the citizens, holding in their hands each a torch; after walked many considerable gentlewomen and young ladies and citizens' ladies of the said City and *Grand Marché* of the said Meaux, bearing also each one a taper in their hands; and were in this order up to the place where the said execution was done. There was made a sermon, on the holy sacrament of the altar, by *Maitre François Picard*, and at that place was put a very rich altar⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ where lay the precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ. During the sermon the said heretics were on a platform placed near the spot where the preacher was, having each a torch in their hands, being in shirts, and the women barefooted, holding each a taper in their hands. The sermon being finished, the precious body of our Saviour was escorted again to the church of Saint Estienne where these criminals were again caused to kneel for some time.

Translation of a passage from the " Histoire de l'Église de Meaux par Dom Toussaints du Plessis, Benedictin " de la congregation de S. Maur."

Paris MDCCXXXI.

[NOTE.—This author earlier deals with the movement at Meaux under Briçonnet. And any student of that period of history, and especially of the local dispute, will do well to consult those pages. After further relating troubles which he attributes to the Concordat, as well as the contest between Bishop Jean de Buz and the convent of Faremoutier, and the anxious position of Meaux when the Emperor approached it in 1544, Toussaints du Plessis gives a short account of the affair of the Fourteen. The few marginal references, not necessary to translate here, are to *Lenfant*, and to Toussaints du Plessis' own work, *vide supra*, p. 2, and footnote.]

Toussaints du Plessis. Hist. de l'Égl: de Meaux, Tome I.
p: 348:—

XXXV. ARRÊT DES QUATORZE À MEAUX.

In the midst of these troubles the Church had to combat foes of another sort, over whom she could triumph only by encountering losses irreparable. In the diocese of Meaux the heretics were making specially dangerous progress. They held public assemblies for the practice of their religion. ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ They there set forth their doctrines on the gospel; even the laymen seeking to usurp the holy ministry. In 1546 a company of sixty were surprised at the house of one called Étienne Mangin, a carder of wool, at the *Grand Marché* of Meaux.⁽²⁶⁾ The Lieutenant General and the King's Attorney visited the place. They apprehended the people, the prosecution of whose case was taken before the *Parlement*. Since they were not all equally guilty, the judges awarded them divers kinds of punishment more or less severe. Étienne Mangin and thirteen others were condemned to be burnt alive at the *Grand Marché* after undergoing the *question extraordinaire*. He, and one called Pierre LeClerc, son or kinsman to one Jean LeClerc ⁽²¹⁾ ⁽²⁷⁾, of whom we have already spoken, being as culpable and as obstinate as Mangin, these two were dragged on hurdles ⁽⁵¹⁾ to the place of execution and the others brought in carts. A young child, called Louis Piguery ⁽⁵²⁾, whose tender age rendered him the less criminal, was condemned to be merely hung up by his armpits, then beaten at the hands of the executioner, and shut up for the

rest of his days in the abbey of S. Faron, at the charges of the Bishop of Meaux. He was converted in the sequel: the monks entrusted to him some occupation in the monastery; and, at his death, having given signs of sincere repentance, he was buried at the foot of the great porch (*portail*). Some of the others were condemned to the rod, and to banishment, after attending the execution of the fourteen prime (offenders), the rope on the neck. Others were only condemned to be present at that execution, head bare, and torch in hand; others to make *amende honorable* to God and to the law before the gate of the Cathedral Church, with heads bare, in shirts, and holding in the hand a burning taper; while some were merely to be present at a solemn procession, which should take place in reparation for that outrage. Lastly it was ordered that the house of Mangin should be demolished, and that, to perpetuate the memory of his sentence there should be built on the spot a chapel for a perpetual Thursday celebration of the high and solemn Mass of the holy sacrament. The decree was on the 7th of October executed in all its details except this last article, for which sufficient funds could not at that time be found.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The decree is of the 4th of October, 1546; and it is called at Meaux "*L'Arrêt des Quatorze*," from the fourteen chief offenders, who alone were condemned to death, but that of a sort to instil terror, and to serve for an example to all their accomplices.

Translation of the Judgment :

OR

" Arrêt de Meaux." (106a)

[NOTE.—The following is a translation of the judgment of the *Parlement de Paris* in the case of the Meaux congregation of 1546. The *Histoire des Martyrs*, 1582, and various other books, give more or less complete copies of that judgment. Compare *Toussaints du Plessis*, II, 292; and *Carro*, 510. In view of the slight differences among them, it seems best to use the official register itself. By the kind offices of M. Weias, (Secretary to the "*Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*," at Paris,) I have been furnished with a careful copy of the original *Arrêt de Meaux*, from the *Registres Criminels du Parlement de Paris*, in the *Archives Nationales*, at Paris; which I have translated literally below. Punctuation is here added for convenience of the reader.]

Monday fourth day of October the year fifteen hundred and forty-six in the *Chambre du domaine* with doors closed for consultation. The said day ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Whereas the Chamber prescribed by the King at vacation time has taken cognizance of ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ the criminal process made by the Bailly of Meaulx, or his Lieutenants General and Particular, against Pierre LeClerc, Estienne Mengin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jehan Brisebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honoré, Jehan Beaudouyn, Jehan Flesche, Jehan Picquery, Pierre Picquery, Jehan Matheflon, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, Francoys LeClerc, Loys Picquery, Jehan Vincent, Adrian Grongnet, Loys Coquement, Pasquier Fouace, Pierre Coquement, Jehan Delaborde, Claude Petitpain, Michel Dumont, Jehan Roussel, Pierre Javelle, Nicolas Fleury, Jehan Fournier, Georges Desprez, Nicolas de Moucy, Leonard LeRoy, Pasquette widow of the late Guillaume Picquery, Jehan Lemoyne, Jehan Atignan, Jehanne Cheron wife of Loys Coquement, Guillemecte wife of Jehan Saillard, Marguerite wife of Estienne Mengin, Martine wife of Pierre LeClerc, Pierre Darabye, Jaques LeVeau, Yvon Coignart, Jehan de Laurencerye the elder, Jehan de Laurenye the younger, Guillaume de Laurencerye, Denis Guillot, Pierre Chevallet, Phelippes Turpin, Jullienne wife of Pasquier Fouace, Jehanne Guillemintot, Bastienne wife of Thomas Honoré, Marguerite wife of Jehan Delestre, Marguerite Rossignol, Catherine daughter of Jehan Ricourt, Jehanne Gameuse, Guillemecte wife of Leonard LeRoy, Jehanne widow of the late Macé Rougebec, Jehanne wife of Nicolas Codet, Pauline widow of the late Adam Leconte, Marguerite widow of the late Jehan Vollent, Perrecte Mengin and Marion Mengin: ^(107a) all prisoners in

the *conciergerie* of the palace, by reason of the offences and crimes ^(107b) of heresy and execrable blasphemies, private conventicles, and illicit assemblies, schisms and errors bearing appearance of idolatry ^(107c): by them committed respectively in the house of Estienne Mengin, in which the said prisoners had assembled themselves and committed the said offences against the honour of our Saviour and Redeemer Jhesus Christ, of the holy sacrament of the altar, commandments of our mother holy Church, and her catholic doctrine. The conclusions taken upon this by the King's Attorney General: and all considered. It shall be pronounced that the said Chamber, for reparation of the said scandalous and pernicious offences and crimes more fully contained in the said process, ^(107d) has condemned and does condemn the said prisoners: that is to say the said Pierre LeClerc, Estienne Mengin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jehan Brisebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honoré, Jehan Baudouyn, Jehan Flesche, Jehan Picquery, Pierre Picquery, Jehan Matheflon, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, and Francoys LeClerc, to be burned and consumed by fire alive at the *Grant Marché* of Meaulx, at the place most convenient and near to that Mengin's house wherein the said offences and crimes have been committed. Whereto the said Pierre Leclerc and Mengin shall be dragged on a hurdle, and the others above named brought in carts from the place of the prisons of the said Meaulx, and the books found in their possession also consumed by fire. And has declared and does declare the property of those prisoners appropriated and confiscated to the King. The said Chamber nevertheless orders that before the execution of the said fourteen prisoners they shall be put to the torture and question extraordinary to declare and report their abettors ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ allies and accomplices, and other persons suspected of their sect and error. And the said Loys Picquery to be hung up by the armpits at a gibbet which shall be set and planted near and adjoining the place where is done the execution of the said fourteen prisoners condemned to the fire: on which gibbet he shall remain hung up during the said execution; and after shall be flogged at the said *Marché* by the executioner of the high Court of Justice; and that done, placed and shut up at the monastery of Saint Faron of the said Meaulx for ever at the costs of the Bishop of Meaulx. And the said Loys Coquement, Jehan Vincent, Adrian Grongnet, and Pasquier Fouace, to attend at the said execution by fire of the said condemned, the rope round the neck, and after to be beaten and flogged with rods, the said rope round the neck:

the said Coquemont and Fouace on three different days, having the rope round the neck: and the said Vincent and Grongnet once at the cross-roads of the said Meaulx: and again the said Grongnet to be flogged at the village of Sacy once at the cross-roads of the said place, the rope round the neck. And the said Chamber has banished and does banish them from out this realm for five years, on pain of the halter. Before which execution ^(108ⁱ) has condemned and does condemn them together: the said Pierre Coquemont, Jehan Delaborde, Pierre Petitpain, Michel Dumont, Jehan Roussel, Pierre Javelle, Nicolas Fleury, Jehan Fournier, Georges Desprez, Nicolas de Moucy, Leonard LeRoy, Pasquette widow of the late Guillaume Picquery, Jehan Lemoyne, Jehan Attignan, Jehanne Cheron wife of Loys Coquemont, Guillemecte wife of Jehan Saillart, Martine wife of the said Pierre LeClerc, and Marguerite wife of the said Estienne Mengin, for the offences and crimes by them committed, to attend at the execution of death of the said fourteen condemned; the men to have their heads bare: the said women being near to them, and separately, in such manner that people be able to distinguish them among the others: and that done, to make *amende honorable*: the men to have their feet and heads bare and to be in shirts: and the women to have their feet bare: before the principal gate of the cathedral church of the said Meaulx: having each of them in their hands a torch of wax lighted, of the weight of two pounds: and to say and declare each of them in a loud voice, that with folly temerity and indiscretion they had been present at the said conventicles held in the house of the said Estienne Mengin, to hear the readings ^(108^a) in French of the said Pierre LeClerc, for which they request mercy and pardon of God the King and Justice. Furthermore after the said *amendes honorables* the above named shall attend all having the said torches, at a general procession which shall be made at the said Meaulx for a grand solemn Mass which shall be said and celebrated in the said church, and at the discourse which shall be made there by a doctor in theology, exhorting the people: singularly and chiefly of the reverence and adoration of the precious body of our Lord Jhesus Christ, and veneration for the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary mother of God, and for the male and female Saints of Paradise: also ^(108^b) of the observance of the commandments of our mother holy Church, reverence for her doctrine, detestation and reprobation of the said conventicles and private assemblies, reading and interpretation by laymen and mechanics from books in French that

are reprobated and condemned, and dogmatizings, and erroneous discourses ^(108c) made by the said laymen upon the holy Gospels. Likewise the said Chamber has condemned and does condemn the said Pierre Darabye, Jaques LeVeau, Yvon Coignart, Jehan de Laurencerie the elder, Jehan de Laurencerye, Guillaume de Laurencerie, Denis Guillot, Pierre Chevallet, Phelippes Turpin, Julianne wife of Pasquier Fouace, for the said offences by them committed, to attend and be present, having each of them a taper of a *quarteron* of wax in their hands, at the said procession, Mass, and discourse; also to attend without taper at the execution of death upon the said fourteen condemned: the men alone to have their heads bare: and the women apart from the assembly, in such manner that they can be distinguished from among the others. And the said Jehanne Guillemillot, Bastienne wife of Thomas Honoré, to attend throughout at the discourse and Mass; and after the said discourse made, and the exhortations which are to be made (as) above named, to request and ask pardon of God, for the faults heretofore committed by them fully comprehended in the said process. And as to the said Marguerite wife of Jean Delestre, Marguerite Rossignol, ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ daughter of Jehan Ricourt, Guillemecte wife of Leonard LeRoy, and Jehanne Gameuse: the said Chamber has ordered and does order that for them the prisons shall be thrown open; and nevertheless ^(108d) has made and does make injunctions and prohibitions against being present hereafter at the discourses and readings of the said laymen, (at the) conventicles and illicit assemblies, on pain of the halter. And over and above the said Chamber has delivered and does deliver fully from the said prisons the said Jehanne widow of the late Macé Rougebec, Jehanne wife of Nicolas Codet, Pauline widow of the late Adam Leconte, Marguerite widow of the late Jehan Vollant, Perrecte and Marion Mengins. And in order that the said offences and crimes above named which have been committed in the house of the said Mengin, may be in perpetual detestation to all posterity, and that the memory of their punishment may remain for example, to furnish and induce, in the wicked, fear of committing like offences and crimes, and to invite and impel the good along the straight line of the catholic faith ⁽¹¹⁰⁾ and doctrine of our mother holy Church: ^(110a) has ordered and does order that the said house of the said Estienne Mengin, in which have been performed the said conventicles and forbidden readings of the holy scripture by the said Pierre LeClerc, presumptuously

and with temerity interpreting and expounding it, and also the said blasphemous and scandalous Supper, mentioned in the said process, bearing appearance of idolatry,^(110b) shall be thrown down and demolished wholly and entirely, and on the said spot shall be built and constructed a chapel which shall be dedicated and consecrated in honour of the holy sacrament of the altar: Wherein shall be celebrated a grand Mass of the said holy sacrament every Thursday, at the hour of seven: And to found this, the said Chamber has ordered and does order that such sum of money shall be taken as shall be advised by the Bailly of Meaulx or his Lieutenants General and Particular, [having] called with them the Advocate and Attorney of the King to the tribunal, upon the confiscated property of the said prisoners. And the said Chamber, being duly informed, that from day to day that unhappy and damnable Lutheran sect, and others like [it] heretical, increase greatly in the said town and diocese of Meaulx, and that there are a great number of them who are secretly and hiddenly tainted and infected therewith: has ordered and does order that both in the said town of Meaulx, after the execution of the aforesaid, and at those other towns of that jurisdiction⁽¹¹¹⁾ at which there is a royal tribunal having direct dependency on the Court, ^(111a) shall be published with sound of trumpet and by public crier,⁽¹¹²⁾ provisionally and until otherwise provided by the king or his Court of *Parlement* in session, that it has forbidden and forbids all the subjects of the said *Seigneur* living within the said jurisdiction to say and maintain in public or in secret any erroneous or scandalous talk and blasphemy against the honour of God, of the holy sacrament of the altar, and of the very holy Virgin mother of God, of the male and female Saints of Paradise, and other sacraments commandments and doctrines of our mother holy catholic Church: and that on pain of being consumed by fire or otherwise grievously punished according as the nature and gravity of the said crimes require, without any hope of mitigation of penalty afterwards. And furthermore, considering the great suspicion that one may have both by the said process and by several other experiences which have been known in the said Court of *Parlement*, that there are still many Lutherans and heretics at the said Meaulx and in very great number; and that it is enjoined on the Bishops by the holy Council of Lateran⁽¹¹³⁾ to use diligence in making enquiries or causing enquiries to be made against all those who are suspected of heresy or who are found dissidents from the usual manner of living of the true catholic

christians; and that of the said Council of Lateran and other holy Councils the very christian King is conservator and his Court of *Parlement*: The said Chamber provisionally and until by the King or the said Court in session shall be otherwise ordered, has enjoined and does enjoin the said Bishop of Meaulx to execute or cause to be executed the content of the said Council of Lateran, both in the said town of Meaulx and other places of his diocese, and cause inquest diligently and secretly to be made by good and sufficient persons against all those who are tainted with that unhappy and pernicious sect and heresy; and to proceed against those who are subject to his cognizance and power, as are persons ecclesiastic who are in holy orders: and as far as degradation, if it comes to that and the case requires it: and as to the lay and clerical persons not having holy orders, of whom the cognizance belongs to the lay judges by the King's edict, to warn thereof the judges of the said *Seigneur*, and to send to them the charges and informations, or the duplicate of them, which shall have been made by his judges and officers, so that those informations considered by the said lay judges may be there carried on with the greatest diligence possible, as it shall reasonably befit. And meanwhile has the said Chamber charged all the residents in the said town of Meaulx and within the diocese of the said Meaulx, to bring or cause to be brought within eight days after the publication of this present judgment, all the books which they have in French of the holy Scripture, or concerning the christian doctrine, to the registry of the bailliage of Meaulx, and this on pain of forfeiture of body and property: to be there kept and set apart, to the end that by the said Chamber or the said Court in session may be ordered concerning them that which shall reasonably befit. And charges the said Bailly and Lieutenants General and Particular of the said Meaulx, to prosecute diligently those who shall not have obeyed the said order: and the King's Advocate and Attorney at the said tribunal to do the duties of solicitor and prosecutor therein, and to cause the informations to be sent *lightly* ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ closed and sealed to the registry of the said Court in order that when they are considered ^(114a) orders and proceedings may be taken against the disobedient so as it shall reasonably befit. Beyond this, the said chamber exhorts the said Bishop of Meaulx, in order to prevent the said pestilent sect from the power of further progress, to assign some good and notable persons, doctors in theology, learned and expert in discourses and instructions of the people, for the purpose that, in the Cathedral and parochial

churches of the said Meaulx and in all the other parochial churches of the said diocese, they may carefully exhort and admonish the inhabitants and residents in all the said diocese, to keep observe and revere the holy catholic faith, prevent oppose and contradict the unhappy heretics, who wish to impugn it, and disclose them to justice so as to attain their chastisement. And also to take pains by good and holy remonstrances and admonitions, to restore (^{114b}) those who are tainted with them to the light of the holy catholic faith, and to leave the shades of the unhappy Lutheran sect, and other heresies which have been scattered heretofore in the said town and diocese of Meaulx against the honour of the blessed Saviour, faith and doctrine of the catholic Church. And to put the present judgment into execution according to the form and tenour, the Chamber has sent and does send the prisoners back before the said Bailly of Meaulx or his said Lieutenants. At which execution shall attend also the King's Advocate and Attorney.

P. LIZET. (¹¹⁵)

DEZASSES. (¹¹⁶)

And nevertheless is reserved in the mind of the Court (^{116a}) that if the said Loys Picquery show hereafter by token of word or deed that he is obstinate or pertinacious in the said errors, in that case the Chamber has condemned him to be consumed alive by fire, as the others.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

And nevertheless is reserved in the mind of the court (^{116a}) that if the said prisoners condemned to death persist in their errors, and do not turn again and accept conversion, (¹¹⁷) as is required, to God and to his holy catholic faith, declaring that they have greatly trespassed, and would go on and say any scandalous talk, the tongue of him or of those among them who remain obstinate and pertinacious shall be cut off, upon leaving the prison or at the place where they begin to blaspheme and to speak against the holy catholic faith.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

And also is reserved in the mind of the court (^{116a}) that where the goods of the said condemned to death, which have been confiscated by this present judgment, did not suffice (^{117a}) for the construction and endowment of the chapel, the Attorney General of the King and the Bishop of Meaulx having been heard, if it is found that there has been notable negligence in the Bishop, and that (he) has not had such diligence as he is responsible for (¹¹⁸) by the holy decrees, he shall be bound to make good what remains for the construction, erection, and endowment of the said chapel.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

Notes.

NOTE 1 :—

JEAN CRESPIN, AND THE ACTIONES MARTYRUM :—Jean Crespin, the historian of Protestant Martyrs, was born at Arras very early in the sixteenth century. After imbibing at Louvain university some of the new ideas then agitating the religious world, he went to Paris, where he adopted the profession of advocate. He was present at the martyrdom of Claude LePeintre in 1540, and was deeply impressed with the young man's constancy. It is said that on that occasion he conceived the project of his great work. He returned to his birthplace in 1544, and fell under suspicion of heterodoxy. During his absence at Tournay, which he visited in 1545, sentence of banishment from Artois was pronounced against him. He went to Strasburg in that year and was well received by Bucer. In the same year he seems to have addressed to Calvin some exhortation or encouragement to activity. We may suppose that he there had personal knowledge of Estienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc; for the deputation from Meaux visited Strasburg, in 1546, before the terrible event which he relates in this chapter. In 1548, Crespin arrived at Geneva with Théodore de Bèze and other friends. Here he settled his family, founded his printing establishment, and carried out his intention to publish a history of the Martyrs. This did not prevent his partaking in the reform movement at his own birth-place in 1566, nor his visiting Antwerp in the same and also in a later year. On his return to Geneva he busied himself with protestant books composed in, or translated into French. He was a good lawyer, and well versed in literature both Greek and Latin. His *chef d'œuvre* is the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," little known in England, but a great authority among the French protestants. It had an immense sale in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We are told that it was, with the Huguenots, almost as constant a fireside companion as the Bible or the Psalter. Preachers quoted it in the pulpit; and in many churches it was publicly read at the evening service. The

first edition is said to have been "*Le livre des Martyrs*," published in 1554. There was a Latin translation by Baduellus, called "*Actu Martyrum*," in 1556. Another Latin edition, called "*Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum*," appeared in 1560, from which I have here translated into English the chapter on the Meaux Martyrs of 1546. There were subsequent French editions, generally entitled "*Histoire des Martyrs*," of which the chief were dated respectively: 1570, 1582, (a most handsome volume), 1597, 1608, and 1619. Several of these, including "*Le livre des Martyrs*" 1554, I have not had the advantage of seeing. The 1619 edition, a folio volume of 1760 pages, was the basis of a careful modern publication at Toulouse in 1885 etc. I am indebted to this last book for facts concerning Crespin and his great work, as well as for other assistance.

The copy used for the present translation is of the Latin edition, 1560, quarto. The paper is thin; the print a firm italic almost throughout, and excellently set. The pagination is on one side only; and this highly interesting edition lacks the elegance of 1556. The title page is unusual. It bears sensational representation of martyrdoms, surmounted by the clouds of heaven. Above these clouds, which shed a ray of blessing downwards, appear celestial figures distributing martyrs' crowns. The very device of Crespin in the centre of the page, representing as usual the anchor, with shank and stock entwined and surmounted by the serpent, the shank flanked by the letters I C, and grasped by hands wreathed in smoke, even that elaborately symbolic device is, in this edition, amplified, by the open sea appearing below it, and supporting certain prodigious figures. A Greek and Latin motto, on opposite margins of this page, prays the reader to bear witness to the fidelity of Christ's followers. There are numerous marginal notes to the text.

Crespin died in 1572, (which was also the year of the St. Bartholomew); and Eustache Vignon, his son in law, took up the management of the press.

I do not know any English translation or edition of Crespin's work, except the abridged or arranged book, called "Popish Tyranny etc," by Maddock, (London, 1780). The translation of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*" 1619, which Haag (*La France protestante*: "Crespin,") says was made in 1764, I have not seen. It is, however, highly interesting to find the English Wicleff named, with Huss, in the title to the "*Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum*," as the point from which that history starts.

NOTE 2:—

OPPIDUM MELDENSE: MEAUX EN BRIE:—Meaux, Meldae, the Roman Fixtuinum or Jatinum, was in early times the chief town of two districts: namely the *Pagus Meldicus* northward; and the *Pagus Brigensis* southward, so named from “Brige” (according to Toussaints du Plessis) a Celtic word for “Bridge.” This town suffered from famine in the struggles between Huns and Romans, between Gauls and Franks. Its sufferings were relieved by the sainted, and still remembered, Celine. Clovis obtained possession of the town in 486. Meaux was the seat of an ancient and important bishopric, in which diocese arose many abbeys and monasteries, the first being the abbey of Faremoutier (or Eboriac) founded about 617. Sometime probably about the year 700, Wilfrid, the Yorkshire Bishop, and advocate of Roman authority, falling sick on a journey through Gaul, was brought to Meaux. Here, say the “Offices of St. Wilfrid,” (Whitham’s Edition, Ripon, 1893: pp. 22, 23,) the Angel Michael appeared to him. The town of Meaux was sacked and burnt by the Normans in 862, and again, after a vigorous resistance, in 888. Upon these disasters closely followed a number of petty wars, and bad seasons, so that famine and pestilence wasted the district during the first half of the eleventh century. In the tenth century the discipline of the Church at Meaux had fallen to a very low point, but was reformed by Bishop Gilbert. Certain small councils took place here, in and after the year 1080, exhibiting disputes and excommunications. About this time, several hardy adventurers from Meaux, having, under their leader Gamel, rendered good service to the Norman Conqueror of Britain, were rewarded with a settlement on the Humber in Yorkshire. I hope antiquarians may be able to settle the question, curious to any Yorkshireman, of the origin of the names “Brie” and “Eboriac”, discussed by Toussaints du Plessis, Tome, I, Note xvii. In 1179 Meaux received a communal charter, and, about the same time, became the seat of a “*grand baillage*.” From the 12th century onward, the poor were cared for, in the reorganization of the old Saint Lazare, and foundation of several hospitals and charities.

It is thought that, anciently, the river Marne took a somewhat different course, and a wider sweep, than at present. Possibly this is still traceable in a tiny water-course, partly seen in the Sketch Plan, and leading out NNE. from the fosse on the east of the town. But Carro considers it almost certain, from an old cartulary which he cites, that (even if not long before) yet in the thirteenth century the present bed of the

river was represented at least by a considerable branch, (see *Histoire de Meaux*, 12, 112, 507). The *Marché*, thereby cut off from the town, and long so striking a feature of the place, seems to have received its first fortifications from the *Comte de Champagne*; whom we find in that century in serious disagreement with the Bishop of Meaux.

The place was now conspicuously the key to the River Marne; and the Town might have shewn a more confident front to the *Jacquerie* of the fourteenth century, but for disputes between the citizens on the right bank and the *Marché* on the left. The nobles however, who maintained themselves within the Fortifications of the *Marché*, issued therefrom, slew nearly seven thousand of the insurgents, and fired the town. In the next century the garrison and inhabitants of Meaux offered a stubborn resistance to the English King Henry V, and distinguished themselves by enduring a siege of seven months: first defending the entire place, and at last making the *Marché* their citadel. The mills in the river could at last no longer supply food; and, after several assaults, the garrison capitulated on the 11th May, 1422. Meaux remained for seventeen years under English rule. In 1439 the *Marché* sustained an attack from French troops established in the town; and the English garrison eventually withdrew to Rouen. The end of the fifteenth century was marked at Meaux by perpetual struggles between the Regular clergy and the Episcopal authority, and vain reforms attempted by the latter.

The opening of the sixteenth century shows this diocese under Bishop Briçonnet taking the lead in the new movement; and, soon after, furnishing even an organized congregation of Gospellers, or "Reformed" Church, under Mangin and LeClerc, whose punishment is related by Crespin. The speedy rise of the Gospellers here had been no doubt partially due to the proximity of the Flemish and Lorraine frontiers, and some community of trade, favouring intercourse of ideas. In the campaign of 1544 the advance guards of the Emperor Charles V arrived at La Ferté; and, before the peace of Crespy, the district was in imminent peril of furnishing a battle ground for three great nations. The vigour of the new ideas, soon supported by a section of the nobles, is seen in the year 1554, when a marriage "*à la façon de Genève*" was celebrated in the *Marché*, then almost entirely Protestant. In subsequent years the religious dispute became further embittered. A domiciliary and iconoclastic warfare, on both sides of the river, prevailed; and eventually the fortifications of the *Marché* were partly destroyed by Royal authority. In 1567 an escort of six thousand Swiss

joined the King at Meaux, saving him from the proposed *Coup de main* of Prince Condé. In 1572 Meaux was afflicted with the horrors of the St. Bartholomew Massacre and pillage, and in 1577 the Catholic League was sworn here. The end of the world was expected in 1580; when an Aurora Borealis caused all the church bells to be rung, and peremptorily compelled the populace to prayer. The Royal troops attacked Meaux in 1589, and took the *Marché*, but on the approach of the League's reinforcements, presently retired from it. The civil war, so dubious for the cause of religion on either side, made sad havoc about this place, and the town could scarcely hold the houseless refugees from suburb and country, as well as the Lanzknechts, or other troops, so constantly marching through. Meaux offered her submission to King Henri IV in December 1593, and was the first city that opened her gates to him in 1594.

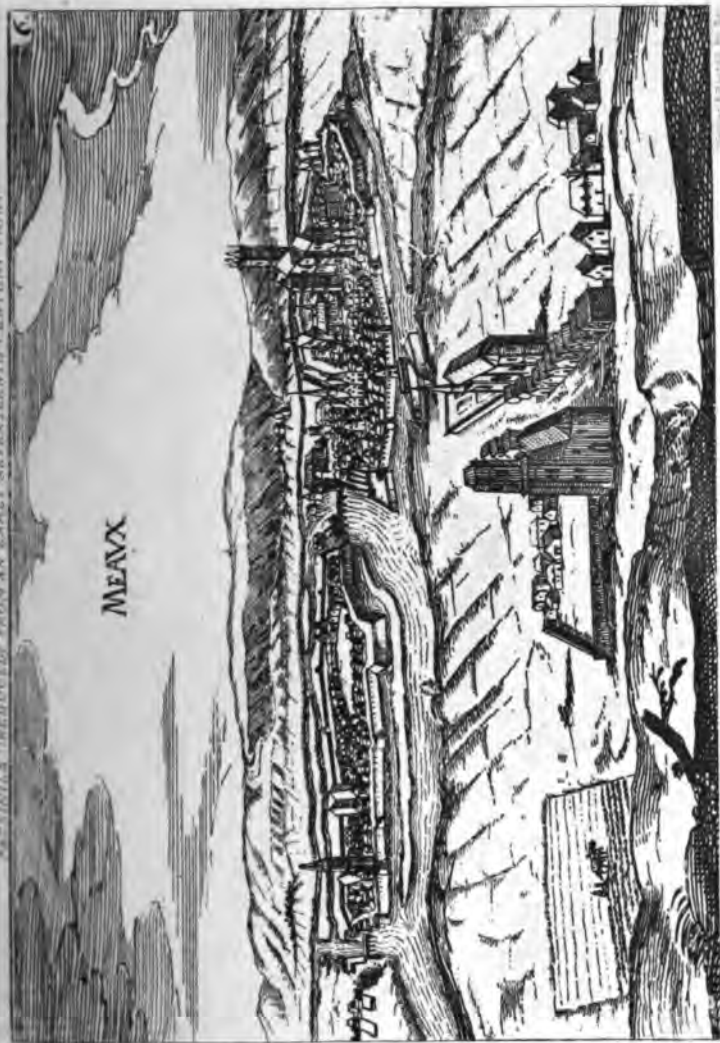
Almost a century after Briçonnet, a fresh religious movement took place at Meaux. Here again was the reform of the clergy zealously and firmly pursued by Vieupont; whose mantle, with some of his spirit, descended upon Bishop Belleau in 1633. The See was later occupied by the brilliant Bossuet, who was not prevented by his literary abstraction from dealing practically with the individual affairs of the diocese, or with the Religious houses. Some of these were by no means examples of conduct, and they still here and there, as for instance the Jouarre Convent, propounded their allegiance to the Pope alone, offering a grotesque resistance to both Gallican Bishop and *Parlement*. The same episcopate saw the loss of nearly a thousand families, driven away by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685: a severe blow to the woollen and agricultural industries.

In the earlier and middle part of the next century, Meaux was free enough from the disturbances of war and religion, to concern herself busily with municipal affairs, as well as with literature and other arts. We find a certain Mangin of Mitry in this district, an architect of fame, who attempted perhaps a less refractory problem, than did old Étienne Mangin of Meaux in 1546. Commerce also seemed to attain a satisfactory progress; and the trade in corn, meal, and wool, as well as the making of the celebrated *Fromage de Brie*, lent prosperity to the neighbourhood. The growing weight of the commoners, or *Tiers État*, became pretty clear at Meaux as this unstable age wore on. The recommendations for the new Constitution shewed a conciliatory moderation on the part of the Nobles of the district, and substantial, though not complete, agreement by the Clergy and the *Tiers État* respectively.

Events at Paris broke the treacherous calm throughout France. On the 4th of September, 1792, a body of armed men from Paris visited Meaux, inflamed the roughs of the town, and extorted from the Council the liberation of two debtors. They even demanded the names of other prisoners, or, by way of compromise, their immediate trial and death sentence at the hands of the Council itself. Such fantastic insolence being firmly resisted by the officers of the town, the mob took all on themselves, straightway seized the prison, and murdered seven priests and seven other captives. Perhaps some reader will find a fatal irony in the number fourteen, and remember the tragedy near two hundred and fifty years earlier. We may, however, heartily join with Carro, the historian of the town, in praising the sane moderation generally shown by its representatives during this giddy and spasmodic period. But these could not either ignore the *Sansculottes de S. Martin*, or arrest the general democratic tyranny; which not only exacted from all officials an oath of eternal hatred for Royalty, minted the Ecclesiastical vessels, shut up the Churches, and curiously turned the Cathedral into a Temple of Reason, but, further, treated each individual as a child, fixed prices and wages by law, and imposed excessive and arbitrary requisitions.

This political fashion was fortunately followed by one that paid attention to the real instruction of real children in the schools. The speedy relaxation of ignorant and ambitious methods soon led to the Royalist reaction, which itself again called forth a recrudescence of the Democratic inquisition. But the air was possibly clearer when the nineteenth century opened, and a *sous-préfet* was duly proclaimed at Meaux, under the brand new Consular Constitution.

M. Carro, to whose careful "*Histoire de Meaux*" I am deeply indebted, remarks with perspicacity that, though the people of that district have constantly reflected the influences of dominant power civil and religious, yet, when left to themselves, they have shown energy and goodness of heart: the latter in benefits to the unfortunate, the former in resistance to oppression and to foreign invasion. Since he wrote, yet another vast catastrophe has swept over this district, which neither of those qualities could in the slightest avert. The great international contest, of 1870 and 1871, filled this place with German foes for 377 days, and the city is thought to have lost in that year 1,500,000 francs.



*Meux from the Eastward. Early Seventeenth Century.
The Portion to the left showing an open place is the Grand Marché.*

NOTE 3:—

SENIORITY OF THE MEAUX "REFORMED" CHURCH:—The phrase used in the text doubtless conveys a priority of importance. As regards priority of date it would seemingly be as fitting.

Although we may quite agree with Doctor Johnson, that the discovery of two apples and three pears in an orchard would not justify the assertion that there was fruit there,* yet the story related by Crespin, and confirmed by many writers, indicates that at Meaux was planted, if soon again uprooted, the first tree of a fruitful orchard.

As to the commanding influence of certain early preachings and discussions in the town and diocese of Meaux, historians seem agreed. The fact that this place was the cradle of the French Reformation is doubtless generally accepted; and so intimates a writer in the "*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*" (Tome: XV, p. 148). D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation contains constant allusions to Meaux as a central influence in France in early days. Baird's History of the Rise of the Huguenots traces the Reformatory movement in France to the University of Paris, whose remarkable teacher Lefèvre joined Briçonnet at Meaux. (Rise of the Huguenots, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 67 etc.) Maimbourg says that certain of Briçonnet's subordinates had taken advantage of his authority to lay at Meaux the foundations of a Lutheran-Zwinglian heresy, which had since unhappily spread through a great part of the kingdom. (*Histoire du Calvinisme*, 1682, pp. 12, 13). The "*Luthériens de Meaux*" were proverbial. (*Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées*; Edition 1883 etc., Tome I, p. 67.) The Benedictine historian, Dom Toussaints du Plessis says, with obvious grief:—"Le diocèse de Meaux est le premier qui ait eu le malheur d'ouvrir son sein aux novateurs." (*Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*, Tome I, p. 325). Sismondi and Michelet, in the course of their several histories, indicate the importance they attach to that movement. (Sismondi "*Histoire des Français*," Tome XVI, pp. 113, 114). (Michelet "*Histoire de France*," 1857, Vol. VIII, pp. 144, 180, etc.).

A passage in Baird (I. 253), introducing his account of the martyrdom, seems to imply that there had been several congregations in this diocese of Meaux. Doubtless there were several Gospellers' congregations of some kind in France at this time. Had they any organization or permanent plan? From the story told in the text, and cited by Baird, it would seem

* Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson. Edition 1823: Vol. II, pp. 96, 97.

not. At Meaux was adopted in 1546, by the congregation there, a definite scheme of organization modelled on that of the Refugee Church at Strasburg, which can be fairly described to day. [See text above, and notes hereafter.] Meaux was thus aligned with the great Strasburg movement. It should be remarked that the phrase used by the "*Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*" is "*Ecclesiola*."

This adventurous act was immediately visited by the authorities with a crushing punishment. The reader will, however, find that the French movement went on and increased. There was a small and influential "*Église*" at Orleans from 1547 [*Bulletin*, Tome XVIII, p. 122.] And we are told that, at the end of the reign of Francis I, the reformation had penetrated to seventeen provinces or sub-divisions of provinces, and into about thirty-three towns. [*Bulletin*, 6th year, p. 171; where also may be found a list, headed by Meaux in the Champagne.] What organization each of these congregations adopted I cannot say. Eventually in 1555, (nine years after the Meaux affair,) a church, also on the Strasburg model, was founded at Paris; at which city in 1559 took place a great Synod of the "Reformed" Churches in France. [Cf. *Hist. Ecclés. d. Égl. Réf.*, 1883, Tome I, pp. 119, 120 and footnote. *Hist. du Synode Général*, etc. Paris, 1872, p. XIII.]

To restore the ruins of the Meaux organization of 1546 was, after the foundation of the Paris church, undertaken by La Chasse, a missionary from Paris. (*Hist. Ecclés. ibid.* p. 121.)

The Society of the Waldenses, or *Vaudois*,* whether Calvin borrowed from it or not, must, with its own peculiar traditions, with its own reformation, be considered a somewhat distinct phenomenon. In a former age, these preachers of poverty and religion had spread their influence over a large part of Europe, but had, by persecution, been driven to use for some time a still precarious refuge, about the Alpine regions of Dauphiny and Piedmont. Early in the sixteenth century their deputies, Morel and Masson, attended a conference with German and Swiss reformers. In 1532 the Waldenses held a synod at Chanforans in the valley of the Angrogne. They then quite renounced the Roman authority, and assimilated themselves to the Swiss congregations. In 1545 they suffered a brutal massacre at the hands of Minier Baron d'Oppède. How far

* Compare the *Hist. Ecclés.* as to the antiquity, and the 1541 confession, of the *Vaudois* (Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 47.) The origin of the Society is in some dispute. See Comba's History of the Waldenses of Italy, (English Edition, 1889).

indignation at this led to any organization of the protestant movement in France proper, or especially in the East French group of towns, such as Meaux, Sens, and Senlis, would nowadays be a most difficult enquiry. [See the "*Bulletin*," 6th year, p. 172; and compare Maimbourg, pp. 77, 78.]

The Paris church of 1555, above named, has been rather rashly designated the first French protestant church. And an obvious misprint of one figure in Bernard Picart's "*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses etc.*" (Amsterdam, 1733, Tome. 3., p. 298) antedates the foundation of even that Church by ten years. For "*La Riviere*," there mentioned as minister, can hardly fail to be that *Sieur de la Riviere*, who is celebrated by the *Histoire des Martyrs* as having, at the early age of twenty-two, founded the Paris church of 1555. (Compare also *Hist: Ecclés: d. Egl: réf: Edition 1883, Tome I, pp. 118, 119*). Again, I do not know the authority for a phrase in the "*Bulletin*" (6th year, p. 172) which seems to attribute to Senlis the formation of the first church in 1546; though it plainly appears from the *Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées* [Ed: 1883, Tome I, p. 70], that certain meetings for prayer at Senlis received help from refugees, after the dispersal of the Meaux church. A critique on Carro's *Histoire de Meaux*, in another number of the "*Bulletin*" (15th year p. 149.) calls the congregation surprised at Meaux in 1546 "*la première assemblée huguenote*." [As to the phrase "*Huguenot*" see note 96a.]

In point of fact "Church," "Église," "Ecclesia," are words easily used in a loose sense. We know what disputes may arise by the mere mention of Church "Catholic," "Roman," "Greek," "Anglican," "Gallican," and so on. Churches "Lutheran" or "Reformed" would seem to most people in the early sixteenth century fantastic or impossible; and the extreme reformers of doctrine and discipline, entertaining a transcendental, or spiritual, view of the "Church," were themselves probably careless to define the word exactly in its other, easier, concrete sense, as applied to any visible organization. The phrase has then been used later, perhaps, rather vaguely in the case of these Gospellers' Congregations, which, with less or more stability, had not yet the desired cohesive strength given by discipline on a common plan. The *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées* itself speaks of the "Église" at Meaux, of 1523, immediately before describing that "*Première organisation d'une Église en France*," of 1546. [See Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 67; marginal notes].

The introduction of system, or plan, was evidently the great point. It is doubtless due to Calvin that such a plan was adopted. And, in the strict sense of being a real unit in the developing series of "Reformed" Churches, Meaux had (within France) apparently some seniority, as she had among the earlier assemblages of Gossellers, out of which that unit had appeared.

A marginal note, above mentioned, to the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées*," (Edition 1883, Tome I. p. 67), indicates the congregation of 1546 at Meaux as the first organization of such a Church in France. It is evidently the opinion of Baird, [Vol. I. 253, etc.] There seems every reason to accept this as correct. It is agreeable to the natural likelihood of the situation, and to the swift, severe, and wholesale punishment which followed. [See notes 1 and 86. Also *Hist. d. Mart.*, Toulouse edition, p. 536, footnote.]

NOTE 4:—

Industries have flourished at Meaux for centuries, particularly those connected with wool and agricultural produce. Some ancient mills still stand in the river. The town is, however, distinguished also in ecclesiastical and military history; and Carro tells us that Meaux swarmed with lawyers in 1536.

Hist. de Meaux, p. 190). A thousand troubles and distractions have not destroyed the energy of the people, who can to-day show a prosperous and industrious condition. The population is now about twelve thousand.

NOTE 5:—

GUILLIEMUS BRIÇONNETUS:—Guillaume Briçonnet: Comte de Montbrun: Bishop successively of Lodève and of Meaux. He was in 1507 appointed to the Abbey of S. Germain, and in the same year sent by Louis XII as ambassador to Rome. He early showed a love of learning, and desire for ecclesiastical reform, introducing, against great opposition, some amendments within his abbey. He attended the Councils both of Pisa and of the Lateran. It has been suggested that he had much to do with the adoption of the Concordat. This seems uncertain. [Compare "*Notice héraldique sur les Evêques de Meaux*," Longpérier, Meaux, 1876, p. 77; and "*Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets*," Bretonneau, Paris, 1621, p. 139]. He was indeed in 1516 appointed Bishop of Meaux, and again accredited to Rome as Ambassador of King Francis I. Crespin's account evidently commences with

Briçonnet's return to Meaux in 1518, when he at once took up the duties of his diocese.

The Bishop's famous correspondence with Marguerite, sister to the king, though clothed with a mystical, or at least metaphorical, mannerism, is thought to show a mind or heart of high aspiration. Bretonneau's "*Histoire généalogique*," above cited, has a title page illustrated with portraits. That of Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, is striking. The face is well proportioned, distinct, and distinguished. The nose is aquiline; the mouth well formed and expressive; the eyes large; forehead not remarkably high; the eyebrows high and firm; cheek bones rather pronounced; chin firm but delicate. There is great distance from eye to ear. The expression is anxious and careworn.

NOTE 6.

Briçonnet, upon his return from Rome in 1518, immediately took measures to restore the ancient discipline of the church. See "*Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets*," (Bretonneau, above cited, pp. 132, etc.), and "*Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*" (Dom Toussaints du Plessis, 1731, Tome I, pp. 326 etc.). He found that his parochial clergy were generally absent, and indeed that barely fourteen in the whole diocese were capable of duly teaching the people and administering the sacraments. From note XLV in Toussaints Du Plessis' first volume, we gather that the diocese included about two hundred parishes. The Bishop's first determination, accordingly, was to enjoin on his *curés* the duty of residence; which he did, with and without penalties attached, at several Synods held: on 13th October, 1518, 7th January and 27th October, 1520, and again in 1526. Toussaints du Plessis, usually so careful in detail, is not quite distinct as to the actual extent of the Visitations also held by the Bishop. A passage on pages 328, 329, of Tome 1, seems to refer to two Visitations, namely in 1518 and 1524. More detail still will be found in Bretonneau's history above mentioned. He specially alludes, at p. 164, etc., to Visitations of 1518, 1519, 1520, 1524; and to Synods of 1523, and 1526.

NOTE 7:—

Briçonnet in the interest of good conduct, prohibited in 1520 certain public dances, customary on Sundays and Feasts of the Virgin; a prohibition supported by Royal letters patent

published at Meaux in 1521. (Compare Bretonneau p. 191 ; and Toussaints du Plessis. Tome I. 327.)

Again, finding that the Mystery Plays had lost any quality they formerly possessed of edification, and now exhibited a multitude of gross and unworthy ideas, he forbade in 1527 that any should be given except with the approval of himself or his Grand Vicars. Carro makes some curious remarks on the later career of certain actors in those plays. [*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 212, 213.]

NOTE 8:—

THE CORDELIERS OR FRANCISCANS had a monastery close to the town wall. Their church alone remains, as S. Nicolas. Their representation, whether there or elsewhere, of St. Francis with the *Stigmata*, was forbidden by Bishop Briçonnet, and by the *Parlement*, in 1521.

The Benedictine Dom Toussaints Du Plessis says that they used to preach wherever they pleased, as much for a living as to save souls, and that with or without the license of the Bishop. Though they had no cure of souls, they did not scruple to administer Confession and Easter Communion.

The same historian gives in his "*pièces justificatives*" a very quaint example of controversy. The Franciscans of Meaux exhibited, in the later litigation, a series of articles which they imputed to their foe Martial Mazurier. These articles condemn the saying Mass for money ; state that taking five farthings (*six blancs*) for a Mass was a sale of God, and therefore greater Simony than merely selling such a thing as a Canonry or office of the Church ; that it would be better to give away five farthings for God's sake than to hand them over to the priest ; that money was better thrown into the river than given at certain Church collections ; that obits were inventions of the devil, and their foundation the ruin of souls ; that simple folk might collect together on Feast days, and at other times, to discuss the Bible and the Catholic Faith. That it was laudable and useful that the simple should have the Psalter in the tongue understood by them ; and several other propositions. It is equally interesting to read, that Mazurier denied having advanced any such views, and then authorized the Superior of the Cordeliers to preach the exact contrary in his name in the Church of St. Martin. [Toussaints du Plessis Tome II. 278 ; Tome I. 331, 332. See also hereafter, Notes 12, and 18.]

NOTE 9 :—

According to Toussaints du Plessis, Briçonnet had not actually stopped the preaching of the Franciscans before the eventful year 1525. In that year, however, we find them appealing to the *Parlement de Paris* against some prohibitory order, which the Bishop had obtained from the Civil Judges. The *Parlement* compromised the question, by ordering that the Franciscans should not preach in the town of Meaux on any morning, or any afternoon, when the Bishop either preached himself or heard a sermon. A breach of this qualified order being presently charged against them, they entered as pleas :—Want of notice ; that the Bishop vexatiously mounted the pulpit ; and that their Superior did stop the conventual preacher as soon as he was notified. In August the Bishop appeared before the *Parlement* to seek judgment in this matter. However in October the Franciscans obtained a more serious order in the case of several persons and the Bishop. (See Text, and Note 18.)

NOTE 10 :—

JACOBUS FABER STAPULENSIS :—Jacques Lefèvre ; or Fabri ; of Étaples in Picardy, has been accounted the father of the Reformation in France, if not even the herald of Luther. He was a teacher in the University of Paris, and famous for his learning. Among his most important performances were the publication in 1512 of a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, in 1523 a commentary on the Four Evangelists, and in 1522 or 1523 a translation, in parts, of the New Testament into French. He published in 1530 a translation of the whole Bible. He took refuge at Meaux, about 1521, from the persecutions of Beda and the Sorbonne. Faber had a considerable influence over Briçonnet ; also over Farel, the fiery propagandist at Meaux, and founder of the Swiss school of theology. Parts, at least, of the Bible, (doubtless in his translations,) were read by artizans, and were for a time fashionable at Court. His Commentary on the Gospels* is said to have been seized ; and the *Parlement* to have ordered, in 1525, the suppression of his publication of the fifty-two epistles and gospels for the year for use at Meaux.

Bishop Briçonnet made Lefèvre his *Grand Vicaire* in 1523, but the episcopal protection did not entirely avail him. He

* A copy of his Commentary is in Ripon Minster Library. Probably many were abroad before the seizure. See, concerning these publications, "*La France Protestante*."

was included in the important prosecutions at Meaux in 1525, and retired thence to Strasburg, but was recalled first to Blois and afterward to Nérac; where, sheltered by Marguerite, the King's sister and Queen of Navarre, he spent his last years; dying almost a centenarian, in 1536 or 1537. He never quitted the established Church. There is a touching story that this aged scholar, shortly before his death, burst into tears at the Queen's table, for grief that, having taught persons who had sealed their faith with their blood, he had himself used a place of refuge. (Cf. Biographical Dictionary, London, 1784; "*Faber [Jacobus]*") This incident, long held in doubt, has latterly been supported by further research. (Cf. Baird, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96, and note.)

NOTE 11 :—

MICHAEL ARANDENSIS:—Michel d'Arande; was a pupil of Lefèvre. Like Briçonnet, he inclined to a sort of mysticism. He had formerly been a hermit, and at one time gave Scripture readings to the Queen Mother. He subsequently preached at Alençon and Bourges. Marguerite of Navarre took him into her service as *Aumônier*.

NOTE 12 :—

MARTIALIS:—Martial Mazurier; a famous preacher, and principal of the College of St. Michael at Paris; was appointed *curé* of S. Martin at the *Grand Marché* of Meaux apparently about 1523. In this or the following year, the Bishop, after revoking the powers of certain of his own preachers, who he thought went too far, seems to have repudiated Luther's doctrine, and insisted on certain principles of the Catholic Church. [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 328; also Bretonneau: p. 198; and, differing as to date and circumstance, Baird's Rise of the Huguenots: Vol. I. 81.] Martial ventured to throw down the image of St. Francis outside the Convent Gate, and was imprisoned at Paris on suspicion of heresy, but cleared himself. His argument with the dejected Pavannes indicates that the orator entertained a somewhat mystical attitude of mind. (see note 20.) He was included in the heresy-prosecutions by the Franciscans in 1525. [See notes 8 and 18.]

NOTE 13 :—

GERARDUS RUFUS:—Girard Ruffi; Gérard Roussel; and the BISHOP'S READERS:—Gérard Roussel, a Doctor in Theology, one of Briçonnet's first party of preachers, was appointed, by the

Bishop, to S. Saintin; and afterwards to be Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral. He is counted by Dom Toussaints du Plessis, along with Guillaume Farel, Jaques Lefèvre, and François Vatable, as among that body of very accomplished Greek and Hebrew Scholars, whom the Bishop, in accordance with the desire of the King to favour learning, attracted to his diocese. The Benedictine historian, while rejoicing that all of these four, except Farel, held to the Catholic religion, and while indicating that heresy had also some further source, yet observes that the Bishop was the innocent cause of opinions growing up in his diocese which he afterwards combated with all his might. As a matter of fact Gérard Roussel was in 1524, under the Bishop's authority, giving frequent expositions, rather than orations, from the epistles of St. Paul, in the vulgar tongue, as we learn by a famous letter from Lefèvre to Farel, published in Herminjard's "*Correspondance des Réformateurs*."

The subject of Briçonnet's missioners and readers cannot be left here. The same letter adds that the Bishop had also ordered the other principal places in his diocese to be furnished with "purer readers." Lefèvre mentions by name Jean Gadon, Nicolas Mangin (whom we find *Curé de Saint Saintin* in the proceedings of 1525, who is said also by Herminjard to have been related to the Mangins of 1546), Nicolas de Neufchâteau, and Jean Mesnil.

Toussaints du Plessis includes in the Bishop's second series of preachers in 1523, Michel Roussel, Arnaud Roussel, and Pierre Caroli; who, according to him, seemed, together with Martial Mazurier and many others, at first to combat the evil of the new opinions, but several of whom, including Caroli, fell themselves under suspicion. The same historian tells us that Briçonnet early divided his diocese into thirty-two preaching stations, which he specifies in a note. Gérard Roussel was comprehended in the legal proceedings of 1525, joined Lefèvre in his retreat from Meaux, and was afterwards appointed by the Queen of Navarre to the Bishopric of Oleron.

There is a remarkable passage in Maimbourg's "*Histoire du Calvinisme*," [Paris, 1682, pp. 19, 20.]; where Roussel's doctrines, especially of the sacrament, as preached at Bearn, are noticed. He died in 1549. (See also notes 18 and 29).

NOTE 14:—

BRIÇONNET'S DISTRIBUTION OF THE GOSPELS:—We may easily agree with Herminjard that the King himself probably

protected, at least till 1524, the free preaching of the gospels, from the intolerance of the Sorbonne, and the jurisdiction of the *Parlement*. Even in 1525 while the King was in captivity, we find a letter in the nature of a prohibition, or arrest of proceedings, addressed by him from Madrid to the *Parlement* on behalf of Lefèvre, dated 12th November. (See note 18).

Whether or not the Bishop, counting on this support, went at first further than he would without it, at any rate he introduced into the diocese of Meaux public readings of the Gospels in the vulgar tongue, enjoining the vicars themselves, in the absence of the preachers, to read to their parishioners the Epistle and Gospel of the day. Lefèvre, in his letter to Farel of 1524 above mentioned [Cf: Note 13, above,] states that this reading was being done in that year. Besides this the Bishop is said by Herminjard to have distributed gratis among the poorer people Lefèvre's translation of the Gospels; and indeed a main charge preferred by the Cordeliers against the Bishop was, according to Toussaints du Plessis, that he had distributed to the poor many copies of the New Testament and of the Psalms of David translated into the vulgar tongue by the King's order. [Cf: Herminjard, *Corresp. d: Réf:* text and notes. Also Toussaints d. Pl. Tome I, p. 381.]

NOTE 15:—

THE SPREAD OF THIS TEACHING THROUGH FRANCE:—Herminjard says that so soon as 1524, Grenoble, Lyons, Alençon, Bourges, Paris, and Meaux had already heard the Gospel preached. He also prints a letter (Farel to Scheffer, 2 April, 1524) wherein the writer places Meaux first in his list of French towns concerned in the gospel movement.

D'Aubigné furnishes from some old records at Landouzy-la-ville, in the department of Aisne, a picturesque account of the labourers from Thierache visiting the harvests at Meaux, conversing with the inhabitants, and then returning home with ideas which led to the foundation of one of the oldest evangelical churches in the kingdom. [See History of the Reformation, White's translation, Vol. III, 379 and footnotes. Compare also above, Note 3.]

NOTE 16:—

"alijs verò contrà in offensionem":—Perhaps the most firm and powerful opposition offered was that of the Sorbonne, a Theological College in Paris: a Society of such authority in the Clerical world, that its opinion in hard matters of

Divinity had weight beyond the frontiers of France; nay, the Roman *Curia* itself consulted the Sorbonne, giving it the title of "*Concilium in Gallia subsistens*." Though properly a Society of theological scholars and pupils, it followed the crude example set by many priesthoods, and invaded the region of politics. The Sorbonne in the sixteenth century seriously imperilled its credit as a learned body, by the active part which it took in the persecutions of the unorthodox. Though it inclined to suppress the art of printing in 1533, we must not however forget that it had materially assisted the introduction of that art into France in 1469. [Compare also Introduction above.]

NOTE 17:—

"ad summam Curiæ":—That is, the Court of *Parlement*: an ancient Sovereign Court composed of clerical as well as lay judges. It had a great tradition of ecclesiastical, baronial, and knightly membership, which seems to have been extended to inferior ranks not much before 1484. The *Parlement*, hitherto somewhat jealous of independent Episcopal process, agreed in 1525 to the appointment of a mixed commission, consisting of two of their own members to act with two doctors of the Sorbonne in heresy cases. Very full powers were conferred, including secret inquiry against Lutherans, bodily arrest, seizure of goods, and other matters. Pope Clement VII, in May 1525, issued a bull, and addressed a brief to the *Parlement*, approving this measure, instilling fresh zeal, and adding full powers even against Archbishops, as well as permission to occupy lands, castles, etc. The Queen Regent, by letters patent ordered the execution of this bull. [Cf. notes 24, 105a, and the Introduction above.]

NOTE 18:—

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST BRIÇONNET:—The extended litigation between Briçonnet and the Franciscans came to a climax on the 3rd of October, 1525, almost exactly twenty-one years before the death of the Fourteen of Meaux. The Bishop was, on the information of the Franciscan Society, and of the King's Attorney, included in a decree of the Court of *Parlement*; which ordered, by name, the Apprehension of seven or eight inhabitants of the town; Summons to Nicole Dupré an advocate; Transfer of certain prisoners charged with heresy, from the Bishop's prison to the *Conciergerie* at Paris; Summons to the Bishop to attend

for examination, by two Counsellors of the King, concerning the contents of the informations laid before the Court; Submission of these informations to the Judges delegate of the Holy Apostolic See on the matter of heresies for the determination of the proceedings in the cases of Pierre Caroli, Martial Mazurier, doctors in theology, Gérard, treasurer of Meaux Cathedral, Nicole Mangin, *Curé* of St. Saintin, Brother Jean Prevost, a Cordelier, and Jaques Fabri also named in those informations; Power to the aforesaid Judges delegate to apprehend Caroli, Gérard, and Prevost, and to summon Fabri and Mangin; and Request to the Queen Regent to be pleased to send a certain Michel before the Judges delegate, since his evidence was alleged to be material. (Compare notes 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, also Toussaints du Plessis, Tome II, pp. 280, 281.)

By way of appeal against this order, the Bishop of Meaux in person petitioned the Court on Oct. 20th, so far as his case was concerned, to hear it in open court and not by commission. This was refused, and his interrogation by Jacques Menager and André Verjus, Counsellors of that court, ordered. [An interesting, and perhaps significant, incident is related by Bretonneau; who says at p. 198 that the Bishop condemned the doctrines of Luther in 1524, at his visitation. Among Briçonnet's hearers at the church of S. Christophe in the town, April 1, were the Premier President of the *Parlement de Paris*, and André Veruist, Counsellor of that Court.] On 12th November, 1525, there was despatched to the "*Parlement de Paris*" a letter from the King at Madrid in favour of Fabri, Caroli, and Gérard; reciting that he understood that among the theologians of the University there was considerable malevolence especially against Fabri; and enjoining the Court to suspend these proceedings till the King's return. (See notes 10 and 14)

On the last day of November 1525, the *Parlement*, after reciting that they had received the report on heresies from the Judges delegate of the Pope, and from the commissioners of the Court appointed to interrogate those suspected of Lutheran heresy, orders payment by the Bishop of two hundred *livres*, costs in these proceedings; which sum was paid by the Bishop on the 4th of December.

On the 15th of December the *Parlement* records its receipt of letters from the King and from the Queen Regent, in arrest of proceedings against the three above named defendants; but nevertheless allows the Judges delegate and the Commissioners to proceed in the case of these and other suspects.

On the 19th of December the *Parlement* orders the Bishop to be examined by Verjus and Menager on a certain book, "*Contenant les Evangiles en françois, et s'il a fait faire les exhortations et annotations apposées au dit livre.*"

On the 29th December the Court of *Parlement* issues a kind of Mandamus to certain officials to proceed with diligence in certain cases, and especially to seek discovery of the authorship of certain songs, and to the Bishop to assist them in this last duty. (See T. du Plessis, Tome II, 280 to 284, for these proceedings.)

NOTE 19:—

(Marginal) "Briçonetus ab Euangelio deficit":—These notes are not intended for the discussion of theological doctrine; but it is necessary here to remark that the Bishop's private opinions have been severally claimed by historians of opposite parties, on behalf of their own different ways of thinking. A fair explanation of his action seems to be, that the Bishop was all along most keenly alive to the Church's impaired discipline; and, observing some decay of old doctrine, hoped a great rejuvenescence from those ancient wells called the Gospels; and that he at first hardly appreciated the various doctrinal effects of such study, while devoting himself both to the instruction of the people from these important books, and to disciplinary reform. Perhaps the firmness of his resolution, or of his views, did not equal the fervour of his zeal.

Certain quotations, used by Baird to show inconsistency in the Bishop's expressions concerning the clergy, will hardly support that charge. His consistent policy at Meaux was to instil into the negligent parish priests his own view of their high instructional responsibility. He himself, a distinguished ecclesiastic, doubtless felt a keen *esprit de corps*, and heartily condemned its general degradation by the clergy, [Cf: however, Baird, Vol I, 80, 81]. He was, in *this* respect, singularly like the English Dean Colet.

Toussaints du Plessis, who insists on the Catholicity of the Bishop's views, notes his Synod of 1523, when the Bishop expressed himself strongly against the opinions of Luther, and supported the doctrine of Purgatory, and the invocation of saints, [Compare note 12]. Similar views were vigorously repeated by him in several pulpits, at his visitation in 1524. (T. d. Pl., Tome I, 328, 329; Cf: also Bretonneau p. 198). If the careful Benedictine be here correct, then the inclination of Baird to assign a later date for Briçonnet's "pusillanimous

defection" can hardly succeed. (Cf: Rise of the Huguenots, 1880, Vol. I, p. 81). I do not know what was the heresy of the "notorious" shoemaker, excommunicated by Briçonnet in 1525. [Cf: Note 21, hereafter.]

The boldness, or desperation, of the dissidents at Meaux, who about this time tore down the Pope's bull of indulgence (ordering a fast and participation in the Sacrament) from the Cathedral door, and replaced it by a proclamation that the Pope was Antichrist, very probably caused the Bishop equal distress and indignation. His public censure of this act was slighted by a fresh offence. This time were destroyed, with some sharp instrument, certain forms of prayer attached to the Cathedral walls, or to small wooden tablets, for the use of worshippers. Toussaints du Plessis professes to see here a presage of the later religious war, and charges the perpetrators with meditating some carnage of the Catholics. He gives, however, not the slightest further evidence in support of this theory; which his great assiduity in matters of fact and of detail, together with his fidelity, would certainly have placed on record, had there been any. Perhaps he bases his surmise on the fact, that the Pope's Bull, above named, was to obtain, from God, Peace among Christian Princes. But the event itself must have been bitterly painful to a pastor like Briçonnet. [Compare also the Introduction above.]

We ought not surely to hold the Bishop personally responsible for the punishments of flogging, branding, and banishment, inflicted by the *Parlement* in the case of the proclamation against the Pope; nor for the ultimate result of the process against a certain Pauvant for heresy, wherein Briçonnet had (March 1525) appointed by order of the *Parlement*, two theological Commissioners. (See notes 20, 21.) But, painful as were some proceedings with which even he may have been officially connected, we must, in the light of all these events, and with the deepest regard for Crespin's important and practically contemporaneous opinion, yet hesitate to endorse the bald charge of "defection."

The Protestant historian, D'Aubigné, though he attributes to Briçonnet a mystic quietism, seems in another place to claim for Protestantism that Bishop's doctrinal convictions; and even deplors that he did not die in the contest. [Compare D'Aub. Hist. Reformation. Translation, Vol. III, pp. 372, 459.] But cannot we rejoice, rather, that this active Bishop, so zealous a reformer of manners and of discipline, did not perish in the intestine wars of dogma? D'Aubigné suggests further

(Vol. III of Translation, p. 454) that both Briçonnet and Le Fèvre were themselves official iconoclasts, though he is constrained to somewhat discount in a footnote the value of the authority he uses.

Here is the translation of a short passage from Carro's judicious "*Histoire de Meaux*," where he says in reference to Briçonnet and other persons affected by the famous legal proceedings which marked the end of the year 1525:—"However he was successful or fortunate in sustaining the test of examination. Nor does it appear that any very disastrous consequences to the prisoners resulted from the proceedings, which had connected their case with his. The King, and indeed the Queen Regent, had intervened in favour of Fabri, Caroli, and Gérard; but the majority of the defendants left the diocese; and Mazurier, among others, after being admitted into the diocese of Paris, distinguished himself in the sequel by preaching violently against the Lutherans." (Carro. *Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 195).

NOTE 20:—

Jacobus Pauaneus:—Jaques Pavanes, or Pavannes; Jacques Pauvant. The passage referred to relates that Jaques Pavanes of the Boulogne district on the English Channel, was one of the pious and learned men encouraged by Bishop Briçonnet of Meaux, and was imprisoned in 1524. (Compare Note 19). Baird indicates among the declared opinions of Pauvant: the denial of purgatory, the assertion that God had no vicar, repudiation of excessive reliance on doctors of the Church, rejection of the customary salutation "Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy!". He is said to have denied the propriety of offering candles to the saints, and to have maintained that baptism was only a sign, holy water nothing, papal bulls and indulgences an imposture of the devil, the Mass of no avail for remission of sins but unprofitable to the hearer, and that the Word of God was all sufficient. [Baird, Vol. I, pp. 89, 90.] In prison he was visited by various disputants. Among others, Doctor Martial endeavoured to change his views (Cf. Note 12), and said "Thou art wrong, Jacques, in thinking only of the waves on the surface of the sea, while neglecting its depths." And it is related that this phrase, "Thou art wrong, Jacques", ("*erras Jacobe*") became proverbial in Meaux. [Cf: *Actiones et Monumenta Murtyrum*, (1560), leaf 52, verso.]

Pavanes was persuaded to adopt the *amende honorable* (*emendationem honorariam*); but the memory of that conces-

sion caused him acute distress, and he afterwards consistently professed his principles, welcoming the sentence of death, which he now regarded as the restoration of his honour. He was burned alive at Paris, showing the greatest readiness and the greatest firmness. A note to the Toulouse Edition (1885) of the *Histoire des Martyrs*, says in reference to Jaques Pavane's death in 1525—"Ces dates ne sont pas exactes." Baird, in his "Rise of the Huguenots" (p. 91, footnote 4) gives some reasons for assigning 1526. The *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 14,) gives 1525 as the date, and, in a footnote, refers to the *Histoire des Martyrs*. [See further, *Hist. d. Meaux*, Carro, p. 193. Compare also Note 21, hereafter.]

NOTE 21 :—

PUNISHMENTS AND PROSECUTIONS EITHER AT MEAUX OR UPON MELDENSES FOR ALLEGED HERESY AND THE LIKE:—Jean LeClerc, a wool-comber or carder, elder brother of that Pierre LeClerc who suffered in 1546 at Meaux, had been punished by the *Parlement* for a placard posted in 1523 on the Cathedral door at that town, denouncing the Pope as Antichrist (compare note 19.) His mother who was present at his punishment of flogging and branding, cried out "*Vive Jésus Christ et ses enseignes.*" Afterwards, while living as a carder at Metz (not then a part of French territory,) where Chatelaine and he actively propagated their views, he one night left the town for a small place in the neighbourhood, whither a solemn procession should come the next day. He there destroyed the images. When charged with this, he confessed it, and announced that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, should alone be adored. After suffering extreme and brutal tortures, during which he sang from the CXVth Psalm "*Leurs idoles sont or et argent ouvrage de main d'homme, &c.,*" he was at last burnt to death. This Jean LeClerc has been called by some Protestant historians the first Martyr of the Gospel in France, who thus imply that he suffered death before Pauvant above mentioned (Note 20.) The year was 1524 or 1525. [Compare Crespin, *Actiones et M. Martyrum*, 1560, p. 46, who gives one of the dates in LeClerc's case as MDXIII doubtless intending MDXXIII: *Histoire Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 14; *Histoire des Martyrs*, Edition 1885, 494; Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 330; D'Aubigné (translation) Vol. III, 389, 390, etc., 401, etc.; Baird Vol. I, pp. 87-89; Also the Introduction above, p. 19, footnote.]

Bishop Briçonnet of Meaux was, by decree of the *Parlement* in 1525, ordered to appoint to Vicariat four specified commissioners in the cases of Saulnier and the above named Pauvant (Note 20). [Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 330; II, 227.]

In 1525, Briçonnet excommunicated one Antoine Sextetelle "*notoirement diffamé pour crime d'heresie*"; also those who should give him asylum. [Cf. Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, p. 332.] In the same year took place the notable proceedings against Briçonnet himself, and others. The names of the persons to be actually apprehended under the order of the *Parlement*, dated 3rd October, 1525, (see note 18, above), were "*Honoré Gambier, Ponce Duchesne, la femme de Pierre Bodart, Catherine de la Tour, un nommé Quentin, un autre nommé Fontenay Cardeur, Antoinette Sextetelle, & un nommé Jean Joueur de Rebets, demeurant en la dite Ville de Meaux, & Jean Barbier, fils du Maistre de l'Hospital Jean Rose au dit Meaux;*" besides the three that the Judges delegate were commissioned to apprehend. It seems probable that some, if not all, of these, (being included in this particular order), were subjected to a charge of heresy. [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 332, 333; Tome II, 280, 281.] As to these proceedings of 1525 against Briçonnet, Lefèvre, and others, see above, Notes 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19.

The "*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier*," published by Lalanne in 1854, gives an account on page 276, of a decree of the *Parlement* against the books of Luther, Feb. 5th, 1526, and recounts also the penalty of "*amende honorable*" which a young man of Meaux underwent at Paris on Christmas Eve, 1526, for following the sect of Luther. Part of his punishment was to declare false and damnable, and to see burnt before him, certain books, which he had translated from Latin into French. A term of imprisonment followed. His name in the printed text is left blank. It was possibly Jaques Pavannes. One unnamed, [who might possibly be he,] was, according to the "*Journal*," burnt at Paris, August 28, 1526. [See *ibid.* pp. 276, 277, 291, 292; also Baird, Vol. I, p. 91, footnote 4; compare note 20, above.]

On the 14th of April, 1526, as we are told by the same authority [page 284], a fuller of woollen cloth, resident at Meaux, also performed the "*amende honorable*," first at Paris, and then at Meaux. The "*Journal*" states that, narrowly escaping death by fire, this person, also unnamed, was cast into the Bishop's prison at Meaux to live there on bread and

water for seven years. He was, according to that authority, of Lutheran opinion, denying that one should pray for the departed, use holy water or revere images.

On the 15th of December, 1528, a Seine boatman, a native of Meaux, was burnt at Paris, for having said that the Virgin Mary had no more power than her image, which he held and contemptuously broke. (*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, etc., p. 375.)

In 1528 a man designated as "Denis de Rieux" was burnt at Meaux for saying that the Mass was a real renunciation of Christ's death and passion: "*ce qu'il maintient jusques au dernier souspir.*" [*Hist. Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Ed. 1883, Vol. I, p. 15.]. Briçonnet had visited him in prison, and vainly implored him to withdraw his statement. [Carro, p. 197; who, by some slip, dates the event ten years too late. Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 337, 338.]

The numbers of this party at Meaux had now greatly increased; and in that same year, 1528, some hardy persons, with a kind of bravado (perhaps connected with the contemporary iconoclasm in Paris), had posted on the Cathedral doors a fictitious bull under the Pope's name, purporting to revoke the bulls of former popes against Luther. It would be as difficult to blame the laws or the magistrates of any country for in some way chastising conduct of this kind, as to feel surprise that the more ignorant among a fresh and growing party should be guilty of it. The eight culprits received the humiliating and quasi-religious penalty of "*amende honorable.*" [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 337.]

In 1530, a Canon of the cathedral of Meaux, called Papillon, being suspected of heresy, was brought to the *conciergerie* at Paris, though the Bishop had claimed jurisdiction. His fate is uncertain, but he did not return to Meaux. The bishop appointed two counsellors of the *Parlement* his vicars in this case. [Carro 197; Toussaints du Plessis Tome I. 338; II. 284.]

In 1535, a year especially marked by cruel bloodshed in several countries, a man of the Meaux district, named Antoine Poille, suffered at Paris. [*Hist. Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edn. 1883, Vol. 1. pp. 34, 35.]

The death of Pierre Bonpain, of Meaux, which seems in some text of the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique*" to have been assigned to the year 1544, most probably took place after the dispersal of the Meaux assembly in 1546. [See Crespin, translation p. 43, above; and *Hist. Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edn. 1883, Tome I, p. 51, footnote; also Note 85 hereafter.]

Sismondi mentions two Meldensian sufferers in some connection with the early movement at Meaux. (*Hist. des Fr.* XVI, 114.) Apparently he alludes to Jean LeClerc and Jacques Pavanes. These cases are immediately followed in the *Histoire Eccl. des Églises Réformées* by that of the Hermit of Livry on the Paris-Meaux road. (Edn. 1883, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15.)

Beyond the several cases above enumerated I am not acquainted with the detail of any religious prosecutions, at Meaux or upon Meldenses, in the period of twenty-two years from 1523 to 1545. It appears from Toussaints du Plessis (Tome I, p. 338) that Bishop Briçonnet shortly after the Ecclesiastical case of Papillon, that is about 1529 or 1530, made over to Martin Ruzé, a councillor of the Court, and "Grand Chantre," or Precentor, at Paris, certain wide powers. These comprised episcopal jurisdiction against heretics in town, suburb, and *Marché*. Here the reader will bear in mind that the episcopal jurisdiction was at that time in France somewhat limited; and, had been with papal encouragement commuted, at least in part, for the enormous powers which the *Parlement* transferred, or allotted, to special joint commissioners lay and clerical. I do not know how long those powers were exercised. [Compare notes 17, 105a.] Though Toussaints du Plessis (Tome I, p. 330) credits the Bishop with zealous prosecution of Sectaries in 1525, we may perhaps entertain the hope that he used, up to his death in 1534, some influence to modify that sanguinary policy he could not arrest. However, there were other sufferers in France, and the style of punishment mentioned in the text is quite agreeable to the penalties of those days. It is worth while to remind the reader, that the sentence of exile said to have been passed on some, could claim sympathetic mention from Jean Crespin himself, who was banished from Artois in 1545. [*Hist. d. Mart.* Toulouse Edition, p. IX.]

NOTE 22 :—

THE DOCTRINAL MOVEMENT CHECKED AT MEAUX:—The Franciscans had doubtless obtained in 1525 a tactical success. The best known of the readers and preachers left Meaux. (See Notes, 13, 18, and 19). The Bishop however, remaining, showed his continued zeal for reform and instruction. At his Synod of 1526, the *Curés* were again urged by him to reside. In reply they pressed upon him the need for preachers, and the shortcomings and avarice of the Franciscans. Briçonnet did

consent to a compromise whereby the latter should fill certain pulpits in the diocese, while the Bishop assisted the other preaching stations out of his own pocket. But at the same time he vigorously admonished the *Curés* to regard preaching as an essential part of their own duties, reiterated the injunctions of his former Synods, and ordered them to appoint vicars in case of necessary absence. He applied himself diligently to reforming the manners of the people, showing full regard also for authorised ceremonial, and insisting on the parochial organization for Confession and Easter Communion. (See also Notes, 6, 7, and 8. *Histoire Ecclés: des Églises Réformées*, Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 11, note. And Toussaints du Plessis, *Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*, Vol. I. p. 335, 336, 337; also Bretonneau, *Hist: de la maison des Briçonets*, pp: 164, 189, 197, etc:)

The more bold, or more desperate, of the doctrinal reformers however betook themselves to an unhappy policy of turbulent lampoons. (Cf. Notes 19 and 21). No Bishop, mystic, false, or faithful, was likely to extremely favour a party whose prominent, though perhaps unauthorised, exponents insulted authority; and Briçonnet's notions of episcopal duty would naturally bring him into some antagonism with these methods.

Briçonnet died in January 1534, leaving a memory famous at Meaux, and at S. Germain des Prez, for his liberal benefactions; and, while doubtful in the judgment of partisans, interesting at least to any one that considers that lowering and electric period of history. [Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome 1, p. 338; *Hist. Eccl. d. Église réf*: Ed. 1883, Tome I, p. 11, and footnote.]

NOTE 23:—

(See Notes 3 and 24).

NOTE 24:—

PROSPECTS FOR THE GOSPELLERS UNDER FRANCIS I OF FRANCE:—There can be little doubt that Francis was willing at first to show a certain royal favour to the new learning: a disposition fostered by his sister Marguerite, and encouraged by such men as Briçonnet and the brothers DuBellay. The fortunes of war threw the King for a time into a Spanish prison. An omen of his country's future appears in the circumstances of his liberation. In January, 1526, the King had, to gain his liberty, concluded the discreditable treaty of

Madrid, comprising the cession of much territory to the Emperor, Charles V, and the yielding of his two sons as hostages. However, the Notables in Council repudiated the cession of Burgundy; and the King, refusing to return to his captivity, at once sought to strengthen himself by alliance with various powers, including the Pope. For this, no doubt, the Queen Mother had prepared the way already. Upon this followed the sack of Rome by an army of adventurers, supposed Imperial; and eventually the peace of Cambrai, which released the King's sons from captivity in 1529.

About this time, then, there were several causes inclining the King to quit his grand monarchic liberalism, for the party of repression. In that direction pointed his own alliance with the Pope, and the rivalry of the Emperor Charles. Again Francis needed money, and, on that account, an assembly of Notables in 1527 was able to extort from him an actual promise to extirpate heresy. [Compare also Notes 15 to 18, as well as the Introduction above.]

In whatever degree the King's policy was affected by the personal influences of his mother Louise, and his gloomy son Henry, a certain force was the potent Chancellor Du Prat, who perceived a close connection between heresy and blasphemy. For connecting their views with disorder some of the reformers unwisely afforded a handle; by songs perhaps then current at Meaux, which are said by Toussaints du Plessis to have insulted the *Parlement*; by an irritating destruction, elsewhere, of images; and by that intrusive use of dogmatic placards which became the occasion for the "bloody year" 1534-5. The "*Bourgeois de Paris*" records a great number of executions in that year; and mentions a rumour (uncorroborated according to the editor of that book) that Pope Paul* addressed a remonstrance to Francis. [See that "*Journal*," pp. 458-9 and footnote, also *préface*, p. iv]. The historian of the French Reformed Churches specially names among those many victims one Antoine Poille, a poor mason of the Meaux district, who he says was worthy of the prize among martyrs for the cruelty of his sufferings. [Cf: *Hist: Ecclés: des Égl: réf:*—Edition 1883, Vol: I, pp. 34, 35]. (Cf. Note 21).

Pope Clement VII is supposed to have gone so far in 1533 as to invite Francis I to combine with the Emperor and German Princes, in war against the followers of Luther and Zwingli. The King however refused to do so, desiring on the contrary for himself the friendship of the Elector of

* Paul III became Pope in 1534.

Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. And it has been remarked that though Francis burned heretics in his own dominions, he supported the league of Schmalkald abroad; his protean policy, throughout, being unduly and irregularly swayed by personal jealousy, and hostility to the Emperor. From time to time he abated, or intermitted, the punishment of "heretics," as his foreign policy seemed to require. In 1535 a so-called "edict of tolerance" was a partial concession to the indignant German protestants, and possibly to that rumoured remonstrance above mentioned. This paradoxical state of things becomes more interesting still if Ranke is correct in a conclusion drawn from his researches. That historian advances the opinion, that even Pope Clement himself knew of, if he did not actually approve the campaign, whereby the Landgrave of Hesse restored the Duke of Wirtemberg to his estates then held by Austria. This rapidly successful campaign is thought to have led, in the end, to the firm establishment of the Reformation in Germany, and was assisted by Francis, if not even countenanced by a political Pope.

The King was, however, so offended by the "placards", that in 1535 he sent an edict to the *Parlement*, forbidding the art of printing to be exercised. This the *Parlement* successfully refused to register, and it was soon suspended. In 1540 we see the King promulgating the Edict of Fontainebleau to formulate proceedings against heretics, and this was followed up by a Decree of the *Parlement* of 1st July, 1542, establishing the censorship of the Sorbonne over the printing of books. On the 21st of July, 1542, Pope Paul III issued his bull: establishing the Supreme Inquisition at Rome, clothed with enormous powers, animated by the austere Caraffa, and supported by the Founder of the Jesuits. Though this Papal Inquisition could not, perhaps, actually claim incorporation with the Law of France, yet in the next year a French Royal Ordinance distinctly declared that Heresy was to be punished as Sedition, and almost contemporaneously the twenty-five articles of faith, promulgated by the Sorbonne, were by letters patent given the force of law.

In 1544 the wars of Charles V and Francis I came to an end at the Peace of Crespy. And in 1545, (may we hope without the actual personal concurrence of the invalid Francis?) an inhuman massacre of the Vaudois took place.

As regards the special situation at Meaux we must note that Briçonnet had been succeeded in 1534 by the Chancellor Du Prat. He was followed in 1535 by Jean de Buz, whom Carro

in his *Histoire de Meaux* condemns as "*Prélat scandaleux*," a term corroborated by the short account there given of him. Neither of these Bishops was likely to protect the Gospellers, even if he could. Therefore, when we are independently told that Étienne Mangin came from Lorraine to Meaux "*pour embrasser la religion réformée*" (See note 26), we surmise:—either that he had been attracted by Briçonnet's shelter, and by Nicole Mangin's official readership, before the proceedings of 1525; or else, perhaps, that those of advanced view had so grown in numbers and strength at Meaux, that, though compelled to secrecy as mentioned in the text, they could yet offer some religious advantages to a Lorrainer, [Cf. note 13.] Toussaints du Plessis in recording the dangerous progress made by "the heretics" at Meaux, prior to the affair of 1546, states that they held public assemblies for the exercise of their religion. This may generally refer either to earlier years; or to a fresh and bolder policy, possibly Mangin's own; or, further, some of those meetings, supposed secret by Crespin, were perhaps known to the great party of the priesthood.

Upon the whole, prospects were certainly dubious for the Gospellers of Meaux at this time; and their anxiety, which we see through Crespin's medium, had a very solid foundation in hard facts. [Compare Notes 105a, 113, also the Introduction above.]

NOTE 25 :—

Argentinae: at Strasburg. The Senate or Council of Strasburg had in 1538 opened a Church there for the benefit of French refugees. Jean Calvin held the post of preacher, and was succeeded by Pierre Brully. While at Strasburg Calvin wrote his tract on the Lord's Supper, which appeared in French in 1540.

NOTE 25a :—

CONSTITUTION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE FRENCH REFUGEE CHURCH AT STRASBURG :—A Latin pamphlet of 1551, entitled "*Liturgia sacra seu Ritus ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter Euangelium Christi Argentine*," by Valerandus Polla, 12°, preserved in the British Museum, gives some account of this. The work is specially interesting to Englishmen as it is dedicated to Edward VI of England; and was probably written by that Poullain who superintended in that reign the Strangers' Reformed Church at Glastonbury. The qualification of the writer to describe the methods of the

Strasbourg Church, so early as 1546 or before, may be concluded from a statement in the dedicatory preface, that he had, eight years before writing the pamphlet, gone to the Church at Strasbourg, and for some years ministered there as a Presbyter. He claims for this Church, that none are purer or come nearer to that of Apostolic times; though he praises others, including that of Geneva, saying that this last was for many years presided over by Jean Calvin the original founder of the Refugee Church at Strasbourg. [As to Poullain, compare Schickler, "*Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*," (1892), Tome I, pp. 59-72].

The chapter of this pamphlet, headed "*De ordinatione ministrorum, et eorum institutione, ac de disciplina ecclesiastica*," opens with the statement: "*Primum episcopus seu pastor totius ecclesie suffragiis designatur*." The writer then describes a method of official nomination, election, examination, approval, and imposition of hands. The elders of the church, together with the pastors of other churches of the city, act in some capacity of moderators to the popular choice; and the election is safe-guarded by repetition and other precautions.

Another section of the chapter speaks of the presbyters or elders, as joined with the pastor for consultation and church management. There are twelve of them if so many suitable can be found. A less elaborate system than that used in the case of the pastor (but with several safeguards) is adopted; the object throughout being, evidently, to obtain men suitable to the office and to their brethren, as well as approved by the people. The person finally chosen receives his office by laying on of hands from the pastor.

The same chapter further on speaks of the deacons. There are four of them; and their duty is to look after charities and the poor. This office is annual, though that of the presbyters is perpetual; but the method of choice and confirmation is the same. The pastor chooses a fifth deacon to help him in the sacraments; and, seemingly, there is an official musician, for "*Chorales etiam à Pastore & Senioribus jubetur*."

Again, the elders choose two of their number to compose disputes; which, if too difficult, come before the whole of the elders.

Throughout, no one is allowed to give a vote who has not first professed the faith. There is a section of this chapter on discipline and excommunication. In the case of public or open offences, public repentance (*poenitentia*) is enjoined for the obstinate, who, if still persistent, are liable to

excommunication. In private or hidden offences, private admonition is generally given in the council of the elders, and persistence would then be openly denounced by the pastor. If this fails, then, after several admonitions and due space of time, excommunication from the church services follows. The friends of the culprit are, however, still to admonish him to repent. If they are successful he may be formally re-admitted to the services. Profession of the faith is necessary to membership of the church. The chapter closes with a prayer for God's blessing on the Senate of Strasburg for harbouring, and favouring, a Refugee Church there.

The reader will doubtless imagine that some modifications in detail would be necessary in starting a fresh organization at Meaux, where, notwithstanding the vigour of the congregation from town and country, no "Reformed" churches as yet existed. It would be idle to speculate at length on the different offices or positions, held in the new organization at Meaux by each of the fourteen who suffered. LeClerc was seemingly the "Pastor." Beyond that we cannot speak with any certainty. That the constituted officials, all or most of them, suffered, seems likely. [Cf. note 3.]

NOTE 26 :—

STEPHANUS MANGINUS: Estienne or Étienne Mangin, or Mengin :—A short account of him is given in an old French manuscript book of the Mangin family, now in the possession of Miss Mangin, of West Knoyle, near Bath. It is there stated that Estienne Mangin originally came from S. Nicolas in Lorraine. He left that place to embrace the Reformed Religion, withdrawing to the town of Meaux en Brie, at ten leagues distance from Paris. He was well acquainted with Meaux, having houses and other property there. [It may be noted by the way, that his christian name was that of the titular Saint of the Meaux cathedral.] He took thither Marguerite his wife, of which marriage were born three children, namely :—François Mangin, born 1531, married Claudina Censier; Perette Mangin; and Marion Mangin. The said Estienne Mangin died at Meaux the 7th October, 1546, a martyr for the Reformed Religion. After putting him to the question *ordinaire* and *extraordinaire*, they cut out his tongue, and burned him alive with thirteen others at the *Marché* of Meaux, in pursuance of the judgment of the *Parlement* of Paris, for having caused to be preached in his house at Meaux the Word of God. Marguerite his wife was con-

demned to be present at the execution of the fourteen martyrs who were all burnt alive for having made profession of the Reformed Religion, and to make *amende honorable* barefoot and holding a lighted wax torch of two pounds weight, to be present at a general procession and ask pardon, etc. And the said Perette and Marion Mangin were ordered to be discharged from prison. The MS. adds that this appears from the history of the Martyrs written by Jean Crespin in the year 1570, dedicated to the faithful of Jesus Christ, book 3, page 162; and that François Mangin was absent from Meaux, and withdrew to Metz.

The memory of Estienne Mangin is preserved by his direct descendants, of that name, in England to-day.

Appended is the genealogy of this family. It is furnished by Mr. E. A. Mangin, now living at Aldfield, near Ripon, Yorkshire. Haag's account of this family in "*La France protestante*" (Paris 1846, etc.) under the article "*Mangin*," is tentative and incomplete; while his reference to Mangin of Meaux, under the heading "*Le Clerc*," indicates a slip of the pen in the christian name. A modern, though undated, letter, in the possession of Mr. E. A. Mangin, gives some colour for the supposition that Estienne Mangin (or Mengin) of 1546 may have been descended from the ancient family of that name, represented by Henry de Mengin in 1180 one of the Barons de Mengin, of Menghen on the Sarre in Lorraine. I leave the suggestion for others to test or work out from the French genealogical authorities. There is said to be a village in Lorraine called Mangienne.

NOTE 27 :—

PETRUS CLERICUS: Pierre LeClerc:— was the younger brother of Jean LeClerc, who was executed at Metz in 1524-5. Their mother seems to have been devoted to the Gospellers' tenets, but their father to the contrary view. (See Note 21; Crespin *Actiones et M: Martyrum*, 46.; also *Hist. des Martyrs*, Toulouse Ed: 1885, pp. 244, and 494, Note.) The Latin text uses a curious circumlocution to define the theological learning of Pierre LeClerc:—" *eo quidem genere sermonis, qui Gallorum proprius est*," (118, verso.) I know not whether this is intended to include the Provençal or Waldensian literature.

NOTE 28 :—

MANGIN'S HOUSE:—This was at the *Grand Marché*, as we learn from the text. It was also near to the ramparts, accord-

ree. [See Note 26.]

rite.

rette. Marion.

Ester. David.

elaine m. Anne m. Char
iel Villain. Granjambe.

LOUIS m. Jeanne Crom
[b. at Metz, Y
647; d. 1718]

te m. Samuel Louis Crommelis

Alexander. SAM
[b.]

ne d'Abzac. Reuben Caillaud
m. Magdalene d

Alexander. Henrietta Elizabeth
Susan. Cathen

Mary Henrietta.

Samuel Henry m. Emily A.

e Dorothy.

swell. Lucy Mary.

Ella Fontaine.

n Hubert Corneille.

MANGIN. Born 1700. Came to
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NOTE 27

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NOTE 28.—

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ing to certain details given by Rochard. (See translation above, and Note 93 below).

NOTE 29:—

CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER BY THE GOSPELLERS, OR "REFORMED" CHURCH, AT MEAUX:—The reader will most likely tolerate the exclusion of doctrinal argument from these notes. But the posture of the Gospellers, as well as that of their opponents, had speedily become so instinct with doctrinal energy, and so closely associated with the several ways of observing this rite, that some enquiry into the new liturgy is almost indispensable. The action of the Gospellers in this matter was treated as a most grievous offence; and, since the judgment condemns their liturgy without mercy, it will be just to ask what it was.

In the chapter of Crespin here translated it is said that Jaques Pavanes had been earlier burned at Paris "*nomine eius potissimum doctrinæ quam de Cena pauci tum cognouerant.*" (See "*Actiones*", 118. Cf, Note 20). Doubtless this was a doctrine opposed to the then accepted Transubstantiation. This opposition comes out clearly in the case of the Fourteen, where Crespin alludes to the disputation with the Sorbonne doctors. Calvin's treatise on the Body and Blood of Christ appeared in 1540. He was preacher at Strasburg till about that date. And it was but five or six years after, that the deputation from Meaux sought in the French Refugee Church at Strasburg a model for their own congregation. (See text: also Notes 3, 25). The intimate connection between Calvin, the Swiss Church, a Church at Strasburg, and Farel who formerly preached at Meaux, is matter of history. Dom Toussaints du Plessis, when he refers to the next period (i.e. about 1550 to 1560), calls the heresy "*Calvinisme.*" (T. du Pl. Tome I, 350.) On the whole, therefore, it may be taken as almost certain that the sacramental doctrine of the Meaux Gospellers in 1546 was akin to that of Calvin.

It appears quite plain that their great tenacity in this contest of doctrine was far from being a merely negative attitude. They performed in their own way the actual ceremony "once or twice" before they were apprehended. Many of those who assisted to found this church had long abjured the Mass, (see text), which no doubt increased their wish for what they considered a much purer and better authenticated form of spiritual comfort. The proper observance of this rite

is also mentioned in the text as one of the great objects to be attained by those solemn proceedings taken in constituting their minister. They therefore considered it a matter of high importance. There was a great deal of courage needed for such an undertaking as this. The bread, consecrated by a priest claiming apostolical succession, was to their neighbours an object of adoration; and heresy was held to be a capital offence. The Meaux reformers do not appear to have claimed that actual priestly succession, and, in the absence of such traditional authority, this congregation was open to sacerdotal attack. For the reformers, in celebrating the Supper, ran the serious risk not only of being supposed to profane some service they could not perform, but also of being held to account as holy elements that could not, by their minister, undergo Transubstantiation. The entire story, however, plainly contradicts any idea of, or wish for, actual worship of the elements. [See also Note 107c.]

An interesting contribution, bearing on the history of the Meaux liturgy, is furnished in Herminjard's collection: "*Correspondance des Réformateurs*." The method of partaking in the Supper at a Church at Strasburg, so early as 1525, is detailed in a letter there printed. This letter has a special interest, as it was written by Gérard Roussel, at Strasburg, to Nicolas Le Sueur, in Meaux itself. (See *Corresp. d. Réf.* I, 410.) The passage in question, which is in Latin, may be thus translated:—"There is a table standing forward in an open part of the church, so as to be visible to all; they do not call it an altar, since it is considered to be of that nature by those only who have changed the Supper of Christ into a sacrifice; but it does not differ at all from what are commonly known as altars. The minister draws near to this table, so, however, that his face is turned towards the people, and not his back; which latter custom was hitherto observed by those sacrificial priests, who, as if they bore before them some species* of God, so esteemed this service, as to think that their backs, and not their faces, should be in view of the people. Seated at the table,† with his face turned to the people, so that all eyes may look towards him, he first utters certain prayers drawn from scripture, and that in few words; then they all sing some psalm, which done, and some further prayers having been uttered by the minister" (*per ministrum*), "he ascends the chair, and first reads in the

* or "form"; [Latin: *speciem*.]

† or "Stationing himself before [or "at"] the table"; [Latin: *Assidens mensæ*.]

“understanding of all, the scripture that he intends to expound. He proceeds to expound it at some length, citing other passages of scripture which bear on the matter, but so, however, as to observe the proportion of faith,* and to convey no idea that does not point to faith and its attendant charity. When the discourse is finished he returns to the table; the symbol” (*symbolum* i.e. the Apostles’ creed) “is sung by all; after which done, he explains to the community the use for which Christ left to us the ordinance of His supper” (*in quem usum Christus suam nobis reliquerit Coenam*); “disclosing in a few words the benefit of Christ’s death and of his blood, which was shed on the cross; then he recounts the words of Christ, as they were written by the evangelists or by Paul. Then, with those who wish to draw near (for no one is compelled though all are invited), he shares the bread and the wine, true symbols of the body and blood of Christ, left by him to his apostles for remembrance of his death. While the communion is performed and each receives his portion of the supper, Kyrie Eleeson is sung by all, and they seem thus to give thanks in a hymn for the benefit received. The communion is performed in such manner that the minister receives last, and indeed that which remains over. When this is done each withdraws to his own home, to return after luncheon” (*a prandio*) “to the greater church, wherein about the twelfth hour a discourse to the people is made by one of the ministers.”

Another authority, Röhrich, tells us in his “*Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass*,” (Strasburg, 1830, Theil I, 202,) that the chief service, including apparently the Lord’s Supper, took place each Sunday, at seven in summer, and eight in winter, and lasted about two hours. The same book mentions the form of words with which the bread was handed to the communicants:—“*Gedenket, glaübet, verkündet dass Christus der Herr für euch gestorben ist*”: (“Remember, believe, proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you.”) (Cf. Röhrich, *ibid*, p. 210.)

It will be borne in mind that a French refugee Church at Strasburg was established in 1538. (See Note 25). And further evidence of very high value as to the nature of the Meaux celebration is furnished by the ancient Geneva and Strasburg Communion Service; which itself would seem to have been an attempt to establish an authoritative use for the

*This phrase was used to denote the proportion which the gospel doctrines have been held to bear to one another. Compare Romans XII, 6; and Hook’s Church Dictionary, “Analogy of Faith.”

French-speaking protestants. [The Paris Church of 1555 was also formed on the model of Strasburg, Cf: Note 3, above.] The VIth Volume of Baum and Cunitz' "*Joannis Calvini opera*" (Brunswick, 1867) contains a reprint of "*La Forme des Prières et chantz ecclésiastiques avec la manière d'administrer les Sacremens etc.*" MDXLII. This ancient and extremely rare prayer-book, [which itself I have never seen,] was reprinted by the above-named editors, with an introduction, and references to further editions or books: viz., 1545 (Strasburg), 1547, etc. At the grave risk of unduly swelling these notes, an abstract of that Communion Service ought I think to be given here. It is drawn from the above-named Brunswick publication.

The order of service opens with directions as to notice on the previous Sunday, exclusion of children until taught and professed, instruction of ignorant strangers.

On the day itself the minister must allude in his sermon to the signification and proper reception of this service. The 1545 edition contains a long exposition, enforcing the need of prayer, confession, and praise, and of deep reverence; the convenience of the vulgar tongue; and the principal doctrine that the partakers should live in Christ, and Christ in them. Then are to follow prayers, and the confession of faith, as a testimony that all will live and die in the doctrine and religion of Christianity: [perhaps the profession mentioned by Crespin, (see above, p 37.), unless that was more distinctly directed against the casuistry of the Nicodemites; Cf: *Hist: d: Égl: Réf: Edition 1883, Tome I, 66*]. The edition of 1545 says that meanwhile the minister prepares on the table the bread and the wine; and in the same edition there follows a prayer in set form to God the Father, acknowledging the benefit of Christ's death, and asking the gift of a proper and beneficial celebration of this remembrance; also the Lord's prayer.

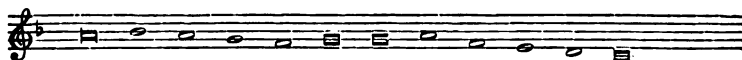
Now follows an exhortation from the XIth chapter of I. Corinthians: "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you: that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed" [This can, I think, hardly fail to have been the passage from the named epistle, which, according to Crespin, was being expounded by LeClerc when apprehended. Rochard also mentions that LeClerc was then engaged in reading and explaining some text. (See above, pp 37, 44.)] The exhortation goes on to pronounce excommunicate such as are idolaters, heretics, dissolute, etc.; for that the Supper is only for the faithful servants of Christ. Then a paragraph exhorts

that each should examine his conscience, repent, believe, and renounce all malice. There follows the assertion that, if conscience assures of this frame of mind, you are accepted of God, and may come to this Sacrament. It is next pointed out that natural temptations are not to prevent those that hate evil and love the Lord, since the Sacrament is "*une médecine pour les pauvres malades*." Faith in Christ's promises is then taught; also an instruction, directing the recipient to look beyond the bread and wine to a heavenly nourishment accomplished within the soul; the sacrament being taken as a pledge of the merit (*iustice*) imputed by Christ's death and passion. The people are then exhorted to lift up their souls to Jesus Christ in the glory of the Father; to avoid the error of contemplating the tangible signs as if He were in them; but to seek the truth spiritually.

After this the ministers distribute the bread and the cup to the people, these being warned to come with reverence and in good order. Meanwhile psalms are sung or a suitable portion of scripture read. At the end, thanks are formally given. The distribution is prescribed with more detail in the edition of 1545. The minister is to receive first both bread and wine; then he administers to the deacon, and thereafter to the whole congregation (*Église*), saying:—"Take, eat, the body of Jesus, which was given over to death for you," ("*Prenez, mangez, le corps de Jésus, qui a été livré à mort pour vous.*") The deacon administers the cup saying:—"This is the cup of the New Testament with the blood of Jesus, which was shed for you" ("*C'est le calice du nouveau Testament au sang de Jésus, qui a été respandu pour vous.*") Meanwhile the congregation sings the Psalm "I will give thanks unto Thee" ("*Louange et grace ie te etc. . .*" Ps. 138 *de la première édition.*) A form of thanksgiving is set out (in 1545), which acknowledges the benefit of Christ's death and communion, and asks for continued benefit, to the glory of the Trinity; after this the Chant of Simeon is prescribed, and then the minister is to dismiss the people with a benediction.

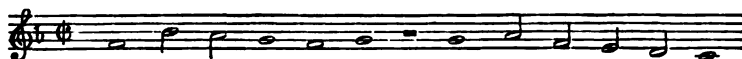
The book closes with a long paragraph, apparently not part of the service, claiming that they had restored the true and ancient Sacrament, not destroyed it.

Two very early French openings of the "*Cantique de Simeon*" are given in Douen's "*Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*" (1878), Tome. I, p. 632.



Main - te - nant Sei - gneur Dieu, As don - né en moy lieu.

and



How far the above Liturgy was adopted by the Meaux Gospellers, or Church, of 1546, will perhaps never be conclusively proved. It is so extraordinarily close in date, and in the circumstances of the history, that one can hardly err in attributing to them the use "once or twice" of this very striking religious service.

NOTE 30 :—

As to adherents of these views among the country people compare Note 15; See also Rochard's account, (translation, p. 44).

NOTE 31 :—

It was remarked by a friend who heard this passage, that it showed these people were Calvinists. The inuendo here was, obviously, to fix on the Gospellers the doctrine of Predestination; which doctrine was indeed soon after (i.e. in 1562) even professed by the English Clergy in their XVIIth Article of Religion.

There is every reason to suppose that the Meaux congregation accepted generally Calvin's theology. The statement in the text would, however, most likely befit any religion that taught trust in a Supreme Being. Resignation to the Divine Will would, I suppose, seem dutiful, to such determined and convinced readers of the Gospel history of the Passion. This attitude of mind does not mark attachment to either side in the metaphysical, and therefore chronic, question of Free Will.

Michelet, in thoughtful and eloquent sentences, describes the passionate yearning for some firm comfort in the desperately troubled sixteenth century: a feeling which doubtless was at first soothed at Meaux by the gentle preachings of Briçonnet, but took a more definite intellectual form in the sombre confidence of Calvinism. [Cf: Michelet "*Histoire de France*," 1857, Vol. VIII, pp. 15, 144, 180, 199.]

NOTE 32 :—

Another account of the proceedings and execution, containing many peculiar details, and substantially agreeing with this, is contained in Rochard's MS. [See translation above.] Rochard seems to treat the event from a point of view opposed to the sufferers. See also Toussaints du Plessis, [translation above].

NOTE 33 :—

"Magistratus eius vrbs." This was the "*Lieutenant général civil et criminel*," Philip Rhumet. (See Carro, p. 205; also Rochard.)

NOTE 34 :—

"Praepositus." The "*prévôt de la Ville*"; *Mâitre* Adrien de la Personne. (Cf. Carro, pp. 205, 214; and Rochard.)

NOTE 35 :—

That is, the "*Prévôt des Maréchaux*"; or Provost Marshal. (Cf. Carro, p. 205, and Rochard.) This was Gilles Berthelot: (See p. 40, above, and Note 57.)

NOTE 36 :—

The higher officials also included the "*Procureur du Roi*," or King's Attorney, Louis Cosset, who had consulted with the *Lieutenant Général* beforehand. The historian of Meaux attributes to "*Louis Cosset, procureur du roi*," in 1572, an active and greedy part in the St. Bartholomew massacre at that town. (Carro, pp. 205, 229-231.)

NOTE 37 :—

The reader is here specially invited to compare Rochard's detailed account of the raid; and the sketch plan. (See p. 44; and Notes 93, 95.)

NOTE 38 :—

"Quaesitor." The "*Histoire des Martyrs*," 1582, says:— "*Puis le Lieutenant leur demanda*". Sismondi notices the appointment, in 1515, of "*Enquêteurs*" to the different Courts of Baillis and Seneschals. [*Hist. des Fr.* Tome XVI, 15.]

NOTE 39 :—

The number of persons apprehended has been variously

given. It was certainly about sixty. [See translations, pp. 38, 45, 48, 50; also Toussaints du Plessis, Vol. II, p. 292. *La France Protestante (pièces justificatives)*; Fox, edition 1846, Vol. I. p. 134.]

NOTE 40:—

Doubtless the *Château*, or Castle, mentioned by Rochard. [Cf. p. 44; and note 95. See sketch-plan.]

NOTE 41:—

Though there is some difficulty in finding an authentic version of the 79th Psalm, with tune, before the Bourgeois Bible of 1560, yet a comparison of various authorities seems to justify a confident surmise that the following words and tune were used by the Meaux captives, or their friends, on this striking occasion. This version is taken from the "*Pseaumes de David, Mis en Rime par Clément Marot et Théodore de Besze*," appearing at the end of "*La Bible*" printed by Iaquy, Daudeau, and Bourgeois, (1560). I am informed that it also occurs in the edition of "*La Bible*" of Barbier and Courteau, 1559. Further, a high literary authority at Geneva tells me that, while Pierre Davantes' edition of the Psalms with music, (1560), bears upon its title a distinct reference to an older and less easy method for singing the Psalms of Marot and de Bèze, the identical tune in question may well have been published or adopted even so soon as 1543. A copy of the Davantes Psalter, 1560, above named, is, or recently was, in possession of Mr. R. S. Faber, hon. sec. of the Huguenot Society of London.

Riggenbach's "*Der Kirchengesang in Basel seit der Reformation*," (Basel, 1870,) refers to the "*Forme des prières etc.*" (Geneva, 1542), [which he calls A]; to the same book (Strasburg, 1545) [called B]; and to the "*Lyons Psalter*," (1549) [called C]; as well as to another Lyons edition by de Tournes (1563) [called D]. [See Riggenbach *ibid*: p. 172]. He says on page 181: that Psalm 79 fails to appear in A; while B and D entirely agree together; and C varies only in the first note  instead of .

Now a comparison of the version of de Tournes 1563 (Lyons), with that of Bourgeois 1560, exhibits no variation between them beyond the mere spelling of the words. And, since Riggenbach, in the passage above referred to, asserts the agreement of de Tournes 1563 with the Strasburg edition of 1545, we must conclude that the Meaux correspondents with Strasburg, in 1545-6, probably sang their Psalm, with rhymes and

tune, as reprinted later by Bourgeois. It seems that, at least in the Strasburg Refugee Church, there was an official musician; which indicates considerable attention to music in that Church. [Cf. Note 25a.]

Another writer, of great authority, has handled this subject itself. M. Douen contributes to the "*Bulletin*" of the "*Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*," Tom xxviii, an article which, dealing with the Psalm sung at Meaux, and commenting on the vigorous character of the melody, says that it was sung in unison and not yet harmonized in 1546; that the words were by Clément Marot (verses 1 and 6) (1543), melody by Louis Bourgeois (1544). Two stanzas "*Les gens entrés sont*" etc: are then quoted; but the article unfortunately does not quote the actual music. However, this same writer, in his studious book "*Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*", gives (Tome I, p. 726), among his comparisons, the first eight notes (in a different clef) of the tune printed below, as the opening of the 79th Psalm [Bourgeois], and collates with it Attaignant's "*Secourez moy Madame*."

Perhaps the reader will excuse the length of the above observations, if he bears in mind the difficulty of fixing, for certain, details so transient, with materials so rare. Nay, some Psalters of about that date may well be lost altogether. The conclusion from such facts as I can command is nearly irresistible, that the tune and words sung by the Meaux captives, or their friends in the street, on the 8th of September, 1546, were those here given. [See p. 98.]

NOTE 42 :—

"Sabbatha": in the sense of pagan or profane assemblies. In this controversy each side charged the other with heathen observances. (See above, pp: 36, 43, 51, 54; also Notes 77, 78, 107c.)

NOTE 43 :—

Compare Translations, pp: 48, 51, 52, 53, 54; also Note 107c, and Note 29.

NOTE 44 :—

The "*Histoire des Martyrs*," (1582,) says :—"fut autant troublé qu' Herodes iadis."

NOTE 45 :—

"Quàm ad culinam ventris colendam tuendámque com-
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Les gens en-trez sont en ton he-ri-ta-ge, Ils ont pol-lu, Seigneur, par leur ou-tra-ge Ton Tem-ple Saint,

le-ru-sa-lem des-truite, Si qu'en mi-seaux de pier-res l'ont re-dui-te. Ils ont bail-lé les corps De tes Ser-ui-teurs

morts Aux cor-beaux pour les pais-tre La chair des bœ-vi-vûs Aux a-ni-maux, sui-vûs Bois & plai-ne chât-tes-tre

First verse of the seventy-ninth Psalm. [See Note 41, p. 96 above.]

N.B.—The *Histoire des Martyrs* (ed. 1885) says, in a footnote, that the Psalm in Marot's verses was "*Souvent chanté par les huguenots.*" [I find there, however, no assistance as to the tune.]

paratum." Referring perhaps to the sale of the Church's comforts by the begging friars, or others, to their own material gain. (Cf. Note 8; and also Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 331, 335, 336; and II, 278.) Perhaps, however, this is Crespin's comment on the sacrifice by priestly manducation, or consumption of the elements at Mass. Compare the bitter remarks in Hook's Church Dictionary (1852), pp: 400, 401.

NOTE 46 :—

"Postquã omnia, quæ ad causam innocentiãque eorum premendam pertinebant, diligenter essent expiscati." The text of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," in the Toulouse edition of 1885 etc., says :—"Or, après qu'on eut malicieusement inuenté contre eux tout ce qui seruoit a les gener et charger, ils furent menez" The examination, or even trial, of all the prisoners would probably be needed, before sending them for judgment to the "*Parlement de Paris*." The proceedings would, no doubt, in this striking case, be very full, and might comprise several alternative or cumulative charges. If quite fairly conducted, they would still seem long and vexatious. Ten years before, it had been thought necessary to reduce by law the great number of lawyers at Meaux. [Cf. Carro, p. 190.] (Compare Note 105a. Also Note 107c.)

NOTE 47 :—

"Ad Palatinum carcerem":—*Conciergerie* [or *Consiengerie*] *du Palais*. (See the Judgment, translation, p. 51.)

NOTE 48 :—

"A Summa Curia Parisiensi." That is, the "*Parlement de Paris*," in this case acting by its Vacation representatives. The King annually issued his letters patent nominating a court for the autumn vacation. The oldest court of this nature in France was that of the "*Chambre des Vacations*" of the "*Parlement de Paris*," which had a complete criminal jurisdiction. [See also Notes 105a, and 106.]

NOTE 49 :—

This judgment, or decree, the "*Arrêt de Meaux*," is in the present volume translated at length, from the best authority; see p. 50. [Compare also the slightly varying versions given in *Histoire d. Martyrs*, 1582; Toussaints du Plessis, Tome II, 292; Carro, p. 510, etc.; and *La France*

Protestante, "pièces justificatives."] The "memory of the affair" would, however, in the absence of collateral evidence, remain rather puzzling to anyone that enquired into the heresy. No detail thereof appears on this Record, which may follow some contemporary custom, of either stating each offence in the most general terms that fit the law, or of deliberately suppressing the details of what was thought a dangerous belief. This judgment at any rate refers to the legal process, instead of itself setting out the detail of the offences. Sismondi remarks, in reference to a provincial Council held at Bourges in 1528:— "*Sous le présidence du Cardinal de Tournon, qui condamna toutes les croyances des Luthériens, sans les rapporter, de peur de contribuer à les répandre.*" [*Histoire des Français*, Paris, 1833, Vol. 16, p. 361.] Compare also Baird, I, 217, as to destruction of the official record of trials; and a case mentioned on page 450 of the "*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.*"

See, further, the Introduction, above, pp. 13, 14, 28, 29; and Notes, 66, 25a, 29, 46, 107c.

NOTE 50:—

The following are the Latin forms of the names in Crespin's text, 1560, used for translation:—Petrus Clericus, Stephanus Manginus, Iacobus Bouchebecus, Ioã. Brisebar', Henricus Hutinot', Thomas Honoratus, Ioan. Baudouinus, Ioã. Fleschus Ioan. Piquerus, Petr' Piquerus, Ioã. Mateflonus, Philipp' Paru', Michael Caillous, & Franciscus Clericus. Compare, however, the French forms in the Judgment, pages 51, 52, above; and the slightly different spellings in "*Histoire des Martyrs*", [1582.]

NOTE 51:—

The judgment mentions the hurdle for two defendants only: LeClerc and Mangin. The others were to be placed in carts. This agrees with the narrative of the execution given later on in the text (see translation, p. 42; See also Rochard, translation, p. 46; and the Judgment, translation, p. 51.)

NOTE 52:—

In the "*Hist. d. Mart.*" 1582, there seems to be some confusion between Louys Piquery named in the decree, and Michel Piquery mentioned in relating the execution. Toussaints du Plessis in his account of the execution speaks of "*Un jeune enfant, nommé Louis Piquery.*" (See translation, p. 48.) It appears, however, from a rider to the judgment itself, that the lad would have suffered death, had he been "obstinate or pertinacious." (See translation, p. 56).

NOTE 53:—

Crespin's Latin text does not mention that a few prisoners were ordered to be set free: among them Perette and Marion Mangin. (See translation, p. 53.) These were children of Estienne. (See Note 26). One of the women condemned to look on was Marguerite, wife of Estienne Mangin. (See translation, p. 52, and Note 26; however, as to the widow's name, some possible doubt may be raised by the proceedings mentioned in Note 93.) Rochard's MS. in the Town Library at Meaux has a curious mistake on page 382, where the wife of Mangin is counted among ten excepted from punishment. She is in the judgment distinctly sentenced.

NOTE 54:—

The 7th October, 1546, was a Thursday. Dr. Downing, Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, has kindly answered this question. (See also pp. 42, 45, 49, 54; and Note 64.)

NOTE 55:—

This was not done, for lack of money. Carro says:—"*Mais soit qu'ils fussent tous peu pourvus de biens, soit que la confiscation déjà précédemment déclarée au profit du roi dût passer avant celle qui concernait la pieuse fondation, celle-ci n'eut pas lieu faute d'argent.*" (*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 208). This subject is dealt with by Rochard; see his MS., p. 382. [Cf: also Note 93, referring to Mangin's house; and an interesting rider to the judgment, translation, p. 56.]

NOTE 56:—

"*Petrus Lisetus primus tū curiæ præses.*" Pierre Lizet, born in 1482, was appointed Premier President in 1529. To him has been attributed the institution of the "*Chambre particulière*," for trying heretics, in 1547-8. [See *Hist. ecclési.* edition 1883, Tome. I, p. 50, Note; Weiss "*La chambre ardente*", pp. LXXI, LXXVII, etc. Cf: the judgment, translation, p. 56; also "*Hist. d. Mart.*" 1885, etc., a marginal note to the judgment as there given].

NOTE 57:—

"*Aegidio Bertheloto, qui latrunculatoris tum officio fungebatur.*" Strictly; the judge in larceny or in robbery cases. "*Preuost des Mareschaux*" *Hist. d. Mart.* 1582. [Cf. Rochard, translation, p. 45; and see Note 35.]

NOTE 58:—

“Duo Sorbonici Doctores.”

NOTE 59:—

MAILLARD and PICARD :—Maillard is said to have been the person that recommended, after the execution of Jean Chapot, that the obstinate should have their tongues cut out, because all would be lost if the condemned were allowed to speak. An iron ball in the mouth was sometimes used instead, as a gag. (Cf: *Hist: ecclés: des égl*; réf: Edⁿ 1883, Vol. I, p. 71, 72; and Baird, *Hist: of the Rise of the Huguenots*, I, 257.)

Maillard and Picard were nominated together as disputants or theological officials. (Cf: *Hist: ecclés: d: égl: réf: Edⁿ 1883*, I, 71, etc.; also Rochard, translation, p. 45.) [Cf: also Notes 105a; and 16.]

NOTE 59a :—

The village “Coubron” lies eastward of the “*Forêt de Bondy*,” at some distance from the Paris-Meaux road, which passes Livry. Fox’s “Book of Martyrs,” (Edn. 1846, II, 134,) boldly puts “Couberon, a weaver,” among the fourteen executed, placing “Peter Clerk” separately above that list. This hazardous explanation of the enthusiast’s doubtful fate seems to impute greater powers to the Provost Marshal, or other officers, than they then possessed. [See Note 105a.]

NOTE 60 :—

“Ad Pagū Liurium nominatum peruenerunt.” This country seems to have harboured the forbidden ideas. “*Pavanes fut suivi quelque temps après par un surnommé l’Hermite de Liury, qui est une bourgade sur le chemin de Meaux.*” (*Histoire des Martyrs*, 1582; Cf. Sismondi XVI, 240.)

NOTE 61 :—

“Lutheranum”:—This term was at that time often applied generally, as a reproach, to the reformers or dissidents, who held views opposed to Rome, notwithstanding the theological differences among themselves. Even the ancient community of the Vaudois were sometimes included under this phrase. (Compare Crespin “*Actiones Martyrum*,” 1560, the chapter headed “*Merindolii incolæ*,” 88, verso.) The French Protestants were later known as Barefeet or “*Pieds Nus*,” and as “*Huguenots*.” (See Note 96a.) The special sense of the word “Lutheran,” which later distinguished a section of protest-

ants, was not yet, I think, apprehended or intended by French Churchmen. (Cf. however Smiles, "The Huguenots," 1868, p. 22, note.)

NOTE 62:—

The Increase; the Increased; or, the Devoted. "*Comme qui diroit Surcroist*," (*Hist: d: Mart: 1582.*)

NOTE 63.

"*Tormentis extraordinarijs.*" (Cf: translations, pp. 45, 48, 51.)

NOTE 64:—

"*Postero die*":—A note to the 1885 edition of the "*Hist: d: Mart:*" says—"Ce fut donc le 7 qu'ils furent exécutés et non le 4, comme le disent les éditeurs des *Calvini opera XII*, p. 411." As to this, even the distinct Rochard is rather confusing, who makes less use of dates than of the perpetual phrases: "*Le dit jour*", and "*lendemain*." However the judgment itself, dated of Monday the fourth, apparently contemplated that the execution should be on a Thursday, which the 7th of the month was. (See further Note 54.)

NOTE 65:—

The noted controversy of Transubstantiation was doubtless a field of very warm fighting. Its importance, closely connected as it was with the adoration of the host, and also with the priests' powers, was recognized by both sides in the reformation campaign. [Cf: Translation above, p. 38; also Notes 43, 44, 45.] The doctrine itself had been definitely affirmed, along with the apostolical succession of priests, by the IVth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1215. [See "*Summa conciliorum omnium ordinata*," Bail, Paris, 1675.]

The minister, in his dispute with Picard, seems to rely more on common sense than on other arguments. Though Crespin says LeClerc knew theology in French, we may suppose he was no schoolman. However, Crespin himself was a good scholar, and must be read with some caution when he implies that this Picard, the official theologian, had nothing coherent to say about the scholastic distinctions of Substance, Accident, Appearance; and that he even abstained from making a flank attack with the Lutheran weapon of Consubstantiation.

Though Crespin probably had but one-sided evidence as to this episode, he is in general well corroborated and sound in his statements of historical fact. If we are reluctant to

impute abject controversial ignorance to Picard, yet it is likely enough that the cramping influence of mediæval school learning put many church disputants into some difficulty, when their premises and methods were questioned afresh by vigorous intellects.

NOTE 66 :—

“Septē eā conditionē acceperūt” :—The historians vary here somewhat as to the details. Fox's Book of Martyrs [Edition 1846], gives the place of execution, as the spot where this horrid operation was performed; and says that seven refused the condition.

Again, Carro says that eight had their tongues cut out before quitting prison for the execution. (*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 207.) See also Rochard's account. [Translation, p. 45.] But Toussaints du Plessis does not, in his very short account, allude to this additional severity. [Translation, pp. 48, 49.]

Carro, says that the object was to prevent the condemned from saying too much before the people, which is corroborated by an important rider to the Judgment itself, (see the translation, p. 56.) [Compare further Baird, Vol. I, 217. See also Notes 49, 59.] A case in 1533 is mentioned by the “*Histoire Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*,” [Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 23.]

This last-named work, at page 67, mentions by name Mangin only, in reference to this infliction in the Meaux case. But the account there is short, and this a side touch. [Compare also Laval's “History of the Reformation in France,” 1737, Vol. 1, pp. 61, 62.]

The plain conclusion upon the whole is that seven or eight, including Mangin and LeClerc, suffered the loss of their tongues before quitting the prison.

Martin, in his “*Histoire de France*,” (1878, Vol. VIII, p. 343), referring to this martyrdom, and to the allegation that Mangin spoke after his tongue was cut off, says ironically :—“*La Réforme commençait d'avoir aussi ses miracles.*” Whether the historians, Crespin and Bèze, thought this a miracle or not, we do not know; and ourselves need hardly so account it. A resolute man might, as an accomplished medical authority tells me, make a very simple ejaculation intelligible to willing hearers. The executioner probably did not use the searching skill of an anatomist. The phrases of the historians are respectively “*præcidere*,” and “*couper*.”

NOTE 66a :—

LeClerc is in error called Guillaume, not Pierre, in the



Le Pont et la Porte du Marché
avant la démolition de 1762 d'après un croquis de Janssen
Bridge and Gateway, by which the Procession with the Fourteen
would pass to the place of Execution

short account of the execution itself given by the "*Histoire Écclésiastique*," (Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 69), which, however, has called him "Pierre" in the rest of the story. (*Ibid.* pp. 67, 68.)

NOTE 67 :—

THE FORM OF PROCESSION:—Compare p. 46; and Note 51. It appears from Rochard that it went past the Cathedral. That route from the *Château* to the *Grand Marché* would extend to several hundred metres. (See plan.)

NOTE 68 :—

THE EXECUTION:—Rochard gives an account of the preparations for and accomplishment of this ghastly holocaust. (See translation, pp. 45, 46.)

NOTE 69 :—

"Adolescens, Michael Piquerius nominatus".—(See Note 52.)

NOTE 70 :—

Carro says that each of the fourteen was made fast high up on his gibbet, his face towards the pile to be fired. (*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 208). (Cf: Rochard, translation, p. 46.) There is a painful representation of a posture somewhat like this on the title page to the *Actiones Martyrum*. (See above, Note 1.)

NOTE 71 :—

(Marginal). "Furius Sacrificulorū boatus."

NOTE 72 :—

"Decantare ipsi quoque cœperunt."

NOTE 73 :—

O Saving Victim.

NOTE 74 :—

Hail Queen.

NOTE 75 :—

"Sanctissimæ hostiæ":—It is of course impossible to adequately reproduce, in English, the historian's grim play on the ecclesiastical word "*hostia*."



Le Pont et la Porte du Marché
at Louviers, de 1262 d'après un croquis de Janvier
Bridge and Gateway, by which the Prisoners with the Fourteen
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NOTE 76:—

The procession of the next day is fully described by Rochard, (translation, pp. 46, 47.) The curious may consult Toussaints du Plessis, who gives (at pp. 336, 337 of Vol. I) a minute account of the order to be observed at Meaux generally in Procession of the Sacrament. The proper rank and precedence of the different ecclesiastical bodies are there dealt with, as well as some claim to exemption, and even attendance "without prejudice," [*sans conséquence pour l'avenir.*"]

The reader may possibly enjoy the complacency of Rochard's account of what took place on the present occasion, after the human sacrifice now completed. The bright scene was adorned with the ecclesiastical pomp, and buxom beauty, of Meaux. Our delights are however interrupted by the apparition of those penitents, whose widowed and broken hearts were now scrupulously crushed, by the highest Court in a country that had been the example of chivalry.

NOTE 77:—

"Panaceū illud suum idolum."

NOTE 78:—

This marginal: "*Supplicatio ad puluinaria deorum*": refers to the pagan *lectisternium*, a sacrificial feast, when the ancients used to place images of the gods reclining on couches in the streets, with tables and food before them. The triumph of a general was sometimes honoured with such a *Supplicatio*. No doubt Crespin is here commenting on a temporary altar; which Rochard calls "*un tres somptueux reposoir.*" (See translation p. 47; also Notes 42, 43.)

NOTE 79:—

"In profundum infernū."

NOTE 80:—

The 1582 edition of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*" says:—
 "Or toutefois quelque chose qu'il peust iargonner, il ne seut
 tant faire qu'il peust induire les femmes à confesser au sortir
 de prison que leurs maris fussent damnez."

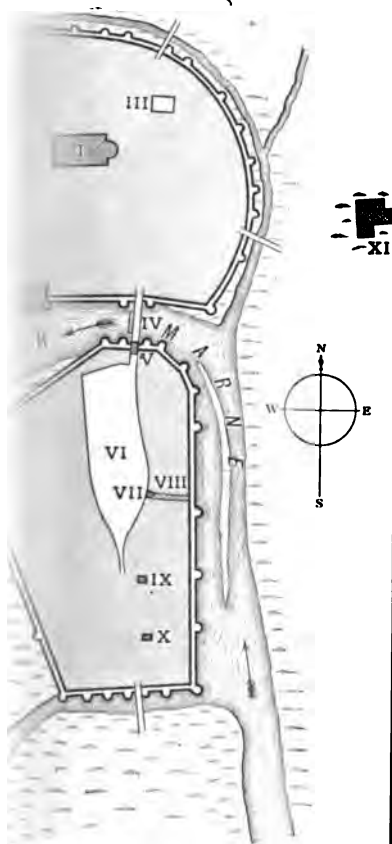
NOTE 81:—

Crespin relates in another part of his book the striking episode of Saintin Nivet, who shortly after returned to Meaux, with the object of filling one of the many vacant places in that

546
in plan.

300

St. Francis
about 800 metres
from Cathedral.



Walker & Bontall sc.

the irresistible conviction that France was injured by the forcible and temporary suppression of the French Protestants. The subsequent history could be but touched upon in Note 2. Our own country has received benefit from the intellect, industry, and conduct, of French Huguenots; who from time to time, and in considerable numbers, sought a home here.

NOTE 87 :—

“Procureur du Roy.”

NOTE 88 :—

“Conuenticulles ”:—(Cf. pp. 38, 51, also Note 42.)

NOTE 89 :—

The reader is requested to look at the sketch-plan, and to compare Notes 2, 92, and 93.

The plan is based on a comparison of various authorities, including: Le Blondel's “*Petit Guide*,” and Carro's “*Histoire*”; the plans, ancient and modern, contained therein, and in Rochard's M.S.; as well as a facsimile by Joly (Paris) of a drawing dated 1609; two seventeenth century prints representing Meaux; a photograph of a plan dated 1738, and preserved in the town library; a personal visit (though I took no measurements then); and communications and modern tracings of the *Grand Marché* from M. Moussé, (See Note 93). Though some considerable care has been needed to project even so sketchy a plan, owing to the various alterations made at Meaux about the time in question and ever since, I trust the attempt is fairly successful. To-day the ramparts are almost entirely gone, and the *Château* is destroyed. (Cf. Note 95.)

NOTE 90 :—

“Sergens.” Those who had to carry out the Magistrates' orders. Compare :—

“As this fell Sergeant, death,
Is strict in his arrest.”

Shakspeare, Hamlet, Act V, Scene II.

NOTE 91 :—

“Archers”:—Formerly this word signified also “Thief-takers.”

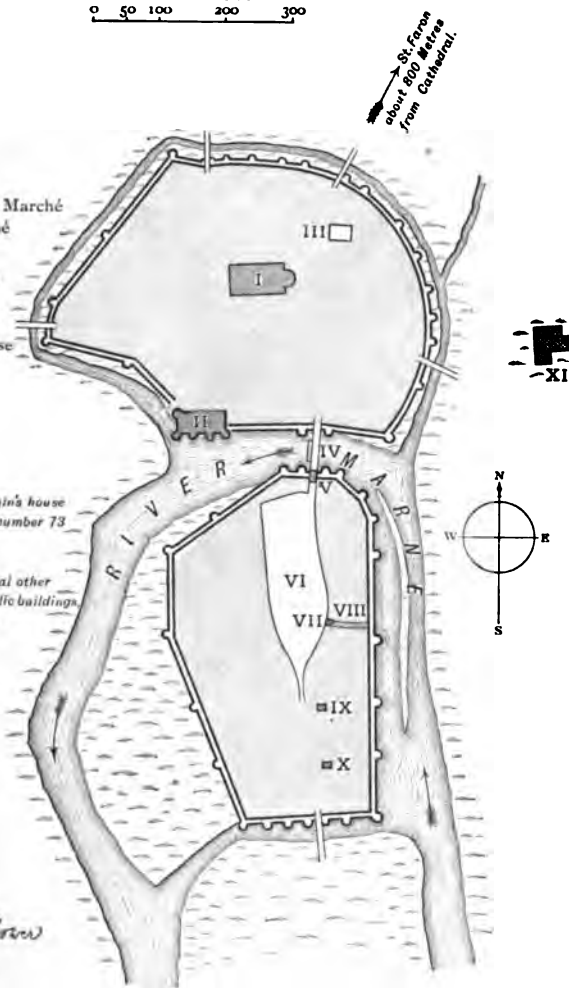
Scale of Mètres

0 50 100 200 300

- I. Cathedral
- II. Château
- III. Place S. Maur
- IV. Bridge over to the Marché
- V. Gate of the Marché
- VI. Grand Marché
- VII. Estienne Mangin's house.
- VIII. Garden extending from Mangin's house to the Ramparts.
- IX. S. Martin
- X. S. Saintin
- XI. Cordeliers.

NOTE. (A) The site of Mangin's house is now occupied by number 73 Rue du Marché.

NOTE. (B) There were several other churches besides public buildings, not delineated here.



Walter & Bouall sc.

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tak

NOTE 92 :—

The *Place S. Maur* is, and I conclude was, near the Cathedral in the N.E. part of the town of Meaux, and about three hundred metres north of the bridge that crosses over to the *Marché*. Its situation is close to the ancient bed of the river Marne, and near to the present minute water course called "*le Brasset*." Prints representing Meaux so late as the seventeenth century show also a fosse, or else a stream, of some size, outside the ramparts, and connected with the main course of the river. [See plan.] [Cf. also T. d. Pl., Tome I, 3, as to the old river. See, further, Note 2, above.]

NOTE 93 :—

THE HOUSE OF MANGIN—*Maison des Quatorze* :—The house of Mangin, where these meetings, so important to the new movement and to France, were held, has not been easy to locate; and I was repeatedly told at Meaux that nothing was known of the site, and even that its discovery could not be hoped for.

It has been suggested that a quite modern church shows the spot. The church meant is, doubtless, that of *Notre Dame du Marché*, standing about half-way down the *Rue Madame Dussy*, which now leads eastward from the southern end of the great Market Place to the *Quai de Bellevue*. The site indicated, though not abutting on the open space, would still fairly agree with the approach of the two parties, as related generally by Rochard; except that the phrase "*la folie*" is not yet conclusively explained.

However, it will be in the reader's memory that, when the house of Mangin was to be destroyed, the site was ordered to be used for building a chapel, wherein a Thursday Mass was to be said. (See pp. 39, 53, 54, 56). Rochard states at page 382 of his MS. that this last was not done, for want of money: so much being needed for scaffolds, etcetera. He adds that the spot was given to the *Hôtel Dieu* of Meaux.

I have requested, and happily obtained, the very valuable assistance of Monsieur Moussé, *Econome Secrétaire à l'Hospice Général de Meaux*: a great institution that has received the properties and duties of the old *Hôtel Dieu*, as well as those of other hospitals in and about Meaux. This gentleman's researches, vigorously undertaken among the archives of the Hospital, have been extended to other quarters. Certain official plans and registers preserved at Meaux, and, (by courtesy of the notaries of that place), various old deeds, have been

subject to his scrutiny. The generous undertaking has been carried out with great care and severity, those touchstones of antiquarian study.

The result of his work is to successfully establish the site of this most interesting house.

There seems to have been an official enquiry on the 12th of October, 1558. Inspection and report were made by two master masons at Meaux, and two other persons, as to the position, length, width, and value, of the site of Étienne Mangin's house, demolished according to the "*Arrêt des 14*" of the 4th October, 1546.

The report of the experts was accompanied by another, from Philippe Rumet, Lieutenant General of the baillage of Meaux, addressed to *MM: les Gens de Comptes à Paris*, and dated the 11th of October, 1558.

At that time the site was still a waste space, but it is suggestive indeed to find that it abutted on a long shaped garden, extending to the ramparts, and thus doubtless facilitating communication with the river and the country.

A third of the late Mangin's property was claimed by the successors of Jehanne Chériot, named as the widow. Their claim was allowed; though the christian name (unless it be a second one) does not accord with the 1546 Judgment, (see pp. 50, 52), and the family history, (see Note 26). The other two thirds of this vacant spot passed as a gift from the King, Henri II, to the *Maison Dieu*, by Letters Patent delivered at Fontainebleau in June 1556. The house was not rebuilt till the year 1566.

The site, which M. Moussé has been able to trace down to 1789 under the name "*Maison des Quatorze*," rendered something in the nature of a ground-rent to the *Maison Dieu*, from 1566. This was in 1809 bought up by M. Pépin, who already owned the house built upon that site. He was still the owner in 1818, according to an official plan and register of that date. From him its occupation subsequently passed to one Leclerc, as is implied in a notarial deed of 1525.

Pépin, however, according to the said plan and register of the *Marché* in 1818, owned at that time another house also on the same side of the *Marché*, which fact has given rise to some considerable difficulty. For it now became needful to distinguish carefully the documents of title to those two houses, Nos. 31 and 71, in order to identify the site of the old *Maison des Quatorze*, on which ground-rent had formerly been paid to the *Maison Dieu*. The difficulty was complicated by the

fact, that the present No. 71 *Rue du Marché*, is not the No. 71 of Pépin's time, which has become No. 73. Again there was some confusion possible as to the occupancy of the back premises of Nos. 71 and 73. The *Rue du Marché* runs down the eastern side of the open space of the *Marché*, forming in fact a slightly curved boundary in that part of it.

A prolonged inspection of documents led M. Moussé to the definite conclusion that No. 31 had a quite different origin. Pépin and his wife had acquired this house on the 22nd *Ventôse*, in the year X, (that is about 1802), from one Charles Lemaire. It was at length ascertained from the documents of title to the present No. 71, that this also was not the site in question. Eventually a comparison of rental and conveyance established the site of the present No. 73, as that of the "*Maison des Quatorze*." The property, which formerly ran back, from a frontage on the *Grand Marché*, to the eastern ramparts themselves, was curtailed in length, when the "*Promenade de Bellevue*" was formed, roughly on the alignment of those ramparts. But the *width* on frontage, of the modern shop, No. 73, accords exactly with the report of the experts who measured the waste site of Mangin's house in 1558. They measured it "*dans œuvre*," (inside in the clear,) and found it sixteen feet wide. The foot, in that time and country, amounted to thirty-three-and-a-half centimetres modern, as near as may be; and sixteen of those feet come to about five metres forty. M. Moussé has taken a measure of the modern front of No. 73, also "*dans œuvre*." It amounts to five metres forty, almost exactly; and the entire front of of the house, including two side walls, amounts to about six metres thirty-five.

The considerations above suggested in support of the hypothesis that the very modern Church mentioned might mark the site of Mangin's house, apply on the other hand with equal or still greater force in favour of No. 73 *Rue du Marché*. The claim of this house is, as we have seen, further supported by documentary evidence, and measurements; and its situation agrees better with the directions given as to the place of execution (Cf. pp. 39, 45, 48, 51.)

No one can avoid locating somewhere a striking event. It needs a prodigiously lofty or mean mind to ignore the real situation of acts tragical or heroic. Meaux seems to have kept alive for some two hundred and fifty years a tradition, or at least a phrase, now timely recovered and confirmed by an officer of her most beneficent institution.

The modest spot in a country town, where Mangin lived, organized with LeClerc and others the earliest church within France of the "Reformed Religion," and opposite which these two, with twelve companions, endured a horrible death, such a place will be striking perchance to the ignorant and the curious, will probably be touching to Huguenots and to Meldenses, and must certainly interest any native of that country, or any visitor, who reflects on the movement of the sixteenth century, and on the large share which the "*Grand Marché*" of Meaux had in it.

NOTE 94 :—

"Il ne laissa pas que d'avoir peur ainsy qu'il l'auoua après."

NOTE 95 :—

In Carro's "*Histoire de Meaux*" are given both a plan, and two views, of the *Château*, as at different dates, along with a full account of it. (See that work, pp. 81, etc.) The *Château*, several times altered, was interesting both for its ancient history, and for its gloomy contribution to the later massacres of 1572 and 1792, as well as for the imprisonment of the Martyrs of 1546. When Carro wrote (1865), and indeed till a year or two ago, its latest buildings were still standing. But its final demolition was completed the other day, making room for a totally uninteresting public office. The situation is on the right, or town side, of the river; abuts on the *Rue des Vieux Moulins*, and the *Quai Victor Hugo*; is about two hundred metres, S.S.W. from the Cathedral, and rather less than two hundred metres West from the bridge over to the *Marché*. The master builder, in charge of the works, showed me several antique curiosities dug up on that spot, including a small stone axe head. The prisons covered a large space. (See also the sketch-plan of Meaux).

NOTE 96 :—

That is, by the Vacation Judges of the *Parlement de Paris*. [See pp. 39, 48, 50; and Notes 48, 49, 105a].

NOTE 96a :—

"Huguenots":—This phrase of Rochard's is perhaps an anachronism, but it is hazardous to assert even that, so obscure is the origin of the name, or its use. Browning's "*History of the Huguenots*" (fourth edition), enumerates ten derivations. *Hus*; *Hugues*, a Sacramentarian; *Hugh Capet*; and *Hugon's* tower at Tours; *Huguenen*, a Flemish word meaning Puritans;

together with *Huguenote*, meaning a common pot for cooking; and a few other suggestions, are in that work discussed and subordinated to the etymology often received, which traces this term to *Eignot*, *Eidgenossen*,=*federati*=leagued together. This is the derivation insisted upon by Maimbourg, who says that, after Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541, his doctrine and discipline were followed by the protestants of France, since that time called "Huguenots" and "Calvinists." (*Hist: du Calvinisme*", 1682, pp. 50, 51.)

At the risk of appearing presumptuous in view of such authorities, I would venture to point out the vast change which the first syllable, (important in accent, and essential to the meaning of the word), must then have undergone even in a short time, in passing from the Teutonic to the Gallic speech. Such a change could only be readily explained, by the conversion into some very popular, or very ridiculous, phrase, that sounded somewhat like it in French. And it is indeed possible, that such a process may have combined some of the other suggested derivations.

Before making up his mind the student will perhaps consider the valuable remarks appearing at Vol. I, pp. 307, 308, of the *Histoire d: Égl: Réf:* (1882 edition); where the annotator disapproves of the derivation from "*Eignot*." At that place the text itself inclines to adopt the derivation "*Huguet*," a sort of goblin king of the night, at Tours; which nickname was thence applied to protestants by the priests, from their using the cover of night for safe attendance at their Divine service. An episode at Angers, narrated in the *Hist. d. Martyrs* (Toulouse edition, Vol. III, p. 303), may perhaps support this theory.

Littré's "*Dictionnaire de la langue Française*" (1877) contains a long paragraph on the etymology of "*Huguenot*." The derivation from "*eidgenossen*" is discussed and disfavoured. "*Huguenot*" is there said to have been a proper name long before the Reformation, even in the fourteenth century. And it is asserted that the first written mention of it, in connection with Calvinists, appears under the form "*huguenaulx*," in a letter from the Comte de Villars, 11 November, 1560. [Compare also "Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London", Vol. 2, pp 249 etc. Vol. 3, pp 420 etc.] Whatever view of the derivation may be adopted by the reader, or ultimately by scholars, the term itself, (well enough established before Rochard's own time,) was apparently not yet used by writers, to designate the French Protestants when the Fourteen were burnt

in 1546, though Carro says that "Huguenots," "Calvinists," and "Protestants", were names indifferently used in 1563. (*Histoire de Meaux*, p. 224). No doubt the word "*Huguenot*" was employed by friends, and foes, to designate the party, before that time; and probably it was in popular use before anyone wrote it down.

Another very interesting nick-name was applied to that party. One sign of penitence, occasionally imposed by law on some, (and voluntarily adopted by others,) was to walk barefoot in a procession. (Cf. the Judgment, p. 52.) In 1561, the Meaux "*huguenots*" made public processions into neighbouring villages with their preacher; and, though armed, many of them adopted the fancy of going barefoot. They then received the name "*Pieds-Nus*", which they long retained. (See Carro's "*Histoire de Meaux*," p. 218.) (As to the earlier term "Lutheran", see Note 61.)

NOTE 97:—

"Preuost des Mareschaux de France".

NOTE 97a:—

See Note 59.

NOTE 97b:—

"Lieutenant Particulier".

NOTE 98:—

"Avec plusieurs autres officiers et gens de justice dudit Meaux".

NOTE 99:—

See p. 42. Also Notes 66, 59; and p. 56.

NOTE 100:—

"Baillage." :— Compare Note 2, page 59.

NOTE 100a:—

See pp. 42, 48. Also Note 70.

NOTE 101:—

See pp. 42, 48, 51, 56. Also Note 52.

NOTE 101a:—

There appears to be some discrepancy between this number and the details given in the judgment. [See pp: 51-53.]

NOTE 102:—

Men, not women. [See the Judgment, pp. 51, 52.]

NOTE*:—

"Carrefours." [Cf: also pp: 51, 52.]

NOTE 103:—

As to the proper order in detail of the great processions at Meaux, see T. d. Plessis, Tome. I, pp. 336, 337.

NOTE 104:—

"Et auquel lieu estoit vn tres somptueux reposoir". [Cf: Note 78.]

NOTE 105:—

Cf: Note 24, (towards end).

NOTE 105a:—

LEGAL PROCEDURE:—M. Weiss, in his book "*La Chambre Ardente*," (Paris, 1889), p. LXXI, &c., deals with the established legal procedure against alleged heretics. He dates the actual formation of the "*Chambre particulière*" at 1547-8; but this date need not concern us, as the appointment of that body was made merely to ease the pressure of religious cases before the "*Parlement*," involving probably no further amendment of procedure. This procedure itself doubtless fell within the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, and the Declaration of 23 July, 1543, together with the general law of France. The reader will bear in mind the supposed sovereign jurisdiction of the "*Parlement*," which Court had curtailed the Bishops' powers to arrest those not in orders, who were suspected of heresy,—but afterwards (with encouragement from Rome) granted enormous powers to a mixed commission. [Cf: Note 17. See also Haag, pp. V, etc., and *pièces justificatives*. And Baird, Vol. I, pp. 124, etc.] Against suspects not in orders some sort of proceedings were no doubt open to the Bishops, their Vicars, or the Inquisitor of the Faith; but were undertaken with fuller powers by the King's officials, namely Baillis, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants General and Particular. The several Royal Courts could, in these cases, try the defendants,

but not even themselves pronounce final sentence, nor (it seems) award torture; for such acts must be done by the *Parlement*. Below the Baillis and Seneschals again came the Provosts and other inferior judges, who could only proceed by enquiry, information, and apprehension; which done, they had to send the informations and charges, with the prisoners, for trial, before the Baillis, Seneschals, etc. It was thus easier for the secular officers of the King, than for the Bishops, to conduct proceedings against the unordained. So the royal officers were, as a rule, the authorities that sent laymen to the *Parlement* for judgment. In these cases it seems that final sentence, or even award of torture, was reserved to the exclusive jurisdiction of the *Parlement*; which could probably revise the facts upon enquiry. The Bishops were, however, responsible in some degree to the *Parlement* for the orthodoxy, even of laymen, within their dioceses. They had, in some cases at least, to bear the costs of sending the accused, with their "*sommiers*", or official papers, up to Paris, and other costs. Again the judgment in the Meaux case contains, towards the end, a very important reference to the Lateran Council (obviously the IVth of that name, see Note 113), which *required* Bishops to take *certain* proceedings with a view to prosecution.

[Compare generally:—Baird; Weiss; *Hist. Eccl.* Edition 1883; also the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, given in *La France protestante*, "*pièces justificatives*"; The judgment, translation, p. 51, (dealing with support of Loys Picquery); pp. 54, 56, (cost of the intended chapel); pp. 54, 55, (citation of Lateran Council)].

It is clear from the accounts of Crespin, and of Rochard, that the local officers of the Baillage of Meaux, as well as the town Provost, and the Provost Marshal, took part in the present apprehension. This would seem to give, at least, two jurisdictions within which proceedings might originate; one, the Baillage, which could also carry on the trial, though not itself award sentence, or torture. From this jurisdiction the prisoners would, after enquiry (or trial), be duly sent before the *Parlement*. The supreme tribunal in the present case was the Vacation Court of the *Parlement de Paris*. [Cf. the recital to the judgment, translation, p. 50, also Note 48.] I cannot say how far the extraordinary powers of appointing a small commission, under the *Parlement's* arrangement of 1525, were used at any stage of this process. [Cf. Notes 17, 33 to 36, 46, 48, 106.] M. Weiss informs me that the counter-signature "*Dezasses*," at the foot of the judgment, is that of a Counsellor

of this Court, who had been commissioned to go to Meaux for process against the heretics. [Cf. further his "*Chambre ardente*" p. LXXV.] The reader will have noticed the activity shown by the theologians Picard and Maillard after the judgment; and has, perhaps, formed a more distinct idea than myself, as to their exact legal position. [Cf. translations, pp. 40, 42, 45, 56; also Note 59.]

NOTE 106 :—

Here, as M. Weiss informs me, the names of the judges would be in place, but are not written out.

NOTE 107 :—

"Veu par la chambre ordonné par le Roy au temps de vacations."

NOTE 107a :—

Sixty prisoners are contained in this recital. One of them, Catherine Ricourt, is not distinctly named in the operative part later on. The error is however probably clerical. (See Note 109.) Again Claude Petitpain appears in the recital; but Pierre Petitpain in the operative part.

NOTE 107b :—

"Cas et crimes."

NOTE 107c :—

* "référans espèce de ydolatrie":—Possibly: "*directing a species of idolatry.*" Charges of impiety, profanity, heresy, one could understand a tribunal entertaining, in those days when dogma controlled justice. But idolatry was hardly a likely charge, in the case of those people, whose whole zeal was, satisfactorily or otherwise, employed in the search after more *spiritual* worship.

One can, however, hardly read this phrase as conveying anything else than an insinuation against the reformers. It would be far-fetched, and hardly grammatical, to see in it some assertion that one of the protestant "errors" was to charge the *Roman* worship with an appearance or species of idolatry. This, no doubt, many of them did. In this sense the passage would run "Schisms and errors *imputing* a species (or appearance) of idolatry" (to someone). Such a strained rendering would not well agree with the later use of the same phrase. (See translation p. 54.) Taking the words, then, to convey

* In this and following quotations, accents are added where needful.

some insinuation of idolatry against the prisoners, one or two remarks become necessary, to reach a possible meaning for such a phrase.

In the first place it will be noticed that this improbable charge is not directly or distinctly made. (Cf. Note 49). Nay, it is only added rather tentatively or uncertainly at the end of this short list of general words. One might be disposed perhaps to consider it a mere epithet for heresy, on the assumption that anyone who does not think with you, is not only a heretic, but a pagan, and probably an idolater. Later on in the judgment, however, the same phrase is used in designating the celebration, by the prisoners, of the last Supper. And, though the Judges of the *Parlement de Paris*, in the reign of Francis I, were not beyond taint of bigotry, it is fair to ask what grounds they can have had for such an expression, and proper to look closely at what really did take place. M. Weiss tells me that the formula occurs in many other judgments, to mark an alleged schism from the only christian church.

The reader will find in Note 29 an account of the Lord's Supper, as celebrated by the reformers. It seems likely that no claim to apostolic succession was made by the minister so solemnly appointed by the congregation. Thus a charge may have been grounded on the use, by them, of the Lord's Supper, without a priest ordained according to custom. Crespin says that the reformers' boldness in that matter was the gravest charge against them. And the judges of the court, when satisfied that these people attributed *some* religious value to that observance, may have held them guilty of imitating even the Roman act of adoration, without the elements being *effectually* consecrated, or *Transubstantiation effected*. Though the "Reformed Church" repudiated Transubstantiation, yet it is quite conceivable that by some skilful advocacy, or by some confusion of theological metaphysics, or both, this vague but disparaging phrase might be, in this sense, inserted in the judgment. [Cf. Note 29. Also translation above, p. 38; and Note 46.]

It is just possible that the expression, (which is, among many harsher epithets, perhaps the most gravely offensive one in the judgment), may be an early scintillation of that fantastic charge of worshipping the Bible itself, which the populace of Angers insinuated against the Huguenots in 1562. (See *Hist. d. Mart.*, Toulouse Edn., Vol. III, p. 303.)

A calm reader will very likely be, on the whole, disposed

to think this expletive one more sign of that bitter animosity with which a threatened, though dominant, persuasion treated its opponents. And, if established, it would very obviously have been a useful countercharge; for the protestants were blaming the Romanists themselves, on the ground of worshipping the consecrated bread, and images.

The Primitive Christians, and others also, have suffered from religious calumny. [Compare Comba's "Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy," English Edition, 1889, pp. 274—277; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" 1828, Vol. II, pp. 162-170; Lecky's "History of European Morals," (10th Edition) Vol. I, pp. 414, etc.]

NOTE 107d:—

As to the absence of details, and of the process referred to, see some observations in Note 49.

NOTE 108:—

The MS. copy has "*facteurs*." Query, however: "*fauteurs*"? The former seems senseless; so I have adopted the latter, on the assumption of some clerical error.

NOTE 108i:—

Supply: "the said chamber."

NOTE 108a:—

"lectures."

NOTE 108b:—

"ensemble."

NOTE 108c:—

"prédications abusives."

NOTE 108d:—

Supply: "the said Chamber."

NOTE 109:—

Query; Supply: "Catherine" (?). Compare the recital; and also Haag's *La France protestante*, "*pièces justificatives*."

NOTE 110:—

"inviter et inciter les bons en la droicture de la foy catholique."

NOTE 110a :—

Supply : "the said Chamber."

NOTE 110b :—

[(or) : blasphemy, and etc., etc., (?)]. "Et aussi lad. blaphème
"et scandaleuse cène mentionnée aud. procès référant espèce
"d'ydolatrie." [Cf: Note 107c above].

NOTE 111 :—

"ressort."

NOTE 111a :—

"èsquelles y a siège royal ressortissans sans moien à la
court."

NOTE 112 :—

"et cry public."

NOTE 113 :—

The Vth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1512, and whose sessions extended over several years, does not, upon examination of its proceedings, shew any satisfactory authority for this reference by the *Parlement de Paris*.

The IVth Lateran Council however, which assembled in 1215, contains the provision most likely referred to. This assemblage of four hundred Bishops and eight hundred other Fathers, though doubtless primarily concerned with the opinions of the Albigenses and others, yet speaks in very comprehensive style on both doctrine and discipline, and in fact deals with an enormous variety of subjects. Among other decisions, it affirms the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Apostolic succession of priests; saying that no one is able to accomplish that act but a properly ordained priest. It deplores the revolt of the Greek Church from Roman Supremacy; and the conduct of some Greek priests, who treated sacramental administrations by Latin priests as void or even impious. It strives to assert more discipline among the clergy, especially in the matters of extortion and immorality. It forbids anyone to hold at once two benefices with cure of souls attached. It repudiates the election by the secular power to either cathedral or regular churches. It asserts that the constitutions of princes are not to prejudice the churches; and even offers crusaders' remission of sins to exterminators of heretics, where the temporal lord neglects that

task after due requisition. It contains numerous other decisions.

The authority cited by the *Parlement de Paris* in the judgment of 1546 is, no doubt, that decree of this Council which enjoins archbishops and bishops to make enquiry, by themselves or their archdeacons, or proper and respectable persons, in those parishes where heretics have been reputed to live. These places they are to visit once or twice in the year, and take sworn evidence of three or more people, or, if necessary, of the whole neighbourhood. Anyone that knows of heretics there, or of persons celebrating secret conventicles, or disagreeing with the usual conversation of the faithful in life and behaviour, is to carefully indicate them to the bishop; whereupon the bishop is to summon those accused. [See "*Summa conciliorum omnium ordinata* etc." Bail, Paris, MDCLXXV, Tome. I, pp. 413 etc., and pp. 607 etc.]

It is remarkable that the French "*Parlement de Paris*," in its mandate to these ecclesiastical officers, is citing a Council whose views in a different matter, (concerning appointment to abbeys and cathedrals), were contravened, or denied, at the Vth Lateran Council. The Concordat between the Pope and the French King, which (for a consideration) assigned to that prince the right to nominate, though subject to Papal approval, to a vast number of cathedral and regular churches, was officially read at a session of this later Council; and, (after great opposition), registered by the *Parlement*. (See Introduction, pp. 6, 21.) It would need a profound ecclesiastical historian and lawyer, to settle the famous question of the Pope's dominion over the Vth Lateran (or any) Council. It is equally hard, and at least as important, to say, what is the exact degree of subjection, wherewith a French *Parlement*, consisting of judges orthodox for the time, would regard a decree of the Western Church. The policy, or religion, if not the jurisprudence, of this Supreme Court, during the period in question, seems to accept, with altered procedure, Ecclesiastical authority over mankind. [Compare Notes 16, 17, 18, 24, 105a; also "*Summa Conciliorum, etc.*," above cited; Bishop Jewel's "*Defence of the apology of the Church of England*," and "*Epistola ad D. Scipionem*," Parker Society "*Jewel*," [4], pp. 919, 1,110; Paolo Sarpi, (Transl. 1629), pp. 99, 111, etc. 135, 136, 842, 852].

NOTE 114 :—

"féablement": Query "fidèlement" (?) (Cf. Carro, p. 516).

NOTE 114a :—

“veues.”

NOTE 114b :—

“réduire.”

NOTE 115 :—

This P. Lizet was the Premier President. (Cf. Note 56.)
[The reader of the “*Histoire des Martyrs*”, and of some other authorities, may remark the sole signature “*Malon*” at the foot of the judgment as given by them. This was, I am informed, a “*greffier criminel*.” No doubt he had appended his name as copyist.]

NOTE 116 :—

This was a counsellor and commissioner of the court. (Cf. Note 105a.)

NOTE 116a .—

“*in mente curie.*”

NOTE 117 :—

“et ilz ne se retournent et convertissent.”

NOTE 117a :—

[(*or*): that if, and so far as, . . . should not suffice.] “que où
“les biens desd. condennéz à mort qui ont esté confisquez par
“ce présent arrest ne suffisoient.”

NOTE 118 :—

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* Families inter-married (*See Mangin Pedigree Sheet*):

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[*For De Mengin see p. 88 ; For Mangin of Mitry see p. 61.*]

CORRIGENDA.

- PAGE 7, line 34, for necessarily read necessarily.
 „ 25, footnote, after 375, add and other authorities.
 „ „ „ „ Notes „ 20.
 „ 31, line 20, for so considered read acted on.
 „ 51, „ 1, „ conciergerie read consiergerie.
 „ 61, „ 5, after when add the appearance of.
 „ 65, „ 22, „ Church for „ read „
 „ 81, „ 8, „ enumerated add [i.e. in Notes 8 to 21, inclusive].
 „ „ „ 30, „ days. add Compare the punishments mentioned above at page 76 ; (See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, pp. 329, 330).
 „ 84, line 15, for Wirtemberg read Wirtemberg.
 „ 94, second music line : In the Signature, for A flat read B flat.
 „ 100, line 26, for 51, 52, read 50, 51.
 „ 110, „ 36, „ 1525 „ 1825.

**Notes on the Register of the
Walloon Church of Southampton,
AND ON THE
Churches of the Channel Islands,**

BY J. W. DE GRAVE, *Fellow and Member of Council.*

(*Read 14 March, 1894*)

I do not propose this evening to trace again the history of St Julien's or Domus Dei from the time of its original foundation, towards the end of the 12th century, by Gervaise Le Riche, the good citizen of Southampton, *temp.* late Henry II or early Richard Cœur de Lion, with its subsequent transfer to Queen's College, Oxford by Edward III (confirmed by his successors) through the instrumentality of Robert de Eglesfield, chaplain to Philippa, Edward's Queen, for this has been ably sketched in the third volume of our *Proceedings* by the Rev. Aston Whitlock and by Mr. Moens, and, quite recently, the former, who is both Vicar of Holyrood and Chaplain to the Hospital, has published a brief but interesting account of the Foundation. As the result of the advent of that, so far at least as England was concerned, strangely complex political and religious movement, which we style the Reformation, the reformed Liturgy must have displaced the Mass at St. Julien's during the later years of Henry the Eighth's reign, and throughout the all too short reign of Edward VI, but, with the accession of Mary Tudor to the Throne, the Mass will again have been sung in God's House, and, accordingly, the suggestion has been made that, when that cruel and gloomy bigot, Philip II of Spain landed at Southampton on the 19th July, 1554, he, probably, heard Mass at St. Julien's, the chapel dedicated to the Patron Saint of Travellers, before taking horse for Winchester where his marriage with Mary was to take place.

The transfer of the Hospital to Queen's College was on the whole a fortunate incident in its history, for, as College

property, the Chapel and Hospital for Travellers were, no doubt, saved the dissolution and destruction which befel most Ecclesiastical Houses at the hands of Richard Cromwell.

With the accession of Elizabeth, however, and the ascendancy, once more, of Protestantism in England, it cannot be doubted that Refugees from the Netherlands, driven from their own country by the relentless persecution of Alva and his master, Philip of Spain, to be followed before long by Refugees from France on and before the outbreak of the Religious War of 1562, began to form a settlement in this town, until in 1567, the Walloon and French settlers had so far increased in numbers as to render it necessary that they should obtain permission from the Crown to trade, and, what we must hope was even more dear to them, to worship in their own tongue and after their own custom.

Permission to trade appears to have been granted in 1567, although several ordinances of the town dating from Henry VII's time were directly opposed to the introduction of aliens and their trades into Southampton.

This concession to trade was not unconditional however, for it was originally limited to twenty families of Strangers born in the Low Countries, with also certain restrictions as to the instructing of apprentices in their several trades. By the influence of Horne, then Bishop of Winchester, and by the help of the Mayor of Southampton, permission was given to the Refugees to worship after the Calvinistic form and in their own tongue, and, though according to the title of the Register book of admissions to the Sacrament, of Births, Marriages, &c., the Church was established by Patents of Edward VI and Elizabeth, yet there can be no doubt that the Patent of Edward VI referred to was that of 24th July, 1550, granted originally to the Refugees from the Low Countries who had, even at that early date, settled in London in considerable numbers. This Patent was naturally eagerly quoted by the Southampton Strangers as a general authority sanctioning the formation of foreign non-conforming congregations elsewhere than in London. Although the estate and buildings which formed the Hospital of St. Julien and included the Chapel assigned to the Strangers for their worship, were the property of Queen's College, yet it does not appear that the College authorities have at any time either claimed or exercised the power of appointing the ministers of the Church. It is inconceivable, looking to the fact that the Register opens formally with the list of admissions to a function so solemn and important as the Sacrament on the 21st Dec., 1567, that

the Strangers had formed until then a regular congregation. The first minister of the Southampton Walloon Church was Wallerand Thévelin, who we find from the Register was a native of Freylinghen in Flanders.

The Register, which is entitled "REGISTRE DES BAPTESMES MARIAGES & MORTS ET JEUSNES DE LEGLISE WALLONNE ET DES ISLES DE JERSEY, GUERNESEY, SERQ, ORIGNY, &C., ETABLIE A SOUTHAMPTON PAR PATENTE DU ROY EDOUARD SIX^e ET DE LA REINE ELIZABETH,"¹ is divided into five parts, viz,—
1. Admissions à la Sainte Cène. 2. Baptêmes. 3. Mariages. 4. Les Morts. 5. Les Jeusnes.

The first celebration of the Sacrament, at which eighty-two persons were present, is recorded as having taken place on 21st Dec., 1567. Of the eighty-two communicants, six are styled *Anglois*, and of these six, no less than four bear Channel Island names.

I shall refer to this later. *Admissions à la Sainte Cène* are recorded in the years from 1567 to 1602, from 1604 to 1632, one in 1661 and three in 1665, when they cease to be recorded. There is therefore a long *lacune* from 1632 to 1665, partly to be accounted for by the comparative peace and quiet enjoyed by the Protestants of France subsequent to the fall of La Rochelle, under the rule of Richelieu and Mazarin successively, who, although they did not love the Protestants, yet valued them as the source of very much of the wealth and tax-paying power of France. In 1635 the congregation of the Southampton Church was reduced to fifteen families, six only having been alien born. I do not suppose that the names recorded on each occasion, certainly after the first, represent the names of all the persons partaking of the Sacrament, but only those who were so admitted for the first time. This supposition is confirmed by the words *nulz nouveaux adioins*, recorded under the date 1st Dec., 1583. In 1572, after the date of the St. Bartholomew, that is from August to December 1572, there were but thirteen new admissions, but in 1573 there were one-hundred-and-fifty-two. On the occasion of the celebration on the 2nd August, 1584, the Register records the fact that *a ceste cène tous les communicans estoient* 186, although this number included only five new admissions, of which three were from Guernsey. The troubles threatening the Huguenots of La Rochelle and L'Isle de Rhé in 1628 and 1629 caused a considerable immigration into Southampton from the latter

¹ It is probable that this title was given to the Book many years after it came into use.

place, for on 6th Jan., 1628-9 no less than forty-one Refugees from L'Isle de Rhé were admitted to the Communion, two more in 1629 and two in 1631. As may be supposed, admission to the Sacrament was a solemn and important matter, and, accordingly we find cases recorded in which *La Sainte Cène* was *defendue*¹ to certain mal-doers. Some of the reasons for this are not without their ludicrous side; for instance on 2 Janvier, 1568-9 we find *cene defendue à robert Cousin po' ne point recognoistre dauoir trompé Cornille Poingdextre luy aiant vendu ung cheval qui ne voyait guerre et ne lauoir pas advertys*.² To another member of the congregation *la cene est defendue*, sad to relate, *pour auoir battu et nauré sa femme*. Personal peculiarities are not left unnoticed, for we find recorded the admission of two³ members of the Church as each *n'ayant qu'un oiel*, and of another on 31 Mars, 1583 as *aians* (sic) *2 jambes de bois*.

Not only, as I have already said, was admission to the Sacrament a solemn matter, but it became, for their own security, increasingly important to the community to scrutinize closely those strangers who applied for admission, and accordingly, we find it recorded, on the occasion of the Communion of 5 July, 1573, that by the authority of the magistrates of the town, testimony was to be given as to each applicant. The note is worth giving in full.—*Les Recus a la cene qui se fit le 5e jor de Juillet 1573, avec les témoins quilz ont produicts po' ferre paroir quilz estoient de la religion auparauant estre sortis de la france, de poeur de quelque faux frere qui vindroit po' espier sous ombre de la Religion. Ceste ordre fut pour lors tenu suiuant le Comandem't des magistrats de la ville*. From this date, in numerous instances, either the names of *témoins* as sponsors for respectability, or a reference to *témoignage* as having been produced is given. Sometimes the value of the *témoignage* is more or less qualified, for on 7 Juin, 1629, five admissions, all women, are recorded, these being referred to as *venues des Isles de Jersee et de Guernesee avec passable témoignage de leurs mœurs*, and on the same date three more as *aussi venuës des sus dites Isles avec fort bon témoignage*. Again on 3 Juillet 1575, *Matieu Molart demeurant a gernesé vint a la cene, sans*

¹ 1568, Le Dimanche jour de Pâques; 1568-9, 2 Janvier; 1569, 3 Juillet; 1569, 2 Octre.; 1569-70, 1 Janvier; 1570, 2 Avril; 1570, 1 Octre.

² This incident appears to refer to an early example of that singular moral obliquity which seems more or less to attach to persons engaged in horse-dealing.

³ 1580, 2 Octre.

ferre aparoir par gille Germain et Nicolas qui s'estoit bien porté par de la combien qui auoit promis le ferre aparoir par ceux la. At first this reads somewhat like a puzzle, but on second reading it appears that *Matieu Molart* had failed to produce certain promised witnesses, who are named, as to his conduct in Guernsey. There are but three or four *actes de reconnaissance* recorded in the register, these being only in connection with admission to the Sacrament, but there must have been numerous others which no doubt, were recorded in the missing *acte* books. This is most unfortunate, for these *actes de reconnaissance* would be amongst the most interesting and valuable of the records, for these two reasons, that they would supply, within a very few days, the date of the arrival of the Refugee in this country, as well as, probably, the place of origin. On the 5th April, 1573, the *reconnaissances* of two Refugees are referred to as recorded *en l'autre liure*. On the 12th August, 1722, *Mons. Pierre Carpentier prêtre de l'église Romaine du troisieme ordre des franciscains* made a public abjuration of his faith and was received into the Protestant Church by *Mons. de St. Denis*, the Minister of the French Church.

In 1712, pressure was put upon the congregation by Queen's College, with threats as to the withdrawal of the Chapel from the Refugees if they failed to conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England. This led to much internal discord. Conformity had in Laud's time been forced upon this as well as on other foreign congregations, but after his attainder and execution, the Church had returned to the Calvinistic form of worship.

Although the Revocation must have brought Refugees in great numbers to Southampton, yet, as the Register of admissions to the Sacrament ceased in 1665, we have no help as to numbers from this source. Nowhere in the Register of *Admissions à la Sainte Cène* of the Walloon Church of Southampton, nor, so far as I know, in those of any of the Huguenot Churches of England, is any mention made of the *méreaux*, the distribution of which by the *anciens* to approved communicants, during the week preceding the quarterly Communion, became in the Reformed Church of France so essential a preliminary to participation in the celebration of the Holy Supper.

The earliest specimen known in France is believed to date from the last years of the reign of Henri IV, and is assigned to the great Church of the Charenton, near Paris. It was not,

probably, until the years not very long anterior to the Revocation that the use of the *méreau* began to spread amongst the Churches of the Reformed Faith in France, and it was, perhaps, only in the days of *L'Eglise du désert* that its use became general, especially so, in the Provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis, and the south-west of France.

In the Channel Island Churches its use was no doubt unknown, because, as will be seen later, in Jersey, the Presbyterian form of Church Government came to an end in 1620, and, in Guernsey, at the Restoration. I am, however, under the impression that the *méreau* in some form or other, was not unknown in one, at least, of the French dissenting congregations of Guernsey, within this century. The *méreau* was a simple *jeton*, counter or token, generally of some kind of soft metal, with more or less rude impressions of one kind or other on either side; sometimes an eucharistic cup, an angel or other emblem, with a legend, and usually some initial letters to signify the name of the particular Church. Numbers of these are extant in France, in the hands of collectors, but, with the exception of two of quite early seventeenth century date, all the specimens are of dates subsequent to the Revocation. Many of these have been figured and described in the "Bulletin" of the *Soc. de l'Hist. du Prot. Français*.¹

The mother church in London protested loudly at the proposal for conformity in the Southampton Church, but

¹ The subject has been exhaustively treated by M. H. Gelin, in "*Le méreau dans les Eglises réformées de France*." 1891—Niort.

The word *méreau*, in a corrupt form, is apparently not unknown in England. In "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Act II, line 98, Titania, replying to the reproaches of Oberon, says, "the nine men's morris is filled up with mud" The *nine men's morris*, played on a rough kind of chess board, cut out of the turf, is, according to the notes on the Play in the Clarendon Press Series, a rustic game still extant in some parts of England, and so called from the Counters (*old Fr. merelles*) with which it is played. James, in his *Variorum Shakespeare*, says also that the game, which he describes, is played by the shepherds and country lads of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, and that another form of the game is played in Suffolk. The figures, with which the game is played, are called by the country people "nine men's morris" or *merrils*, because each party has nine men or counters. The *nine men's morris* does not appear to have had any relation to the *morris*, *morisco* or *morrice* dances of moorish origin of which we read in early English literature. The Ency. Britt. gives a short article on the *morris* dance but makes no reference to the *nine men's morris*. See also Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

That the word *méreau* was not exclusively limited to the tokens used as vouchers for the admission of the faithful to the Communion is evident from a note in the "Bulletin" of the *Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. Fr.* for January, 1894, from which it appears that it was applied also to those used for purposes of admission à certaines cérémonies des diverses corporations des métiers, and also to those used as a kind of tally for business and official purposes.

nevertheless, in 1712, the Church adopted the English Liturgy, many secessions from the congregation taking place at the same time. The first baptism according to the Liturgy of the Established Church took place on the 21st April, 1712. Further trouble befel the Church, later, owing to the unpopularity of the minister, Mons. Pierre Deneveu de St. Denis. This led eventually to his dismissal and to the election by the congregation, in 1723, of Mons. Daniel Duval as minister. In this unhappy quarrel the *acte* books were retained by M. De St. Denis, and they have been lost.

That dreadful scourge of Europe during the 16th & 17th centuries, the Plague, is often referred to in the Register. In 1583, under date 7th July, a note is made that because of the plague public service without a sermon would take place at five o'clock in the evening. Again, in 1665, in the absence of Mr. Bernert (? Bernard), minister of St John's Parish, on account of the plague, a child of English parents was baptized at the Parish Church by Mons^r Couraud, the French pastor, on 23rd July, and two more children, of English parentage, also for like reasons on 26th, Nov^r of the same year.

Again on 4th Dec., 1665, Mons. Couraud married Jacob Berger and Sara Baylie of St John's, *les Ministres Englois ayant abandonné leur troupeaus a cause de la peste qui rauagoit en ce lieu*. Many marriages of English men and women took place at the French Church in this and the following year. A note is made with regard to the Communion of 4th August, 1583, that, in accordance with the advice of the last Synod, celebration should take place monthly, that is, not only on the usual quarterly dates, but the note goes on to say, *et aussy entant que la Peste nous pressoit fut advisé de la ferre ainsi pour nous fortifier en foi en lui priant avoir pitié de nous*. In that dreadful year of 1583 the register of *Les Morts* gives, only too truly, an idea of the ravages of the plague. In April of that year, the words *Peste a commencé* introduce a long list of deaths from this cause, numbering over seventy in that small community. Amongst the victims is, apparently, Wallerand, Thévelin,¹ the first minister of the Church. He succumbed on the 13th Sept., 1584, *enuiron les 5 et 6 heurs du soir (et) fut enterré Lundi 14 dud^e*.

Another dreadful outbreak of the plague is recorded in 1604, when one-hundred and sixty-three deaths are registered. In 1665, the year of its calamitous appearance in London, it

¹ His wife Elizabeth Le Mahieu was admitted to the Communion *le 1er dimanche de Juillet, 1568*.

carried off several, but still comparatively few victims, from amongst the French congregation, though we must not forget that by 1665 the community itself had greatly diminished. The baptisms recorded run very irregularly. From 1567 to 1631 there is an unbroken series, but none are recorded in 1632 and 1633, the register being silent again from 1635 to 1652, both inclusive. After this there are only occasional entries and even the immigrations of 1685 and following years do not seem to have brought anything like a large increase in the number recorded, the highest number being eight in 1699, *i.e.* between the Revocation and the end of the century, and three of these were children of Channel Islanders on one side or other.

At the baptism, on 1st April, 1666, of the child of an English parent, the Godfather is recorded with the name of Obadiah Walker. I notice this because it occurs to me as probable, the name is so unmistakable, that this was the same individual who, in later years, was to become the famous, or rather infamous master of University College, Oxford. If so, it is somewhat strange to find him officiating, even as *Parrain*, in such a stronghold of Calvinistic Protestantism as the Huguenot Church of Southampton must necessarily have been in 1666. Obadiah Walker, although a Clergyman of the Church of England, had, during the reign of Charles II, been strongly suspected of Popish tendencies. Soon after the Accession of James II, he openly professed Popery and celebrated Mass within the College.¹ By direction of the King a Royal Licence was issued authorizing Walker, and other apostates like himself, to hold their benefices, an exercise of the dispensing power which was, of course, illegal. As time went on a press was set up at Oxford under the direction of Walker for the printing and disseminating of theological tracts in favour of the King's Religion. With 1688 however, came the Revolution, and with 1689, the Whig majority in Parliament. The apostates of the preceding reign were soon dealt with by the House of Commons, for there was no hope of passing the Indemnity Bill which had been introduced into the House in the

¹ "The London Courant" Tuesday, Jan. 1st, to Saturday, Jan. 5th, 1688-9, reports under the heading of "Tower of London, Jan. 1st. This evening the Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury, Sir Edward Hales the late Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Hales, his Brother, all new Converts, Obadiah Walker, an old Papist, who lately pluckt off his Protestant Mask, * * * were brought in hither as Prisoners, for having a hand in endeavouring the total subversion of the Protestant Religion, Laws, and Liberties of England."

preceding session. Obadiah Walker behaved as apostates generally do in such circumstances, and, when before the House, took refuge in quibbles which, however, availed him nothing. He was found guilty of High Treason and sent to prison, whence he was released only on the passing of the Act of Grace on the 20th May, 1690.

The last recorded baptism is in 1779, one Godfather and one Godmother bearing distinctly Guernsey names. The Sponsors on the occasion of the baptism on 8th Sept. 1717, of *Ruvigny*, son of *Mons, Pierre de Cosnes, Chevalier*, and *Dame Aimee LeVenier, de la Grossetiere*, were the Marquis de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, and *la tres Honble. Dame Rachel Wriotesley, veuve du tres Honble. Seigneur Guillaume Russel*, who were represented by proxies. We have no difficulty in recognizing here, the widow of the patriot, Lord William Russel, who was executed 21st July, 1683, for his supposed participation in the Rye House plot. The Marquis de Ruvigny, created by William III, Earl of Galway for his valour at the siege of Aughrim, was connected with the Russells, for his father's sister had been Countess of Southampton, and he was first cousin to Lady Russell, who herself was the daughter of Rachel, the daughter of Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny. Lord Galway's home was close by at Rookley, near Southampton, where after all his wars and fighting he had finally settled down. At his death on 3rd Sept., 1720, he made Lady Russell, who, according to Agnew, was his nearest surviving relative, his heiress at the age of 84. I can scarcely think that Agnew was justified in saying that the Marquis de Ruvigny had no nearer surviving relative, for the present Marquis de Ruvigny, one of the leading lights of that extraordinary association known as the League or Society of the White Rose is descended lineally from Ruvigny's brother, Caillemote, who was killed at the Battle of the Boyne. It seems to be a strange revolution of political faith which makes the present day descendant of one who lost his life fighting against the Stuarts, now pose as one of the chief supporters of a Princess of Bavaria to the Crown of England, as the descendant of the Stuarts. From the Marriage Register we get full information, as a rule, as to the places of origin of the Refugees, and the entries under this head are consequently most valuable. It will be seen too that the greatest care was taken on the part of the authorities of the Church that these Refugee Unions should have the sanction of parents or guardians on both sides. A note explaining this appears in the original Register and is printed on page eighty-three.

There is no separate division of the Register appropriated to the *annonces de mariage*, and only one or two *annonces* are registered with the marriages. It is possible that a separate book, which has been lost, was kept for this purpose, or that the *annonces* were published in the churches of the parishes in which the contracting parties resided. In one instance, 1573, the *annonce* is recorded, with a note that the betrothal had previously taken place *en leglise de dieu qui estoit a fecquent* (Normandy) *avant les masacres fet en la france*. There is a marriage entry, under date 14th June, 1580, which suggests unhappy domestic relations. *Jan Le Vasseur, N. de Valenchiennes, et peronne Jorre, N. de la Ville de Lille, "et deuant que le presche fut acheué s'en fuit hors le temple, et la Ville, et le pais, Abandonnant sa femme."* *Mariage fet par Justice et force, du costé de Jan.*¹ On 15th Dec., 1588, *Dominicq Sicard, N. de Mondouville en Gascoigne, et Jane Picquet, N. de Vernon sur Seine en Normandie*, were married at the Southampton Church. I take the former to have been Dominique Sicard, one of the Guernsey ministers selected in 1599 by the Island Colloquy to proceed to Alderney for a time to discharge the various functions of a Pasteur, in that spiritually desolate Island. Some twelve instances are recorded of the burial within the church of Ministers and leading members of the congregation. Sometimes other burials are referred to as having taken place *au cæmitier* and sometimes *à l'angloise*. The first instance specifically recorded of burial within the church is that of Daniel Sauvage, Pasteur, on 22nd June, 1655. The only other instance of the intra-mural interment of a Pasteur is that of Jean de la Place on 8th Mar., 1663, but Elizth Belier, ob. 22nd Feb., 1658, the widow of the Pasteur Daniel Sauvage was buried in the Church, as was also in the same year the widow of another Pasteur, viz: Jaquine Du Perier, widow of Gabriel Du Perier. Three Channel Islanders are also buried in the Church, (1.) Thomas Careye, *filz de Mr. de Blanchlande de Garneze*, who died 18th Aug., 1662. (2.) 18th Jan., 1663, Mr. Jean Baillehache *de lisle de Jersey*. (3.) Dam^{lle} Elizth Le Montais *de lisle de Jersay* on 31st May, 1664. The other burials in the Church are two of the *anciens*, (1.) ob. 1661, 25th Aug., *Ce grand serviteur de Dieu, Paul Mercier . . . estoit un des Grands Piliers de cette eglise et plaine d'aumosne*. (2.) 1710-11, 1st Feb., Mons^r Adam de Cardonnel, aged ninety

¹ They had been solemnly betrothed in the presence of witnesses on 24 March, 1580, *en la maison de Courtene, maire de la ville*.

years and one month, forty-eight years *ancien*. Mons^r de Cardonnel's wife Anne, predeceased him in 1663, and was buried in the Church on 20th Feb., of that year, as were also their grandchild Jean, on 16th May, 1668 and (3) Mons^r Pierre Mercier, on 22nd June, 1670. On 22nd Sept., 1673, *Monsr. David Hersent, autrefois ancien* was buried *dedans le Cæmitier des Trembleurs*, the Quakers' burying-ground: and *Mons. Philibert d'Hervart baron d'hunningen*, who died on 30th April, 1721, is registered as buried in Holyrood Church, and a long eulogium is added in the entry as to his public services, his charity to the English community as well as to his fellow exiles, and also as to his personal worth.

There is a curious *jeu de mot*, conscious or unconscious, in the entry of the death on 7th June, 1623 of Pierre Bourrelle. *Pierre Bourrelle se bourrella* (racked or tortured himself) *en se pendant et estranglant soy mesme*.

No less than seventy fasts are recorded covering the period from 3rd Sept., 1568 to 8th Dec., 1721. Many of these fasts are for supplication on behalf of the Walloon Churches in their dire trouble; others are for the S^t Bartholomew, the Plague, an Earthquake, a comet, the siege of Ostend, dearth of corn, the persecutions in France in 1621. Four thanksgivings are recorded: (1) for the battle of Coutras, 3rd Dec., 1587. (2) for the defeat of the Spanish Armada, 19th Nov., 1588. (3) for the battle of Ivry, *aupres dun village nommé St. André*, 20th March, 1590. (4) for the cessation of the Plague, 16 Jan., 1605. One fast was held conjointly with the Church of England on 2nd Aug., 1626, *selon le commandement du Roy en consideration des dangers qui menassent ce Royaume*. This was the year following the accession of Charles I, and the troubles threatening the kingdom may well have been the war with France, the failure of the ridiculous expedition to La Rochelle, the unpopularity of Buckingham, and last, but not least, the dissolution by the King of his second Parliament in the second year of his reign. Amongst the Record of Fasts and Thanksgivings is inserted an entry referring to Queen Elizabeth's visit to the town of Southampton, where she stayed from the 4th to 7th Sept., 1591. *Le 4e de Septembre, 1591. La Serenissime Elizabeth, Roine d'Angleterre, vint à Hamptonne avec toute sa court quj estoit bien grande, et en partit le 7e dudit mois enuiron le Midi, et comme elle partoit et estoit hors de la ville, n'ayans peu auoir acces vers sa Majesté en la ville, la remerciasmes de ce que passez vingt quatre ans auions esté maintenus en ceste ville, sous sa Protection, et*

par sa clemence benigne, apres Dieu di-je,¹ en toute tranquillité et repos. Elle respondit fort humainement, louant Dieu de ce qu'il luy donnoit puissance de recueillir et faire bien aux pources estrangers, et disant qu'elle scauoit bien que les prieres desdits seruoyent beaucoup à sa conseruation.

Amongst the names of Ministers of the Southampton Church is that of Adrien de Saravia, who, in 1576, was Master of the local Grammar School, and who succeeded to the Ministry of the Church in 1584, on the death of Wallerand Thévelin, the first minister. It may perhaps be interesting to some of our Fellows to know that Adrien de Saravia was the first Master of Queen Elizabeth's College in Guernsey, founded 1563.² The connection between St Julien's and Queen's College, Oxford, should make this fact interesting to the latter, inasmuch as the present Provost of Queen's (Dr. Magrath) was an alumnus of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, up to the date of the commencement of his brilliant Oxford career. In the Southampton Register, the death of Christofle de Saravia is recorded under date 20th Nov., 1572, a brother probably of Adrien. In the entry of his death, Christofle is styled "Espaignol de Nation." The first mention of the name of Saravia or de Saravia in the Southampton Register occurs in 1569, when "*Christofle de Saravia et sa femme*" were admitted to the *Sainte Cène* on 3rd July; again, on 1st Jan., 1569-70, "*La femme de mestre Adrien Saravia et sa servante*" were so admitted. The family of Saravia or de Saravia was of Spanish extraction, but settled in Artois, and they must have been amongst the early refugees. Adrien de Saravia, born in 1531 at Hesdin, fled from the Franciscan convent of St Omer in 1557 and became an Oxford student in 1561. In 1563 he became, as before stated, Master of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and later, pastor of the French Reformed Church at Anvers, and founded that of Brussels.³ In 1576 we find him Master of the Southampton Grammar School,⁴ and, in 1584, Pastor of the Walloon Church in that town. In 1591, after taking English orders, he became a Prebend of

¹ This entry was no doubt made by the Pasteur himself.

² Endowed out of the property of a Monastery of mendicant friars situated in the immediate vicinity of the present College. The neighbouring "*Rue des Frères*," and "*La Cimetière des Frères*," serve as local reminiscences of the original Monastery.

³ Baron de Shickler, Vol. 2, p. 372.

⁴ On the 6th April, 1572, *Nicollas Effard* and *Nicollas Caryé*, tous deux *escholiers* à mestre Adrien Saravia were admitted to the Communion. One of these *Escholiers* bears a distinctively Guernsey name, N. Caryé or Carey, and N. Effard was no doubt the son of the Refugee Minister of that name. Both probably accompanied Saravia from Guernsey to Southampton.

Gloucester and of Canterbury, and in James I reign was one of the Translators of the Bible. He died in 1613, having, towards the end of his career, conceived and maintained a violent antipathy towards the Calvinistic form of Church Government. I may here mention that Dr Isaac Basire,¹ believed to be of Huguenot extraction, born 1607, was, later, Master of Elizabeth College, Guernsey, and that he also obtained high preferment in the Anglican Church having held the living of Stanhope in Durham, and a Prebendal Stall in Durham Cathedral. During the Commonwealth he was deprived of his ecclesiastical dignities, but regained them at the Restoration. He died in 1676. Numerous Channel Island names appear from time to time in the Southampton Register. Over three-hundred names are met with, specially referred to as arrivals from the Channel Islands,² many of these attaching to genuine Refugees, others to undoubted Islanders not connected with the Refugees, and, in addition to all these, appear very many names still extant in the Islands, though not distinguished specially in the Register as connected therewith.

In the list of "Anglois" admitted to the *première cène* on 21st Dec. 1567, appear such well-known Jersey names as Poingt Dextre (Poingdestre) and Janvrin, and of Guernsey names, Poitevin and Guille, the latter also a Jersey name, the former, of course, must have been originally assigned to some native of Poitou who had settled in the Islands. The assumption from this is that on these occasions at least, Channel Islanders were styled "anglois;" but sometimes the Islanders, if not individually localized, are distinguished as "*des Iles de Gersé et Guernesé*," though it does not follow of necessity that some, at all events, of these were not refugees, originally direct to the Islands, for native-born children of refugees are often styled, in the Registers of the London and other Churches, *natifs de Londres, de Canterbury, &c.*

These Registers contain undoubtedly many genuine Island names entirely unconnected with the flight of the Refugees, such as Samarais (Saumarez), Prieaux (Priaux), De Carteret, Guille, De L'Isle, De Garis, De Beauvoir, Du Port, Rogier (Rougier), Brehault, Le Marchant, &c., but, on the other hand, there are many well-known Island names of families, which appear from the Registers to have been originally those of direct Refugees from France, but whose descendants have settled in the Islands during the last three centuries, and we

¹ Tupper's Guernsey.

² A list of these is given at the end of this paper.

may fairly assume that it must always have been an attraction to the Refugees to settle amongst French speaking people. Amongst these may be mentioned, Ozanne "*de dernestal près de Rouen*," Le Sueur, Hauquart (Hocart) "*de Sailli en lalleü*" Barbençon (son), Duchemin, Baillehache,¹ Neel,² &c. On the 3rd July, 1569, "Mons. le doien" of Guernsey, was admitted to the Communion.

This was John After, an Englishman, who arrived in the Island in 1562, and was appointed Dean in 1564. The last Roman Catholic Dean of Guernsey was James Amy, who had obtained an unenviable notoriety in the preceding reign, during the Roman Catholic reaction, by bringing about under especially cruel circumstances, the burning at the stake of Perotine Massy, the wife of a Protestant minister who had been obliged to fly from the Island. The last Roman Catholic Dean of Jersey was Thomas Paulet, who died in 1565, and in 1569, John After was appointed Dean of the Channel Islands group. After's name does not appear subsequently to 1571, and no successor to him as Dean of Guernsey was appointed until 1662, when John de Saumarez was appointed simultaneously with the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Jersey however, had received its first Protestant Dean in the person of David Bandinel,³ as early as 1620. There must have been a considerable interchange of Refugee families between the Islands and Southampton, and, as is well-known, numerous Refugees in the course of the three centuries of persecution reached England *via* the Channel Islands. In Mr. Moens' "Walloon and Dutch Churches of Norwich" we find also some of the same family names as occur either in the Southampton Register or as are now known as Island names, such as Janvrin, with its various spellings, Boutilier (Le Boutilier), Capellain, Douchement=Duchemin=Duquemin, Haccart=Hauquart=

¹ Joachim de Baillehache sieur de Bieville Montgoubert, anobli aux francs fiefs, 1470. Armoiries. De gueules à un sautoir d'argent cantonné de quatre merlettes du même.

² Jean Néel, escuyer capitaine au service de M. M. des Etats généraux des provinces unies des Pays Bas. Michel Néel, son frère, enseigne de M. de la Grandière. Michel Néel, sieur de la Bouillonière, paroisse Saint Pierre de Caen. Anoblis aux francs fiefs, 1470. Armoiries. A trois bandes d'argent en champ d'azur au chef de gueules. "La noblesse Protestante de la généralité de Caen, à l'époque de la Revocation. par C. Osmont de Courtisigny." Bulletin de la Société de l'Hist. du P. F. 1888, p. 537.

³ The first Bampton Lecture was delivered in 1779, by the Rev. James Bandinel, who, no doubt was a descendant of the first Protestant Dean of Jersey. We find also that a subsequent Bampton Lecturer, viz: in 1799 was the Rev. Dr. Geo. Stanley Faber, an ancestor, if I mistake not, of our much valued Hon. Secretary.

Hochart=Hocart, Le Cocq, Le Roy, Le Tellier, Machon, Le Mahieu=Mahieu=Mahy=Mahiel, Moulin, Pilon (Guernsey Refugees), Sauvage=Le Sauvage, Picavet=Picaut=Picot, Boucau[t], Mego[e], (Guernsey Refugees), Willemote=Guille-mote, (Guernsey) &c.

Until the publication of the Baron de Schickler's Work on the Refugee Churches in England¹ the Huguenot history of the Islands had been left practically untouched, but it could only be fully worked out on the spot. The first and most important step would be the editing and publishing of the local Parish Registers, some of which date from about 1565 or 1570, and are full of Huguenot names. The French Refugee Pasteurs furnished many a Rector to the Island Parishes during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The Rev. D. A. Agnew in his "French Protestant Exiles," gives a list (probably incomplete) of over forty Pastors who took refuge in the Islands "about the time of the St. Bartholomew," this period covering probably the fierce persecutions which raged in 1562 and 1569, as well as that of 1572.

Agnew's list is compiled from the "*chroniques de Jersey*,"² the original document, however, being the manuscript of an anonymous chronicler and originally in the possession of a member of the de Carteret family. I give at the end of this notice, lists of names drawn partly from Agnew and partly from the magnificent work of M. le Baron de Schickler, before referred to. In the latter, the names of the Refugee Pasteurs are given with greater clearness and precision.

Amongst the names will be found that of Cosme Brevin, the first minister of Serk, 1570, a native of Angerville or Angoville in Normandy, ob. 30 April, 1605. His son, Daniel Brevin[t] became Rector of St. John's parish in Jersey, and his grandson, also Daniel Brevint, became Dean of Lincoln, and thus a remote predecessor of the late Dr. James Amiraux Jérémie, a distinguished Guernseyman, of our own day. Amongst distinguished Islanders of Huguenot descent, I may notice the late Dr. Francis Jeune, successively Dean of Jersey, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, Vice-Chancellor, and, finally, 1864, Bishop of Peterborough, also the Rev. Peter Paul Dobree, a native of Guernsey, and of Huguenot descent, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1823.

The family of Du Port of Guernsey is of very ancient local settlement, and has, as such, no connection with Huguenot

¹ *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*, par le Baron F. de Schickler. Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 33 Rue de Seine.

² Published in Guernsey in 1832, and in Jersey in 1858.

history. One branch of the family settled in Leicestershire in the time of Henry IV, in the person of Guillaume Du Port, from whom, by his wife, a daughter of Clermont de L'Isle of Guernsey, was descended Jean Du Port, master 1590-1618, of Jesus College, Cambridge, one of the Translators of the Bible, who married Rachel, daughter of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely; their son, James Du Port became Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1632, Prebend of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Stow, 1641, Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, 1664-1668, and Dean of Peterborough, died 17th July, 1679 and was buried in Peterborough Cathedral. Dr Smiles is therefore mistaken in stating that Dr James Du Port, the Regius Professor of Greek, was a son of James Du Port, pastor of the Threadneedle St Church, 1590, a refugee from Poitou. The present head of the Guernsey branch of the family is the Rev. Canon Du Port, late Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Rector of Denver, Norfolk. The latter no doubt represents the Norfolk land-holder of that name mentioned on page 111 of Mr Moens' Norwich Church.

The close connection between the Southampton Church and those of the Channel Islands induces me to offer a few notes as to the latter. The local historians, at least those of Guernsey, do not devote much space to the Huguenot immigrations of the sixteenth century, and Tupper's history of Guernsey makes practically no reference to the flight of the refugees at and after the Revocation. Some useful information, however, is given by Tupper as to the sixteenth and early seventeenth century Churches, of which I here avail myself, quoting his authorities. I have also drawn upon other sources of information.¹

The first religious war in France began in 1562 but was of short duration, the illusory Convention of Amboise in 1563 having brought about only a temporary truce. Nevertheless about 1568, and probably earlier, many Huguenot Pastors and members of their flocks found an asylum in the Islands. From the Baron de Schickler we learn that the earliest teachers of the Reformed Faith of French extraction in the Islands were Denis Le Vair in Guernsey, a native of Fontenay

¹ I may say that the greater part of these notes were in MS. and in the hands of our Honorary Secretary many months before the publication of the Baron de Schickler's monumental work; nevertheless, I am indebted to the latter for much valuable information which I gladly acknowledge. Is it too much to hope that every Fellow of the Society will become the possessor of this deeply interesting book which is in truth a mine of deep and accurate research, and which should be invaluable to all English men and women of Huguenot descent.

near Bayeux, and, as regards Jersey, Martin Langlois and Thomas Johanne. The latter were recognized by Act of the Royal Court of Jersey, dated 21st Aug., 1548, and were moreover provided with means for their maintenance. This was of course in Edward VI reign; the young King and the Protector, his uncle, being strong supporters of the Reformed Faith. Langlois was Naturalized 5th Oct., 1549. During the Marian re-action Denis Le Vair returned to France and suffered martyrdom for his faith at Rouen in 1554.

As far back as the time of John, after the loss of Normandy, the Islands had been transferred from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishops of Coutances in Normandy to that of the See of Exeter, but only for a short time, for they were soon restored to that of Coutances, under which they remained till Henry VII's time, when the then Pope, Alexander VI, annexed them to Salisbury; but again they were re-transferred to Coutances and practically remained under the jurisdiction of the latter See until 1568. Mr Tupper says that in earlier times the Bishops of Dol in Brittany had disputed with those of Coutances jurisdiction over the Islands. As late as 1565 the Bishop of Coutances had claimed payment of ecclesiastical dues in respect of Guernsey Benefices, and an order in Council requiring the hearing of his claim was actually issued, but naturally, nothing came of the Bishop's demand, for the Island clergy and authorities pleaded the Queen's supremacy.

Mr. Tupper points out that although, legally, the results of the Reformation had effect in the Islands at the same date as in England, yet, even in 1550, an order in Council confirmed the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coutances over the Islands. In 1564 and 1565, the Genevan discipline was introduced into the Islands, but this must have been a somewhat severe shock to Elizabeth, whose notions of Church Government were both strict and sacerdotal. The Queen's directions, however, were explicit that the introduction of the Genevan discipline should be confined to the parishes of St. Helier and St. Pierre Port, but with the understanding that the country parishes "should diligently put apart all superstitions" used in the diocese of Coutances. There was probably good reason for this restriction, inasmuch as some of the former Roman Catholic Curés still held their benefices, and, probably their Protestantism was not very robust. The minds of the Islanders must necessarily have been much disturbed in matters of religion. We must remember that Parliament had no jurisdiction over them, and that

they could only be dealt with by the King or Queen in Council. In 1550 the Council forwarded for the use of the Island Churches, the Liturgy of the English Church, but we learn from Strype's "Ecclesiastical Memorials,"¹ that, in December, 1552, a Licence issued to "Thomas Galtier, (suspiciously like the French name Gaultier) of London, to print in French all such Books of the Church as shall be set forth (as Common Prayer Books, Homilies, Injunctions, &c.) for the use of the Churches in Calais, Guisnes, the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, &c." In 1565, the year following the holding of the first synod of the Island Churches, at Guernsey, Saravia, in writing to Cecil, gives a lamentable account of the state of religion in Guernsey. He tells Cecil that but three or four persons attend public worship, and, that if a minister walks in the country he is assailed with jeers and laughter and often has mud thrown at him. This was no doubt due to the fact that the country parishioners had not yet broken completely with their old Cures.

There is a political fact connected with the Channel Islands, which, I imagine, is not generally known. I refer to the neutrality enjoyed by the Islands in time of war, especially between France and England, which extended not only to the Islands themselves but to the neighbouring seas. This neutrality was granted certainly in Edward IV's reign, 1461 to 1483, and the Pope Sixtus IV, in response to repeated requests from Edward enforced this neutrality on Western Europe by a Bull dated 1st March, 1483-4, in which all who disturbed the peace and commerce of the Islanders were threatened with excommunication. This neutrality was probably intended more for the peace and security of the Islands as between themselves and the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast of Normandy and Brittany, and instances are on record of the restitution of captures at sea made on either side. This truce continued for upwards of two centuries, that is until the accession of William and Mary in 1688-89, when it ceased under an order in Council, without prejudice however to the other privileges enjoyed by the Islanders under successive Royal Charters. No doubt William III, as the life and soul of the European alliance against Louis XIV, was not willing to temporize in any way with his powerful enemy.

The following extracts from London newspapers of the time

¹ Ed. 1721, Vol. 2, p. 518, amongst a list of Warrants and Licences issued in 1552.

refer to the receipt in the Islands of the news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange and the Revolution of 1688.

The *English Courant*, Friday, Jan., 4th to Wednesday, Jan., 9th, 1688-9, London. The Portsmouth correspondent of this paper reports under date, Jan., 5th, that "the Island of Guernsey hath declared for the Prince of Orange and sent their Garrison into Plymouth."

The *Orange Gazette*, Monday, Jan., 7th to Thursday, Jan., 10th, 1688-9, London, printed for I.C., 1688-9.—"The Island Guernsey, December 27th. We being inform'd of the posture of Affaires in London, the Prince of Orange's Arrival there, having in a great measure Perfected the Nation's Deliverance from Popery, viz., were inclinable to do the like, and the coming hither of three Companies, sent by the Earl of Bath out of Cornwall, got into Arms, and first Seized upon Capt. Arundel, our Governor, and Sir Thomas Windham, his Deputy, both Papists, Disbanding and Disarming all the Papist Soldiers, and Imprisoned Mr. Trapps, their Priest, without offering any Violence to the Chappel, more than pulling down the Cross a top, which he had erected. And we stand upon our Guard, setting up Beacons to give notice to the Island of any enemies that should approach."

The same paper gives somewhat similar information from their Jersey correspondent as regards that Island, to the effect that the Islanders had dismissed their Governor, Colonel John Legg, and his Deputy, Captain Guiliam, "both Papists," seized all the Priests, having discovered "a conspiracy for betraying the Island into the hands of the French." The correspondent goes on to say, "We have sent Captain Hardy and Allen, two gentlemen of this Island, to London, to inform against and prosecute one Bourk, a French Papist, and Philpot, an English Priest, which we have imprisoned for Trayterously endeavouring to put us in the French his hand." Beacons were erected and the militia called out, &c.

In the next number of the *Orange Gazette*, Jan. 10th, to Jan. 17th, 1688-9, however, the previous statement as to the Governor of Guernsey and his Deputy being Papists, is contradicted, and they are declared to be both "worthy protestants of the Church of England, in great repute with the Prince. . ."

So much for contemporary history. The names of Captain Arundel and Sir Thomas Windham do not appear in the List of Governors and Lieut.-Governors furnished by Tupper, but it is quite possible that this list is not complete.

To return however; the Genevan discipline naturally spread,

though perhaps, at first, not very quickly, to the country parishes.

In 1568, by an order in Council of 16th March, the Islands were finally transferred from the diocese of Coutances to that of Winchester, in which, ecclesiastically, they still remain. In 1564, the first Synod of the Island Churches was held in Guernsey, at which John After, the Dean, referred to above, was present, without, however, as Dean, taking any precedence over the other clergy. In this year also, Nicholas Baudoin, *Ci-devant* minister of the Church at Caen, who had been sent to Guernsey as minister of S^t Pierre Port on the recommendation of Calvin, was lent to Jersey for three months. During Mary's reign Guillaume de Beauvoir, a Protestant Guernseyman of good family, had taken refuge at Geneva, where he enjoyed the friendship of Calvin, and became one of the deacons of the English Church. On his return to Guernsey after the death of Mary he seems to have sought the help of Calvin with a view to providing a suitable minister for S^t Pierre Port, with the result that Baudoin was appointed and accepted by the parishioners of that parish. At this time Adrien de Saravia acted as assistant to Baudoin.

In 1576, on the 28th June, a Synod was held in Guernsey to arrange the *police et discipline ecclésiastique des Églises réformées des Isles de Jersey et de Guernesey, Serk et Origny, arrêtées et conclues d'un commun accord par messieurs les Gouverneurs des dites Isles et les Ministres et anciens assemblés au Synode de Guernesey, au nom desdites Églises*. This is known as the first form of "discipline;" a second and modified form was agreed upon in 1597. Of the first form a mutilated copy only is to be found in the British Museum, but in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris an entire copy is preserved. The *discipline* of the Churches of the Channel Islands followed in the main those of other reformed Churches of Continental origin, but had peculiarities due to local causes. The second form, that of 1597, is more condensed. It will be found that in the first form great care was to be exercised in receiving the former Roman Catholic Curés into the Church, but with regard to Ministers who had served as such in other Reformed Churches, or who were Refugees, it was only necessary that they should bring with them, *bon témoignage*. Again in the first form were regulations respecting *proposants* or candidates for the ministry, but by 1597, the date of the second form, the Curés of pre-Reformation days had disappeared and it had been found that

the supply of local candidates was so limited, that regulations on either point seem to have been considered no longer necessary. The fact was, moreover, that the position of the Reformed Churches of the Channel Islands differed essentially from that of the Reformed Church of France. In the Islands, the Presbyterians came into possession of all the Parish Churches with their ecclesiastical machinery, and they were supported by the entire civil power including the Governor, as Queen's representative, the Bailiff as Chief Magistrate, and by the Jurats of the Royal Court. There was no conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil authority; indeed the former, as a rule, gave the cue to the latter, whilst resting on its secular arm. The ministers and even the *anciens* and deacons required the approval of the Governor after election, and a formal declaration of allegiance to the Queen, Governor, and Magistrates was necessary from all. From their being always able to rely on the aid of the Magistrates the Island Colloquies were more severe than those of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, that of Geneva, perhaps, excepted, and we may be sure of course that ample provision was made for Excommunication; still no doubt all was done with the best objects in the world. In the first form of discipline, 1576, provision had been made for the election of a minister from each Island to attend, as Deputies, the General Synods of the Reformed Church of France. For this, the consent of the Governor of each Island was necessary. This provision, however, was omitted from the second form. Le Baron de Shickler says that the records of the National Synods of France make no mention of any participation in their proceedings by Deputies from the Islands, and he thinks, rightly, I feel sure, that probably the refusal of the Governors prevented their attendance, presumably for political reasons.

In 1588, the Jersey Colloquy directed the ministers and *anciens* to visit the families of their parishioners, to take note of those who were still addicted to Popish superstitions, offenders being threatened with deprivation of the Sacrament until their reformation.

In 1602, on the complaint of Baudoin, minister of S^t Pierre Port, that there still remained in the Island several dangerous, i.e., Popish books, such as *La Vita Christi* and others, which had been brought thither by small traders from Normandy, it was recommended that an Elder, accompanied by a constable, should make search in the most suspected houses and seize any such books, giving them in charge to the minister. In the

event of refusal to give them up, notice was to be given to the Magistrate who had promised to take the matter in hand. By direction of the Jersey Colloquy of 1602, people who had danced in public on the 1st May were to be publicly suspended—presumably from the Sacrament, and the same Colloquy was engaged in endeavouring to find some suitable plan by which the Magistrates could do away with the superstitious observances of the people on the 1st May, which were *un grand scandale de notre profession chrétienne et réformée*.

In 1587 the Guernsey Colloquy prohibited prayers for the dead *en dehors de la congrégation*, and, in 1607, the same Colloquy directed the pouring away of the water used at baptism, *pour empêcher qu'on ne s'en serve contre la fièvre*. Belief in sorcery was in full force, for the Guernsey magistrates condemned, from 1598 to 1643, no less than nine women and two men, one woman of eighty years being amongst the victims in 1640. Fishermen were not to leave port on the Sunday, and the Magistrates were implored to do away with the *abus detestable* committed by fishermen, of giving names fit only for the Deity or for sacred persons, to their boats, *et bref*, to do away with *toutes cérémonies superstitieuses et vraies singeries du saint baptesme*, that is, I imagine in the christening of their boats:—Jersey Colloquy, 1602. The Magistrates themselves were solemnly declared to be personally under ecclesiastical rule, for the Guernsey Colloquy of January, 1589 affirms that *le Magistrat étant considéré en sa personne, il est certain qu'il est sujet à la juridiction ecclésiastique*. Synods were to be held, according to the *Discipline*, in one or other of the Islands in the month of June in each year, but this was not strictly carried out. Divine service was ordered to be performed on Sundays and Wednesdays, and, in the town parish on Fridays also. At service, the women and men were separated and a place was set apart for the children and scholars. During prayers all should be kneeling and have the head uncovered, the head was to be uncovered also during the confession of sins, the singing of the Psalms, when the text was given out, and during the Sacrament. By the second form of *discipline*, marriages were to take place on a week day. With regard to the Sacrament it was ordered that the Table should stand as near to the pulpit as possible, and that the Sacrament should be received sitting, as most in accordance with its original institution, but otherwise, standing, the men coming first and the women afterwards. Interment of the dead in the Churches was forbidden

as well as the taking the body into the Church, but, as regards the Governor or any member of his family, an exception was made in the case of the parish Church of St Pierre Port. The deaths were to be carefully registered. I might give innumerable illustrations of the constant and irrepressible manner in which in every relation of life, both public and private, the tyranny of the Church obtruded itself. One can only wonder in these days of civil and religious liberty how our forefathers were able to endure it all. The Baron de Schickler gives a most interesting comparison of the two forms of *discipline* with copious extracts from the proceedings of the Colloquies and Synods. A digest of the *Actes* of the Colloquies of the Guernsey Churches, edited by the late Mr James de Sausmarez of Guernsey, was published many years ago. Synods were also held in Guernsey in 1567, 1568, and 1575, one in Jersey in 1569 and one in Serk in 1570, in which year the Serk Register begins.

At the last mentioned Synod it was resolved that, in the absence of action on the part of the civil magistrate, the Church should proceed against offenders. To this one of the members of the Guernsey Consistory, Nicolas Carey, Seigneur de Blanchelande, objected, and he accordingly absented himself from the meetings of his Consistory, on the ground that the church was presuming to usurp the functions of the magistrate. For this Mr. Carey was ex-communicated by Nicolas Baudoin, the minister of St. Pierre Port, but the former appealed to the Bishop of Winchester, and on the death of the Bishop, appeal was carried to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in his turn ex-communicated Baudoin. However, the succeeding Bishop of Winchester relieved both Carey and Baudoin from ex-communication.

At the Colloquy of 31st Aug., 1585, no less than six French Refugee ministers were assigned to various parishes in Guernsey, and, at the Colloquy of 1587, an offer of "Adrien de Saravia, S.P.T. of Leyden," to serve the ministry was accepted though, as far as I know, not acted upon. Popery was not entirely extinguished in Guernsey even in 1611, for in that year a local ordinance was promulgated *contre les Idolatres, et ceux qui n'ont pas renoncé au Pape et à la messe.*

In the sixteenth century there were some illustrious Huguenot Refugees who found a temporary refuge in the the Islands. Amongst these may be noticed the Comtesse de Beauvais, widow of Odet de Coligny, Cardinal de Châtillon, and the celebrated Comte de Montgomery, so cordially hated by the Queen Mother as the author of her husband's death.

At the time of the St. Bartholomew the Comte, accompanied by his wife and family appears to have fled to the Islands, and to have resided for a time in each of the two larger. In September, 1572, within a month of the massacre, Charles the 9th, wrote to his minister at St James', La Mothe Fénélon, to this effect¹:—

"J'ay sceu certainement que Montgomery est passé ès Isles de J. et de G., où il a, à ce que j'ay sceu, délibéré de demeurer, expressément pour avoir et tirer toujours la commodité des maisons qu'il a le long de la coste de Normandie et Bretagne. Je l'eusse envoyé prendre comme il m'estoit fort ayse et que j'en ay bien le moyen, pour estre leud. isles fort près de moy ; mais ne voullant en façon que ce soit donner aucune occasion à lad. Roine, ma bonne sœur et cousine, de penser que je veuille rien faire ny entreprendre sur ses possessions sans sa permission, j'ay différé et retenu ceux qui l'y eussent aisément esté prendre," * * *

However, in January, 1573, Walsingham² desired the Count to leave Guernsey. In 1585, again, the Governor of Guernsey, Sir Thomas Leighton, wrote³ to Sir Annias Paulet that he had information that France and Spain had some designs on the Islands and that his information was derived from "the Prince of Condé," his "gest" with "Mons. de la Tremoylle, Clermont de Amboys, with a number of others for the space of a month" but that he had "sent them honestly into Englande." Under date "*ce 10 Novembre, 1585, de Guernezey,*" the Prince de Condé with a view to furthering his plans for help from England, writes⁴ to Burleigh:—

"Mons. de Burleigh—M'estant trouvé sy prez de la royne votre mestresse et ayant receu très favorable tretement en ces isles de son obeissance, je nay voulu faillyr depescher aussey tost vers sa Majesté Villesaison mon conseiller et secretere pour lui fere entendre l'ocasyon de mon voyage par deça et quelques autres particularitez que je lui ay aussi commandé vous discourir dont je vous suplye le croire et l'assister de votre favour envers sa dicte majesté pour obtenir ce que je desyre d'elle. En quoi vous obligerez infiniment celuy quy est et sera a jamais,

Votre plus affectionné et meilleur amy,

Henry de Bourbon."

When in 1572, the Duc d'Alençon, the younger brother of Charles IX, was a suitor for the hand of Elizabeth, the Queen-Mother wrote under date 11th Sept. 1572, to La Mothe Fénélon, suggesting the Channel Islands as a suitable spot

¹Tupper and Baron de Schickler.

²Camden Miscell. 2.S., Vol. 6, quoted by Tupper.

³M.S.S. State Paper Office.

⁴B. museum. Cotton M.S.S. Galba E, VI, fol. 285, b. quoted by Tupper.

for the desired interview between the supposed Royal lovers, she says :—

“I'estime qu'il soit bien à propos de le faire ez isles de Jerzay et Grenezay qui sont de ses possessions et assés près de la coste de Normandye et d'Angleterre aussy pour sa commodité et la nostre . . . Si elle trouve bon que ce soit ès dictes isles, il ne sera que bon de sentir de la dicte Roynie, et ses ministres quand elle voudra que ce soit, que je desirerois bien estre vers le XXne du mois prochain, et ce que l'on preparera, d'une parte et de l'autre pour sa seureté et la nostre.”

Scarcely needless to say that this proposition did not commend itself either to Elizabeth or to her ministers, and accordingly La Mothe Fénélon replied that :—

“Quant aller aux iles de Gerzé ou Grènezé, que ce seroit aultant à leur Mestresse comme si elle passoit du tout en France, comme pour aller chercher mari par delà.”

The poor Duke, notwithstanding brilliant entertainments at the English Court, was certainly somewhat shabbily treated by the Queen, but it was a fortunate escape both for her and for England.

The distinctively Calvinistic tendencies of the Islands were shewn by a request of the Guernsey Colloquy of Oct., 1618, on hearing a rumour of the appointment of a Dean in Jersey, that means might be taken against such an appointment for Guernsey, and in December of the same year the Guernsey Colloquy received a request from their Jersey brethren that they would join with them in a petition to the King against such an appointment. The downfall of the Calvinistic form of Church Government in Jersey appears to have been attempted on the appointment of Sir John Peyton as Governor, shortly before 1613, when the Colloquy and the Governor quarrelled seriously as to the appointments to certain vacant Rectories in the Island. An appeal to the Privy Council seems to have followed, and, in 1620, the first Protestant Dean was appointed in Jersey. This was David Bandinel¹ before referred to, (a refugee, supposed to be of Italian extraction), Rector of St Martin's parish. Guernsey, however, retained the Calvinistic form of discipline for some forty years later, and there can be no doubt that the people of Guernsey were on the whole more united in support of Calvinism than were those of Jersey. This accounts in no small degree for the fact that, later, during the Great Rebellion, Guernsey sided with the Parliament, and Jersey, for the most part, with the

¹ Bandinel appears later to have espoused the cause of the Parliament and to have been in consequence imprisoned in Mont Orgueil Castle for fourteen months. In an attempt to escape from prison in 1645, he lost his life.

King. It will be remembered that Henrietta Maria, the Queen of Charles I, took refuge in France soon after the outbreak of the Civil War. As a good wife she did her utmost to gain over to her husband's cause the support of the French Regency and especially that of Cardinal Mazarin, then at the head of affairs in France. Amongst other proposals, suggested in January, 1646, for raising money for her husband's military necessities was one, it is said, to pledge the Channel Islands to France. Probably, however, the security, given without the consent of the Islanders, even though Plébiscites did not count for much in those days, did not seem good enough to the wily Cardinal.

Towards the end of the same year the proposal was renewed, this time by Jermyn, one of the trusted agents of Charles. Jermyn proposed the cession of the Channel Islands to France, but this proposal seemed quite unacceptable to Hyde, Hopton, and others, amongst the most steadfast and honorable of the unfortunate King's friends, who, moreover, had accompanied the Prince of Wales in his flight to Jersey, and had remained in the Island after the Prince had joined his mother at St Germain.¹

No doubt can be entertained that the distinctive Calvinism of the Islands was originally brought about and fostered by the presence of the numerous distinguished French Refugee Pastors who found in the Islands a welcome asylum from the persecutions of their own country.

The spiritual wants of Alderney were a constant source of anxiety to the Guernsey Colloquy. Successive Governors of Alderney, Sir Leonard Chamberlain and his son, had not taken any interest in the matter, and no fund for the maintenance of a Pastor was provided. From 1591 to 1599 the Island was without a Pastor, and from the latter date to 1607, visits in turn, at intervals, (subject to constant interruption due to stormy weather), by three of the Guernsey ministers, Sicard, Dolbel, and Valpy, afforded the only spiritual instruction available for the people of Alderney. In 1607, therefore, Alderney had been without a regular minister for sixteen years, there being, as before stated, no fund available for his maintenance, but, in that year, Simeon Le Maçon of Southampton was appointed minister of Alderney, with a stipend of £20 a year and a residence.² This was no doubt one of the family of Le Maçon mentioned in the Southampton Register and a Refugee; indeed

¹ See Gardiner's History of the Great Civil War, Vol. 2, pp. 411, 559.

² Mr. Tupper calls him "Simon Masons of Southampton."

a Simeon Le Maçon is mentioned by name in several places in the Register.

An unhappy difference arose in 1583 between the Colloquy of Jersey and that of the Guernsey group. It would take too long to enter now into the details of this misunderstanding so I must content myself with saying that it lasted till 1595, when, through the efforts of Thomas Cartwright, that sturdiest of English Presbyterians who had been appointed Chaplain of Castle Cornet, Guernsey, and of Wake, the Chaplain of Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey, an agreement was brought about, the quarrel having thus lasted twelve years.

Lord Danby, when Governor of Guernsey, (1620-1643) appears, on various grounds, to have opposed any alterations in the Church discipline of the Island, but principally on that of the identity of the religious feelings and customs of the Islanders with those "of the Religion" in the neighbouring kingdom of France, as well as on that of the numerous alliances between the Islanders and the Huguenots, and the great local commerce with France. After the Reformation, and for many years, natives of the Islands intended for the ministry were sent to the College of Saumur, though occasionally to Oxford and Cambridge. In Laud's time, however, the inconvenience of sending Island students to France, where they would only be confirmed in non-conformity, was recognized, and with a view to provide counter attractions, he succeeded, in 1644, in establishing Fellowships at Exeter, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges, Oxford, for Island students.

In 1662, when the Act of Uniformity came to be enforced, several of the Island ministers refused to conform: ¹ amongst others in Guernsey, Mr. Morehead, Rector of St. Saviour's, mentioned in the Southampton Register, p. 62, as 'Mr. Morheatt,' and as still, in 1664, Rector of St. Saviour's. Perhaps by this time he had relented and conformed.

Another was Mr. De la Marche, Rector of S^{te} Marie de Castro, the Castel. This was, no doubt Charles De la Marche son of Jean De la Marche who had been, many years before, Rector of S^t André and La Forêt, and subsequently of S^t Pierre Port.

The family was of great antiquity² in the Island, but is now extinct. Jean De la Marche was the son of Helier De la Marche, whose name appears amongst those of admissions to the Com-

¹ Le Roy's diary, Guernsey, quoted by Tupper.

² The name of a Jean De la Marche, Provost, appears in the records of the Placita Corona, held before the King's Justices at St. Pierre Port. 5 Edw. III, 1341. See Tupper.

munion at the Southampton Church, on the 7th October, 1576. Jean De La Marche was probably a native of S^t Saviour's Parish and born about 1588 to 1590. In 1604 he was sent to Cambridge¹ where he was educated at the expense of the States of Guernsey; subsequently he went to the University of Saumur, where he graduated M.A. in 1610. In 1613 he was chosen Minister of the Parishes of S^t Andrew and La Forêt, and in 1625 Minister of S^t Pierre Port. He was selected in 1617 by the Island authorities both of Church and State to protest in person before James I against the attempted execution in the Island of a summons from the Court of Arches. He succeeded apparently in maintaining the immunity of the Islanders from the jurisdiction of that Court. In 1625 again he was one of the Island deputation who proceeded to London to obtain from Charles I the confirmation of the Island Charters. He married, in 1616, Esther Le Beau, believed to be of Huguenot extraction. He was undoubtedly a man of intellectual power and great determination, but he developed into a veritable ecclesiastical firebrand, and an implacable enemy to both Monarchy and Episcopacy, whilst the latter half of his life was undoubtedly stormy. From 1626 to 1632 he was engaged in a contest with the Governor on the subject of the tithe on fish, which he maintained belonged in common with all tithes to the Church under the Divine Law. It appears that during this time he preached at every one, Governor, Royal Court, Deacons, and Elders. In 1634 he was expelled from his living, having been previously, from February to September, 1633, imprisoned in Castle Cornet. He was subsequently assigned by the Colloquy to his old parish, S^t Andrew's.

He and De La Place of Jersey were the representatives of the Channel Island Churches at the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in 1643, and in that year, on the 2nd May, he became one of the ministers of the Walloon Church in Threadneedle St., and, as such, assisted at the Colloquies of the French Churches of England held in London in 1644, 1646 and 1647, and at the Synods of 1644 and 1647. His quarrels with his colleagues were the subject of endless discussion at Colloquies and Synods and they even came before the Cœtus.

¹ I learn from Mr. J. W. Clarke, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Registry, that no trace is to be found in the Registers of the University of the names of either John De la Marche or his son Charles. From this we may infer that neither of them took a degree at Cambridge. Mr. Rawson Gardiner, in his History of the Great Civil War, in a Note to page 298 of Vol. 2, says that the Trinity Registers do not "notice the entry of Pensioners so early" as 1614-1615.

He was looked upon with a great deal of distrust for these quarrelsome practices and for his outspoken Republicanism, which produced at times quite unnecessary friction, for the Foreign Churches in London desired only to be left alone, and were very properly averse from mixing in political frays. Jean De La Marche died in London on 13 Oct., 1651. He left a diary, the contents of which serve to illustrate his strange character.¹ His son Charles, who as stated above, was deprived of his living—the Câtél—at the introduction of the Act of Uniformity in 1662, had some ten years before, been appointed, one of the Chaplains to Bulstrode Whitelocke's Embassy² to Christina, the eccentric Queen of Sweden, sent by Cromwell in 1653-4. Whitelocke refers in his memorials to the value of Mr. De la Marche's knowledge of French on this occasion, and he mentions also that the night before they were to start for Sweden they attended service at the French Church in Threadneedle St.

In 1644, at the Assembly of Divines at Westminster,³ Thomas Picot, a minister of Guernsey, was charged with upholding the doctrines of the Anabaptists. He was found guilty and deprived of his benefice, but he returned to it in 1652, dying two years later. A Mr Picot, "ministre de la forêt et de Torteval en l'isle de Guernesey" is mentioned in the Southampton Register, p. 78, but this was in 1725. In 1662, a Mr Elias Picot, a minister, was sent from Guernsey to Alderney. Both De la Marche and Picot were names of great antiquity in Guernsey, long anterior to the outbreak of religious troubles in France. Other names of Island ministers to be found in the Southampton Register are *Hugh Grandin de Jersey*, 1667, *Monsr. de Merveilleux ministre d'Origny*, 1708, *Elie Des Hayes, ministre du Val et St. Sampson, Guer-*

¹ One unpleasant form in which the religious fanaticism of Jean De La Marche displayed itself was his application of prophecy to passing events, both public and private, especially, as regards the latter, in his way of appropriating or assigning the Divine judgments on individuals, to the avenging of his own supposed wrongs, through the punishment of those whom he imagined to be his enemies and persecutors. Like others, in all ages, afflicted with this unhappy form of mental temperament, it is probable that he had only one enemy—himself.

² Burke's general Armory. "See also Whitelocke's 'Memorials' of the Embassy to Sweden." Bulstrode Whitelocke, born 1605, ob: 1676, sometimes called Sir B.W., and sometimes Lord Whitelocke was a lawyer of character and ability, honest, but rather vain, a moderate Republican and not quite trusted by the extreme party. His title of *Lord* arose from the fact that he was the first Commissioner and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which throughout the Commonwealth was in commission. The other Commissioners were Sir Thomas Widdrington and Lord Lisle, son of the Earl of Leicester.

³ Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines quoted by Tupper.

nesey, 1673, *Monsr. Ollivier, ministre de Jersey*, 1603, and *Pierre Bonamy*, 1662, the last mentioned a Guernsey name.

Sir Henry de Vic, (a member of a Guernsey family), created a Baronet by Charles I, and Resident at Brussels for the Stuarts for many years, was employed by the King to treat with the Duc de Rohan, for the relief of La Rochelle. Sir Henry became Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. He died in 1672, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Representatives of two of the ancient Guernsey *fiefs* appear in the Southampton Register. The first reference occurs in the record of the marriage on 13th Oct., 1660, of M^r Charles Andros and Alice Fouchin,¹ *donvile, tous 2 de Guernezé*.

The second mentions the name of Mr. Carey, Seigneur de Blanchelande,² whose son died at Southampton on 18th August, 1662, and, as before stated, was buried in the Church.³

Amongst Huguenot Governors, we find—1737 to 1739—François de Larochevoucauld, Marquis de Montandre, Governor of Guernsey. The Marquis had been one of the regular Canons of the Abbey of St. Victor in Paris, but had become a Protestant and taken refuge in England. He was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment of Cambon, afterwards commanded by Comte Marton, his commission being dated, 15th Feb., 1693. His name figures with that rank, amongst those of the officers of Comte Marton's regiment in the "List of what Protestants" past review before Major-General Ramsey in the three "French Regiments of Foot at Ostend, Aug. 14th, 1698."

¹ Should be *Fashion*, *Faschion*, or more anciently *Fouaschin*, the name at this date, presumably, of the Seigneurs d'Anneville, one of the most ancient of the Guernsey tenures. This fief, called *donvile* in the Register, had passed through several hands in the course of time, but had for many generations been in the family of *Fashion*, but it subsequently came into, and still remains in that of *Andros*, whether by this marriage of 1660 or not, I am unable to say. The original grant appears to have been one by William of Normandy, in 1061, to his Esquire, Sampson d'Anneville, as a reward for services rendered in relieving Guernsey from the ravages of a band of pirates who had been harassing the Islanders, (see Tupper.) Since this paper was written I find from the "Diary of Pierre Le Roy," schoolmaster of St. Martin's parish in Guernsey, nat: 1600, ob: probably circa 1665, recently published by the "Guernsey Historical and Antiquarian Society," that the fief d'Anneville did, as a fact, pass into the family of Andros by this marriage, after having been in that of *Fashion* since its purchase from Sir Robert de Willoughby in 1509 by Nicholas *Faschion*, Gentleman Usher to Henry VIII. The family seems to have settled in Southampton not long after this purchase, and Thomas *Faschion* was Mayor of the town in 1545, of which in 1555 he became the representative in Parliament. See Note to p. 28 of Le Roy's Diary.

² Imperfectly indexed.

³ The manor or fief of Blanchelande was situated at the S.E. of Guernsey in the parish of St. Martin, and it derived its name from the Abbey of Blanchelande in Normandy to which it had been granted by John in the year 1200.

Lord Galway, in a letter from Dublin Castle, 12th April, 1699, to some person, not mentioned, but probably, Blathwaite, Secretary for War, recommends pensions for *Mons. de Montaise* and for the *Marquis de Montandre, en considération de sa qualité, de ce qui luy est arrivé en France et de sa conversion &c.*¹ The Marquis became Brigadier-General and served under the Marquis de Ruvigny (Lord Galway) in Portugal. He rose successively to the rank of Lieut-General, 1st Jan., 1710, General, 1735, Field Marshal, 2 July, 1739, and he held also at one time the office of Master-General of the Ordnance in Ireland. He died, at the age of 71, on the 9th Aug., 1739.² Sir John Ligonier, Bart, K.B., was Governor of Guernsey, 1750 to 1752.

The career of Sir John, afterwards Field Marshal Earl Ligonier, is one of the most remarkable amongst those of the Refugees who entered public life in England. Jean Louis de Ligonier was born at Castres on 17th Oct., 1680, and was the son of *Noble Louis de Ligonier, Seigneur de Montcuquet*, and Louise du Poncet, both Protestants, who, however, with their eldest son, Abel, became at the Revocation *nouveaux convertis*, in order to preserve their property. Jean Louis de Ligonier, the second son, remained steadfast in the Protestant faith, and left his home in Sept., 1698, at the age of eighteen. Taking the pseudonym of Lanauze, he passed through Paris and made his way to Holland, where he met with his brother Antoine, at that time a theological student at Utrecht, his uncle, du Poncet, and his cousin, Jean du Poncet, a Lieut.-Col. in an Irish regiment. From Utrecht he wrote to his mother, telling her of his intention to cross over into England with the assistance of his uncle du Poncet, for he was himself without resources. In 1703 he made his first campaign as a volunteer, and in 1703 he bought a company in an English Regiment and accompanied Marlborough throughout the war of the Spanish Succession. In 1703 also, he became Major and was present later at the battles of Ramillies in 1706, of Oudenarde, 1707, and of Malplaquet, 1709. In 1710 he became Lieut.-Col. of a Dragoon Regiment, and in 1712, Governor of Fort St Philip in Minorca, then in the hands of England. After a long peace, so far as England was concerned, the war of the Austrian Succession broke out in 1740-41, when Jean Louis

¹ Add MSS., B. Museum, 9718.

² Tupper says that his successor was not appointed until April, 1742. The Marquise having, it is supposed, enjoyed the Revenues of the Island in the meantime. At any rate, in 1740, she gave £100 towards rebuilding the Court House at the *Plaiderie*.

Ligonier as a Lieut.-General was appointed to the Staff of the Duke of Cumberland, the Commander in Chief of the English Army. In the meantime, viz., in 1729, his brother Antoine had died, and his younger brother François Auguste, who in 1710 had also taken refuge in England and obtained a cornetcy in his brother's Regiment of Horse, had become Colonel of his Regiment. Lieut.-Gen^l Jean Louis Ligonier was present at the battle of Dettigen and was, for his services, created on the field of battle a Baronet and Knight of the Bath, by George II., who had joined the army in the field. He was present at Fontenoy in 1745, where the allies were checked by the French troops. In this year the young Pretender landed in Scotland and created much alarm throughout England, but in 1746, Sir John Ligonier accompanied the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland to put down the Stuart Rising and was present at Carlisle and Culloden.¹ At the battle of Falkirk, where the English troops were defeated by the Pretender's adherents, his brother François Auguste was mortally wounded, and died at Edinburgh the day after the battle, 18th Jan., 1746, leaving two children.

After leaving Scotland Sir John Ligonier returned to Flanders, and commanded-in-chief at the battle of Raucoux, 11 Oct., 1746, in which he was defeated, but succeeded in saving his army by a masterly retreat. He was again defeated by Marshal Saxe at the battle of Lafeldt where he was taken prisoner, July 1747. He was brought into the presence of Louis the XV as a prisoner, but although a subject originally of the King of France, he was most kindly and courteously treated. At the Peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748 he was released and on return home was made Lieut.-General of Artillery, and I think that it was in this year that he became Governor of the French Hospital. In 1750, he became a Privy Councillor, whilst, during his absence on military service, he had been elected Member for Bath, without opposition. In this year, 1750, also, he was appointed Governor of Guernsey. In 1757, he became Field-Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army in succession to H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, and was also made a Peer of Ireland by the title of Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, Letters patent 21st Dec., 1757. In 1762 he became Viscount Ligonier of Connell, Co: Tipperary in Ireland, and in 1763, Baron Ripley, of Ripley in the County of Surrey, in the Peerage of

¹ Let us hope that he had no share in the alleged cruelties which led to the association of the term "Butcher" with the Duke of Cumberland's name.

England. In 1766, by Letters patent of 10th Sept., he was created Earl Ligonier. At his death in 1770, at the age of ninety years, the English Barony of Ripley, and Earldom of Ligonier, became extinct, but the Irish Viscounty of Ligonier of Connell, passed to his nephew, Lieut.-General Edward Ligonier, son of Antoine Ligonier, who thus became the second Visc^t Ligonier, and subsequently, July 1776, Earl Ligonier of Connell, Co. Tipperary, in the Peerage of Ireland. The latter married, as his first wife, Penelope, daughter of George Pitt, afterwards Lord Rivers, and secondly Mary, daughter of Robert, Earl of Northington. The second Earl Ligonier died without issue in 1782, when the title became extinct. The family name of Ligonier had also become extinct in France, but it has recently, that is by decree of the President of the Republic, dated 7th March, 1892,¹ been revived in the person of Monsieur Edouard Isambert, the son of Laura de Ligonier, a direct descendant of Abel de Ligonier, (the elder brother of our Field Marshal) and Louise de Boileau de Castelnau, his wife. Seldom, if ever, has such an instance been found in England of the rapid rise of a stranger by birth, without any aid but that afforded by his own personal character, his sword, and his ability, to such a high and responsible position as that attained by Lord Ligonier. Equestrian portraits of the Earl are to be seen in the National Gallery and in the Dining Hall of "La Providence." An admirable copy of the former by Miss F. Layard was presented to the Society by that lady some three or four years ago. Lord Ligonier lies buried in Westminster Abbey. "La France Protestante" says that a street in London was named after him, but if so, the name has disappeared from the Directory.

Jersey had for Lieutenant Governor a very distinguished Huguenot whose extraordinary military career and success were almost the wonder of Europe. This was Jean Cavalier, the great and indomitable Camisard chief, the despair of Louis XIV's ablest generals. After heroic deeds in the Cevennes, Cavalier reached England *via* Holland, in or about 1706, in command of a Huguenot regiment. He also, with his regiment, accompanied the Marquis de Ruvigny to Spain and Portugal, and greatly distinguished himself at the Battle of Almanza, in which he was seriously wounded. In 1739 he was made a Major-General in the English army, but died in the following year.

¹ Jean-Louis de Ligonier, *Généralissime des armées anglaises*, Camille Rabaud, Dole, 1893. *Extrait de La Revue Chrétienne*.

It will have been noticed that the Presbyterian form of Church government came to an end in Jersey in 1620, and in Guernsey in 1662. Before the Revocation, however, and increasingly afterwards, of course, the Refugees, pastors and flocks, fled in great numbers to the Channel Islands. Many of the pastors were ordained, and became Rectors of the various parishes, much to the contentment of the Islanders.

This continued throughout the eighteenth century, during which many a sorely hunted "Pasteur du Désert" found peace and shelter in the Islands.

In 1768, of the Eight Rectors of Guernsey, no less than six were French Refugee Pastors. The Baron de Schickler gives what may be taken practically as an exhaustive list of Refugee Pastors to the Islands, from the Revocation days to late in the eighteenth century.

Amongst the "Reconnaissances" at Leicester Fields Church, in London, on 9th November, 1699, occurs that of *Marie de Samasan de Caumon en Guienne*, and at the baptism at the Southampton Church, on the 13th Nov., 1700, of *Philippe, fils du Sieur Paul Couraud, Demlle. Marie Samasan was maraine*. Again at *l'église du Tabernacle*, in London, on the 7th Jan., 1700, *Ester*, the daughter of *Ester de Peyret de Safores en Landresse*, made her "reconnaissance," and "Demoiselle Esther Landress de Landress proche d'Orthez en Bearn," is registered at Southampton amongst "Les morts" on 3rd March, 1709-10.

In 1575 on 3rd April, *Madame, Vefue de Montgomery*,¹ her family and servants were admitted "comme passans," probably from Jersey or Guernsey to the Communion at the Southampton church. The Register says with regard to them, *tous Ceux cj furent Recus a la cene du 3 Auril, 1575, Comme passans, sans avoir Rendu Raison de la foj, Mes sur le tesmognage De Monsr. Forest, ministre de Madame qui Certifia quj Ne Cognoisoit Rien en tout Ceux la po' quoy Il ne leur deust administré la Cene s'il estoit en lieu po' la ferre*.

Michel de la Forêt, native of Lille, and a member of a noble Flemish family, had been for many years chaplain to the Comte de Montgomery. He seems to have been established at Southampton for some two years, during which, if not actually a minister of the church, he often officiated as such. He was married at the Southampton church on 8 May, 1576.

¹ Yzabeau de la Touche, who, after the death of her husband was reduced to great poverty. See piteous letter from her to Leicester, asking for Elizabeth's favour, quoted by the Baron de Shickler. Tome II, note, p. 388.

to Demoiselle Claude Auber(t),¹ daughter of *Monsr. de la Haie Auber(t), Conseiller au Parlement de Rouen*. Demlle. Claude Auber(t) was admitted to the Communion at the Southampton church, on 5th July, 1573. De la Forêt subsequently returned to Flanders, and after many vicissitudes, was killed in a sortie from Anvers, in 1584, when it was besieged by the Spaniards. His widow returned to England after this with her only surviving son, residing for a space of some four years, partly at Rye and partly in London. She subsequently married as a second husband, L'hommeau du Gravier, minister of one of the Guernsey parishes.

Gabriel, Comte de Montgomery, referred to just now, was, as is well known, the involuntary author of the death of Henri II, at a tournament in Paris on 10 July, 1559. He subsequently became a Protestant and a devoted adherent of the illustrious Coligny, whose fate he narrowly escaped sharing in Paris on the fatal Eve of St. Bartholmew, 1572. The fortunes of the Huguenots in the North of France were entrusted to his skill and bravery, but he was at length besieged in the Castle of Domfront, in Normandy, and obliged to surrender, his life being promised him, but he was nevertheless carried to Paris and there treacherously executed on the 27th May, 1574. In addition to the editing and publishing of the Channel Islands' Parish Church Registers it would be of importance to publish extracts from the *Actes* of the Royal and Ecclesiastical Courts of Jersey and Guernsey. The Baron de Schickler gives copious lists of the names of those Refugees who made their *Reconnaissances* before the Consistories of S^t Helier and Grouville in Jersey, and S^t Pierre Port in Guernsey.

Confirmation of some of the family names of Ministers quoted from the "Chroniques de Jersey" is to be found in the Southampton Registers, as under:—

At p. 16 we find "Susanne Le Roy, dit de Bouillon, 1580." and at p. 46, "Pierre Le Roy, dit Bouillon, parrain, 1583," and earlier p. 44, "Bapt. 18th Oct., 1579, of Jan, fils de Mons^r de Bouillon, Ministre de la parolle de Dieu." This latter is no doubt, Pierre Le Roy, dit Bouillon, Minister of S^t Pierre du Bois and Torteval, Guernsey. From p. 87, 1580, 21st Augt., we find that Rachel Le Roy, dit Bouillon was *de Dieppe*. On p. 9, Mons^r de la Mullonière, is *Témoin* to an admission to the Sacrament, 1574, 3 Janvier, this is no doubt Mons^r Noel Perruquet, dit de la Mullonière, Minister of S^t Sampson's,

¹ *Tous deux estans emanchipéz.*

Guernsey. The name of Nicolas Baudoin, Minister of St Pierre Port, Guernsey, appears more than once.

On p. 42, Jacques Roulet, 1574, probably Jacques Roullées, Minister of St André, Guernsey.

On p. 11, Samuel Loumeau, we find was admitted to the Communion, 3rd July, 1575, and Samuel "Loulmeau" (? L'Hommeau) du Gravier is amongst the Ministers in Lists 2 and 3.

On p. 33, Susanne Bonnespoir, admitted to the Communion 2 January, 1620, "en vertu d'un tesmoignage de la mesme," i.e., "de l'Isle de Jersee," and amongst Guernsey Ministers we find the name of *Marin Chrestien, dit Bonespoir*, Minister of St Pierre Port.

It is not altogether easy to construct from the Register a list of the Ministers of the Southampton Church during the period covered, because it is not always stated that such and such a Minister was "de cette église," but we find the following, of whom I trust, the Society may one day be favoured with some biographical sketches, such as those which add so much interest to M^r Moens' "Norwich Church."

Wallerand Thévelin, 1567.

Adrien de Saravia, 1584.

Matieu Sohier, 1584.

Philippe De la Motte, 1586.

Timothée Blier, 1604. the subject of much discussion at the London Colloquy of that year.

Elie d'Arande, 1619.

Daniel Sauvage, 1634.

Le Sieur Bellier, autrefois ministre de cette église¹ mentioned, 1649.

Gabriel Du Perrier, mentioned 1657.

Jean De la Place, mentioned as "defunt," 1664.

Jean Couraud, mentioned 1665.

Antoine Cougot, "et Docteur en medecine," mentioned 1691.

Pierre de Neveu de St. Denis, 1720.

David Duval, 1723.

Isaac Jean Barnouin, mentioned 1736.

The names of several Refugee Ministers appear, but not as serving the Church, viz :—

Boisel, 1573.

De la Porte, 1573.

De la Vingne, 1573.

Du Cenet, 1573.

Graffart, 1573.

Jacques Roulet,² 1574.

Jan Baudar, 1574.

Vallendry, 1577.

¹ ? Blier Supra.

² Minister of St. André, Guernsey, after 1585. List 3.

Michiel de la Forêt,¹ *native de la Ville de Lille*, 1576.

Louis Patri,² *Seigneur de Piyeux*, ob. 1589.

Sylvius, 1681.

Isaac D'Huissaux, 1690.

Phillippe François Lambert, 1724-5.

Samuel Tavan, 1773.

And the earliest in date, Richard La Molero, "*Autrement Mons.*

Des Molins, ministre de la parolle en l'église de Dieu a Quarenten en Constantin," 1569.

There is always one reflection which is forced upon my mind after consulting the Registers of the Huguenot Churches, especially those of Threadneedle St., Soho and Spitalfields, as well as of the great settlements at Canterbury and Norwich, and that is, where are the descendants of all those whose births, marriages and deaths are recorded in those Registers? The answer to this question is, I imagine, a simple one—The descendants of those good people are all around us. The usual proof of Huguenot descent, as derived from the family surname, is of course unattainable in the case of descent in the female line, but even otherwise, the corruptions to which French names have been subjected in England in the course of generations, as well as the changes from French to English equivalents in a large class of surnames, such as *Le Blanc* to *White*, *Du Bois* to *Wood*, &c., &c., prevent us in innumerable instances from recognizing the descendants of Huguenot settlers in this country. Nevertheless it seems to be somewhat strange that, after an existence of nine years, this Society should not number more than from three to four hundred members. If we consider the immigrations that began in Edward the VI's reign and were continued into the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the infusion of Huguenot blood into the English community must have been very great, even allowing for the permanent return to the Continent of many families during the reign of Mary Tudor and as the possible results of the *Accord d'Ypres* in 1566 and of the accession of Henri IV to the throne of France in 1589. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign a census of the alien settlers in the city of Norwich gave their number at nearly five thousand, and in 1621, the census of strangers for the City of London yielded no less than ten thousand. Taking into account the other places of settlement in England, such as Sandwich, Canterbury, Maidstone, Southampton, Colchester, &c., we may estimate I think, without exaggeration, that at

¹ Chaplain to the Comte de Montgomery.

² The name of Patri is found in Guernsey as early as the fifteenth century.

the close of the first decade of the eighteenth century, the original refugees and their descendants on both sides, male and female, must have numbered not far short of two hundred thousand, a number which, on a population of five and a half millions, would yield an appreciable percentage of persons with more or less Huguenot blood in England at that epoch. In addition, we should not forget the large settlements in Ireland, at the date of the Revocation especially, nor the smaller but still appreciable settlements in Scotland.¹

We, who are amongst their descendants, must be pardoned if we express our conviction that the leaven thus introduced into the National life of England has been of unmixed good to the community, and I cannot doubt that if, to quote one of the professed objects of the Society, we persevere in perpetuating the memory of our Huguenot ancestors and continue also to admire and perpetuate their characteristic virtues of constancy to their Faith, their trust and patience under suffering and their sincerity and simplicity of life, we shall be doing something, if ever so little, to help and lift up not only ourselves but the National life, which, unless kept to pure and lofty ideals must necessarily deteriorate. That it is easier to fall than to rise is as true of the nation as it is of the individual.

In the Register are entered four *Actes du Consistoire*. The heading superscribed is as follows:—

Liure por. Les afferres suruenâtes en Ceste Eglise.

Two of these are 16th century, and two, 18th century *Actes*. The first is dated 13 July, 1584, and relates to the visit of congratulation made by the Minister and *anciens* to the newly appointed Bishop of Winchester. *Le 13 Juillet, 1584, par ordonnance du Consistoire, Le Ministre, Mathieu Sohier, guillaume Hersen et pierre Le Gay (anciens), furent Salué docteur Houppé² por. lors Nouuellement fet euesque de vincestre, luy priant Nous porter bonne affection au Maintient de Notre eglise, Comme ses predecesseurs Nous auoient porté. Apres nous auoir ouy, nous Respondit benignement quil le feroit et qu'il ne vouloit rien alterer. Seulement que nous eussions a porter en gens de bien. Chose que nous dîmes auoir en Voulonté de ferre. La dessus Le Remerciames, prenant Congé de Luy.* The second acte is

¹ In his "History of the French Protestant Refugees," Charles Weiss estimates the number of *workmen* and *manufacturers* who took refuge in the United Kingdom at the Revocation, at 70,000; this does not include, therefore, the Pastors, professional men, and soldiers who, together, must have numbered some thousands more.

² Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Winchester 1584 to 1595.

dated 19th July 1584, and relates to the public notice given throughout all the French Churches in England as to the support and education of young scholars with a view to their preparation for the Ministry. The third *acte* is dated some hundred and thirty-nine years later, viz. in 1723 and refers in distinct terms to the connection of the Church with the Channel Islands. *Le 16e. du mois d'auril 1723. En l'assemblée de Leglise françoise et des Isles de Jersey, guernesey, Origny, Sercq, &c. Sur Labandonnement qu'ont fait les Anciens de L'Eglise precedents, il a esté procédé a Lelection de nouveaux pour exercer cette fonction, et Lassemblée a Elu Messrs. Pierre Seale et amice Dauuergne, pour Lisle de Jersey, et Messrs. Nicolas d'Aubrais,¹ et Pierre Carrey, pour Lisle de guernesey, lesquels sont représentés par Messrs. Paul Voyer, français, et Abraham Le Grisley, Anciens Actuels de cette ditte Eglise, pour La gouverner Conformément aux usages de L'Eglise de ce lieu, et ce sous La Conduitte de Mons. Pierre Deneueu de St. Denis, notre ministre, et sur le refus fait par les precedents Anciens, de remettre le liure des actes, il a este resolu de inserer le present dans Ce livre. En foy de quoy nous avons Signé, les Jours et an que dessus:—*

NICHs. BRETON.	ABRAM GRILEY.	DENEUEU ST. DENIS,
THOMAS WILLIAMS.	S. KELLER.	Ministre.
JEAN ALLEZ.	JEAN GAVETT.	MATHIEU LAURANS.
PIERRE QUERIPPEL.		PAUL VOYER.

This *acte* arose, of course, out of the secession which took place in the congregation on the introduction of the English Liturgy into the Services of the Church as referred to on page 131.

The *acte* books were eventually retained by M^r de S^t. Denis, but the Register in which these entries are recorded was restored to the Church. The *acte* books have unfortunately been lost as well as the minute book of the Consistory. The fourth *acte* recorded in the Register is dated 7th April 1725 and runs in the name of *lassemblée des Chefs de famille de L'Eglise françoise et des Isles de Jersey, Guernesey, Origny, Serg, &c.* By this *il a esté unanimement resolu que les actes qui se feront dans la suite seront inserés dans le nouveau registre, Jusqua ce que celui que les françoise separés² ont Emporté soit restitué entre nos mains.* * * *

¹ Dobrée

² i.e. The Conformist members.

LIST OF FRENCH REFUGEE MINISTERS TO THE CHANNEL ISLANDS. List 1.

After the expulsion of the Pasteurs from France in Sept. 1568,¹ the Lieut.-Governor of Jersey, Amyas Paulet informed Cecil of the arrival in that Island of seventeen Ministers from Normandy; these were:—

Pierre Loyselleur, ministre de Bayeux.	Toussaints Bruiner, ministre de Ganry (T. Le Bouvier de Ganeray.)
Matthew de la Faye, ² ministre de St. Lô.	Pierre Bence, ministre de Courseulles.
Raymond La Montaine, ministre de Carentan.	Jehan Guyot, ministre d'Aubigny.
Estienne Lair, ministre de Colleville.	Germain Phillippe, ministre de Séqueville.
Pierre Henry, ³ ministre de Ste. Marye.	Arnoult Le Cordier, ministre de Noyers.
Guillaume Bonhomme, ministre du Val de Sers.	Gylles Le Lavandier, ministre d'Aulnay.
Jehan Quesnel, ministre de Coutances.	Ursin Bayeux, ministre de Colomby.
Robert Couye, ministre de Soule.	Pierre de Chaumont, ministre de Ste. Marie du Mont. ⁴
Jacques de Franaux, ministre de Heuville (ou Neuville).	

LIST II.

Chronicler's List; prior to 1576, including Refugee Pasteurs before and at the date of the St Bartholomew.

S. Alix.	Dangy—(Pierre Henry. List of 1568).
Pierre Baptiste.	Des Moulins, (ministre de Camilly).
Nic Baudoin. ⁵	Des Serfs.
Beny, (Berny de Troyes, M. de Vitré, réf. après la St. Barthy).	Des Travaux, (? de Franaux, ministre de Heuville. List of 1568.)
Th. Bertram.	Julien Dolbel. ⁹
Bonespoir ⁶ (Marin Chrétien, dit Bonespoir).	Du Perron, (Julien Davy du Perron).
Josué Bonhomme.	Du Val.
Bouillon ⁷ (Pierre Le Roy, dit Bouillon).	Vincent Du Val, (Le Bas, Sieur du Val, ministre de Caen).
Cosme Brevin. ⁸	Froiderue.
De Chautmont, (see List of 1568.)	
Marin Chestes. ? Already mentioned.	

¹ State papers, Dom Addenda, Eliz. XIV, C

² To Grouville in Aug., 1585.

³ To St

⁴ To St. Peter's, Jersey, in Aug., 1585.

⁵ M

⁶ Also of St. Pierre Port.

⁷ Minister o

⁸ First minister of Serk.

⁹ St. S

Arnon de Schickler. in Aug., 1585.

Port, Guernsey. and Tort

ry

Gérin (or Guérin).	Nic. Le Duc.
Jacques Girard.	Laurent Machon (Masson.)
Jean Girard.	(Maçon.)
de Haleville (? Housteville, min. de Ranville).	Nic. Maret.
Pierre Henry (already named).	Martin (? Martin Langlois).
Ed. Hérault.	Ol. Mesnier.
Th. Johanne.	Jean de Monange (de St. Aubin sur Argues.)
Math. Laigneaux (L'houmeau, min. de Vitré).	Moulinos.
de La Ripaudière (du pays d'Anjou).	Claude Parent, ¹ (ministre de Bayeux).
Toussaint le Bouvier (List of 1568).	Pinçon, ² (ministre de Caen),
Le Churel.	G. Riche.
	Treffroy. ³

LIST III.

¹ In 1585, after the Edict of Nemours, a fresh emigration of Pasteurs took place from France to the Islands, and accordingly we find the following new names amongst Refugee Pasteurs in Jersey:—

Silo le Cercler, Sieur de Cham- brisé, ministre de Blain.	Olivier L'Archer, ministre de Chassegay.
Jacques Guyneau, ministre de Sion.	Jean Gyot, ministre de Brique- ville.
Clément Mahot, ministre de Pleugneur.	Arthur L'Escalier, dit Balandry, ministre du Havre.
Claude Charretier, ministre de Ploërmel.	Jean du Val, ministre de Ducey.
Aigues Hay, ministre de Crocy.	Robert Le Cesne, ministre des Vées.
Gilles Gautier, ³ dit la Benserie, ministre de Caen.	Gilles de Housteville, ministre de Verrières.
Jean Baudart, ministre de Sique- ville.	François Oyseau, ministre de Nantes.
Jean Baudoin, ministre de Che- fresne.	Jean Bihan, ministre du Croisie. La Fresnes.
	La Villette.

¹ To St. Brelade, Jersey, in Aug., 1585.

² This name, variously spelt, is often found in the Southampton and Canterbury Registers at later dates.

³ The Chaplains to Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey, and Castle Cornet, Guernsey, at this time, were respectively, Arthur Walker and Percival Wybone.

⁴ Le Baron de Schickler.

⁵ To St. Saviour's, Jersey, Aug., 1585.

and in Guernsey, the following, viz:—

Pierre Merlin, ¹ ministre de Vitré.	Jacques Roullées, ⁶ ministre d'Ercé.
Noel Perruquet, ² Sieur de la Mulonnière, do. do.	Jean de Cherpont, ⁷ ministre de la Gravelle.
Mathurin L'Houmeau, ³ dit du Gravier, ministre de Rennes.	Jean Marchand, ⁸ ministre de Laval.
Jean du Quesnel, ⁴ List of 1568.	Jacques Bernard, dit de la Fontaine, ministre de l'Epicelière.
Jean Viau, ⁵ ministre de Dangeau.	

At this time, Marin Chrétien, dit Bonespoir, was minister of St. Pierre Port, and Pierre Le Roy, dit Bouillon, of St. Pierre du Bois and Torteval.

LIST IV.

At various dates ranging from 1592 to 1604, the following are found amongst the Guernsey ministers:—

Jacques Guyneau, (who died in 1592).	Jérémie Valpy, ¹⁰ 1597.
Georges Chappelain, (who died in 1592).	Nicolas Baudoin, re-called to Guernsey and re-instated in the Town Parish, 1599, ob. 1613, <i>État</i> . 87.
Dominique Sicard, 1592.	Thomas Millet, 1602.
Jean de la Vallée, 1592.	Samuel de la Place, ¹¹ 1603.
Samuel Loulmeau, 1592.	Pierre Painsec, 1604.
Daniel Dolbel, ⁹ 1596.	

Names specifically referred to the Channel Islands, mentioned in the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton.

ADMISSIONS À LA SAINTE CÈNE.

1568, le Dimanche Jor. de pasques. Jean Mesnier,¹² alle (*sic*) a Guernsey le XVme d'Avril.
 „ Nicolas de Lisle, alle a Guernsey, le XVme d'Avril.

¹ At one time Chaplain to the illustrious Coligny, appointed to St. Peter Port August, 1585, and described as "exerçant alternativement le ministère de la parole de Dieu en ville."

² To St. Sampson's.

³ To St. Martin's.

⁴ To Le Castel.

⁵ To St. Saviour's.

⁶ To St. Andrew's.

⁷ To the Vale.

⁸ To the Forest. in Sept. 1585—returned to France in 1598.

⁹ Rector of St. Pierre du Bois—son of Julien Dolbel, Rector of St. Saviour's, Jersey.

¹⁰ To the Castel, 20 July, 1597.

¹¹ Son of Pierre de la Place, a Guernsey pasteur, who, as the Baron de Schickler shews p. 452, T. 2., was the father of five pasteurs. Samuel—Jersey and Guernsey—Pierre, p. de Sion—Elie, p. at Jersey—David, p. de Laval et de la Moussaye—Jopué, p. at Nantes and Professor at Saumur.

¹² Erased in the MS.

- „ Pierre de Beauvois, de Guernesey.
- „ Jacques Guille, de Guernesey.
- „ 1er Dimanche d'Octobre. Thomas du Marecs, de Gersé.¹

CEUX DES ILLES OU DE JERSÉ OU GERNESÉ.

- 1569, le premier dimanche d'Avril. Denis Le Rous, Andrieu Mon Amy, Nicollas le Pot Vin,² Nicollas Le Mesurier, Jan Prieaux, Andrieu Brehault, Nicollas Petist, pierre Pepin.
- 1569, 3 Juillet. de gernesé, Cardin Fatrart, Nicolas Samares, Monsieur le doien.
- 1570, 2 Avril. Helie de la Court, de Gernesé.
- „ 1er Octobre. Noelle Bocquet, jeune fille, de Jersé.
- 1572, 6 Julliet. Jan Joens, de Gernesé, passant.
- 1573, 4 Janvier. Gillame Le Marchand, fils de Thomas, de gernesé.
- „ 5 Avril. Janne Garie, vefue destienne Trigot, de gernesé, Mabel Bosquet, jeune fille, de Jersé.
- „ 5e Jor. de Juillet. maurice Placé, aiant attestation de Nicollas Baulduin, ministre en gernesé.
- 1574, 4 Avril. Pierre Falesse (? Falaise) J.f.³ de gernesé.
- 1575, 3 Juillet. Matieu Molart demeurant a gernesé⁴ . . .
- 1576, 7 Octobre. helie De La Marche, de gernesé, J.f. demorant chez mestre D'Ingelet.
- 1577, 7 Avril. Jan Viuient (? Vivien), J.f. de Garsay, demeurant chez pierre Le Maçon, n'ayant fet la Cene.
- 1578, 6 Avril. De Gernesé, Com'e passans, Helie Le Briart et pierre Petevin.
- „ 6 Juillet. françois Bourgesse⁵ (Bourgaise) de Gernesé, comme passant.
- 1580, 3 Avril. pierre Touillan de Gersé, Chez Michiel LeGrant, brasseur.
- „ 3 Juillet. Nicolas Renault, de gersay, faiseur de Meulles.
- „ 2 Octobre. Nicolas Le Grant, de Gernesé.
- 1581, 2 Avril. Guillaume Broc, de Gernesé. T.e.⁶
- „ 2 Juillet. Jan Etur de Gernesé.
- „ 2 Juillet. helie Bilot, Villaume Le Broc, de gersé, po^r passant.
- 1582, 7 Janvier. Jan Rogier, J.f. de Gernesé, T.e. Chez Estienne Bride.
- „ Alles Bet-Brot, J.f. Chez p. Trenchant : elle est de Gersé.
- 1583, 6 Janvier. Sara Le Port, T.e. elle est fe. et de Jerzé.

¹The names of the Channel Islands are spelt in every conceivable way throughout the Register.

²? Poitevin.

³J.f. Jeune fils ou fille.

⁴See quotation, p. 128.

⁵His wife, Gorgette Lony, admitted 4 Janvier, 1579, without mention of the Island.

⁶Témoignage.

- 1584, 2 Août. Robin Molin, de gernesé et Marthe Vignon sa femme. Emet La Coronaie f. de dauid De Let de gernesé.
- 1585, 5 Septembre. Richard Du Port et sa femme, de Gernesé.
- 1586, 7 Août. Marguerite Creanço, de Guernezey.
- 1593, 1er Juillet. Philippe Gourré, de Gerzé.
- „ 4 Novembre. Abraham Foucquj, de Gernezay.
- 1594, 3 Mars. Pierre Traçe, de Gerzé. Judith Du Bois, de Guernezey.
- „ 2 Juin. Simeon Tourgis, de Gerzay.
- 1596, 6 Juin. Thomas Gavé, natif de Jerzé.
- „ 5 Septembre. Pierre Prevost, de Guernezé.
- „ 7 Novembre. Marie Hocquart et Jan Pinelle, natifs de Guernezey, Philippe Benetz, de Gerzé.
- 1597, 6 Mars. Nicolas Rouf, natif de Jerzé.
- 1599, 4 Novembre. . . . Marinelle, de Jerzé.
- 1600, 6 Fév. Thomas Guillaume, natif de Jerzé. Jan Griniel, de Jerzé.
- „ 1 Juin. Nicodeme Le Gobin, de Jerzé.
- 1605, Septembre. Thomas Le Cousteur, de Jersé, avec attest^{on}
- „ Octobre. Jane, femme de Gregoire Herivel, venue de Jerzé avec tesmoignage.
- 1606, Janvier. Rachel Delec, ayant apporté tesm. de Jerzé.
- „ Juin. Estienne Nel, ayant apporté tesm. de Guernezé.
- „ Octobre. Susanne Vaudin, de l'Isle de Serck.
- 1607, Avril. Jean Coustanche et Pierre Barbe, avec Tesm. de Gerzé.
- „ Juillet. Eve Patron, avec tesm. de Guernezé. Marie Syvret, Philippe Perier, et Marie s.f. avec tesm. de Gerzé.
- „ Septembre. Marie Pinel, avec tesm. de Guernezé.
- 1608, Janvier. Anne Pitard, avec tesm. de Guernezé.
- „ Septembre. Rachel Hamel, avec tesm. de Guernezé. Jean Chevalier, avec tesm. de Gerzé.
- „ Novembre. Rachel Roland, avec tesm. de Gerzé. Jeane Heaume, avec attestn. de la paroisse de St. Ouen (Jersey). Estienne Mogeur (? Manger), avec tesm. de Guernezé.
- 1609, Janvier. Samuel Chambrelain, avec tesm. de Guernezé.
- 1617, 7 Septembre. Jeanne Vibert, f. de Richart Garner, en vertu d'un certificat par elle apporté de l'Isle de Jersey.
- 1620, 2 Janvier. Sara L'Empriere, en vertu d'un bon tesmoignage apporté de l'Isle de Jersey. Susanne Bonnespoir¹ en vertu d'un tesmoignage de la mesme.
- 1620, 16 Avril. Thomas Vasseur.
- „ „ „ Collette Preaux.
- 1625, 7 Octobre. Marie Michelle.
- „ „ „ françoise Bissot.
- „ „ „ Rachel Perree.

{ De L'Isle de Guernezee.
 { Venues de Jersey
 avec tesmoignage.

¹ Marin Chrestien dit Bonnespoir had been minister of St. Pierre Port, Guernsey.

- 1627, 1er Septembre. Marie de Beauvais, de Guernezee.
- 1628, 1er Juin. Jehanne Ahier. } Venantes des Isles.
 " " " Guillemine Audouere. }
- 1629, 7 Juin. Susanne Marchant. } Venuës des Isles de
 " " " Judith Beauchamp. } Jarsee et de Guernesee
 " " " Catherine Luce. } avec passable tesmoig-
 " " " Elizabeth Hacquebec. } nage de leurs moeurs.
 " " " Esther Le Blanc. }
- " " " Jehanne Durel. } Aussi venuës des sus-
 " " " Sara Desperques. } dictes Isles avec fort
 " " " Marie Dolbel. } bon tesmoignage.
- " 5 Juillet. Marguerite Marchant. }
 " " " Marie Poittevin. }
 " " " Elisabeth Staffart. } Venuës des Isles de
 " " " Elisabeth Baillehache. } Jarsee et Guernesee.
 " " " Elisabeth De La Rue. }
 " " " Jehanette Falaise. }
 " " " Esther Jardin. }
- " " " Thomas Chevalier. } Venus aussi de
 " " " Dorotheo Hericouk (? rt) s.f. } Guernessee.
- 1629, 6 Septembre. Elisabeth Dous, venuë de Guernesee avec bon tesmoignage.
- 1630, 3 Janvier. Susanne Allain. }
 " " " Elisabeth Fisch. } Jeune filles venuës des
 " " " Elisabeth Tellier. } Isles.
 " " " Olimpe Thomas. }
- " 7 Mars. Jehan Guilbert, de Guernezee, ayant rendu raison de sa foy.
- " 7 Avril. Thomasse Preaux, vefue de Thomas De L'Isle, de Guernezee.
- " 4 Juillet. Colliche Guile, venuë de Guernesee avec tesmoignage.
- 1631, 1er Mai. Jehanne Malesard, venuë de Jarsee.

BAPTÊMES.

- 1664, 20 Novembre. Jean fs. de Jean Guillaume et Eliz. Prier (? Priaulx) s. f. Par. Aron Guillaume. Baptizé par Mr. Morheatt, ministre de Leglize de St. Sauveur en Lisle de Guernsey.
- 1673, 1 Avril. Joseph, fs. de Jacob Guerrart et Marguerite Nilson, s. f. Par. Jean Rawlings et Anne Harwood. Bapt. par Monsr. Des Hays, ministre du Val et St. Sampson, a Guernsey.
- 1690, 24 Juillet. Isaac, fs. de Michel Perchard et Collette Hubert, de Jersey. Par. Mr. et Madlle. Dhuissaux.

- 1690, 19 Décembre. Richard, né le 14, fs. de Richard Le Blancq. Par. Mess. Seale de Jersey, et De Veusle et Mmes. Gaingnepain et Heaume.
- 1691, 16 Août. "Monsr. Carré,¹ qui lors étoit ici pour passer a Guernesey," baptized the child of Refugee parents.
- 1691-2, 22 Février. Henry, fs. de Henry Crasby, et Elizabeth Poingdextre. Par. Georges Poingdextre, et Catherine Martel de Lisle de Jersey.
- 1692, 4 Décembre. Perrine, fe. de Jean Flair, et de Judie Le Coq, de Lisle Dorigny. Par. Jean Bertrand et Perrine Houguier.
- 1695, 13 Octobre. Elizabet, fe. de George Gaivin, et Rachel Le Viell, de guernezé, habitans de ce lieu. Par. Jean Le Coq, et Elizabeth Le Viell.
- 1697, 4 Juillet. Henry, fs. de Henry Birré, de la Tranblade, et Marguerite Mignot, Dorigny. P. Jean Cornu, Dorigny, et abigail Mignot, s. f.
- 1697-8, 30 Jan. George, fs. de Monsieur George Foulks, Lieutenant dans le Regiment du Colonel Mordant, et de Demoiselle Marie Lampriere, de Jersé. Par. le Sr. Thomas Prety, et Demlle. Pikard.
- 1698, 1 Mai. Rachel, fe. de George Gaivin, et Rachel Le Viell, de Guernezé, habitans de ce lieu. Par. Thomas Freeman, et Elizabeth Masters.
- " 5 Octobre. Aaron, né le 20 Sept., fs. du Sr. Richard Le Blanc, et Anne du Haumes. Par. Mr. Eleazar Le Marchand, de Guernezé, et Madame s. f. et Mr. Thomas Ireland, et Mad^e Françoise Deveule.
- 1699, 29 Juin. Marie, née le 29, dans la paroisse, de St. Michel, fe. de Mr. George Foulks, cy devant Lieutenant dans le Regimt. du Colonel Mordant, et Dlle. Marie Lampriere, de Jersé, Par. Le Sr. Philippe Deveule, et Dlle. françoise Deveule, sa bellemere.
- " 4 Août. Antoinete, née le 4, dans la paroisse de St. Michel, fe. du Sr. Paul d'Arundel, françois réfugié de longueville en bas Poictou en france, et Dlle. Marie Herault, de la paroisse de St. Helier a Jersé. Par. Le Sr. Theophile Duchesne et Dlle. Antoinete de Gineste, f. de Mr. Cougot.
- " 6 Octobre. Priscille, née le 28 Sept., dans la paroisse de St. Jean, fe. de Pierre Payn, de la paroisse de Ste. Marie, Jersé, et Susanne Du Vall. Par. Edouard Renouf, de Jersé, et Dames Elizabeth Broyer et Judith Gariot.
- 1699-1700, 18 Février. Jeanne, fe. de George Gaivin et Rachel Le Viell, de Guernezé, habitans de ce lieu dans la paroisse de St. Michel. Par. William Thomas et Rachel Thomas.
- " 8 Mars, (dimanche). Jean, né le Jeudi, précédent, fs. de Jean Martel, de Jersé, et Catherine Martel, habitans de ce

¹The widow or daughter "aged 47, alone at Guernesay," of a Pasteur of this name, figures among the recipients of the Royal Bounty Fund in 1717. She received £10.

- lieu, paroisse St. Michel. Par. Le Sr. Jean Martel, et Jean Denis et Mercy Alderley et Marie Denis.
- 1701, 11 Septembre. Jeanne, née le 4, fe. of the above, the father being described as *matelot*.
- 1701-2, 17 Février. Paul, né le 15, fs. de Pierre Payn, Mre. de barque de Jersé, paroisse Ste. Marie, et Susanne Duvall. Par. Les Srs. Paul Couraud et Jean Thomas et Diles. Antoinete de Gineste, f. de Mr. Cougot, ministre, et Elizabeth Couraud, veuve de Mr. Dickenson.
- 1703, 30 Novembre. Marie, fe. de Henry Bire, de la tramblade, matelot, et Marguerite Mignot, d'Origny, demt. paroisse de St. Michel. Par. Capt. Coq, de Guernezé, et Marie Blanchet, et Susanne Ligaudon.
- 1703-4, 22 Mars. Elie, fs. de Jean Martel, de Jersé, matelot, et Catherine Martel, demt. paroisse de St. Michel, (no par. recorded).
- 1704, 23 Juin. Thomas, fs. de Thomas Nevitt, soldat, et Judith Nicole, de Guernezé. Par. Robert Moran, et Rachel Godel, Judith, demt. paroisse de St. Michel.
- „ 16 Septembre. Susanne, fe. de Pierre Pain, maitre de barque, de Jersé, paroisse de Ste. Marie, et Susanne Du Val, s.f. tous 2 demt. paroisse St. Michel. Par. Le Sr. Thomas Button, Elie Bernard, Mrs. Taunton, et Mde. Thomas.
- 1706, 4 Avril. David, fs. de David Dallain, François réfugié de la ville de St. Lo, demt. dans la paroisse d'Holyrood, et Elizabeth Priaulx, de la paroisse de la forêt de Guernezé. Par. Antoine Cougot, ministre de cette Eglise, et Docteur en Médecine, et Dlle. Clorinte de Boisrousseau, française réfugiée.
- 1707, 6 Mai. Nicolas, né le 4, fs. de Pierre Payn, et Susanne Du Val. Par. Le Sr. Nicolas Gaynepin, de Guernezé, et Marthe Guillemin.
- 1708, 3 Août. Jean, fs. de Pierre Payn, et Susanne Duval, s. f. Par. Jean Leget, maitre de Barque, de Jersé, et Marie Journeau.
- „ 30 Novembre. Richard, fs. de Richard Le Viell, de la paroisse de St. Pierre de Jersé, matelot au service de sa Majesté, et Marie Gaivan, demt. paroisse de St. Michel. Par. George Gaivin et Rachel Le Viell, s. f. grand pere et grand mere de l'Enfant.
- 1709, 17 Octobre. Jean, fs. de Jean Remon, de Jersé, paroisse St. Pierre, et Elizabeth Luce, de lade. Isle, paroisse St. Laurens. Par. Les Srs. Richard Le Blanc et Jean Dauvergne, et Made. Ester Hilgrove et franc^e Saywell.
- „ 11 Decembre. Charles, fs. de Josué Gabourel, de Jersé, paroisse St. Ouën, et Sara Hubert, de lade. Isle. Par. Le Sr. Thomas Hilgrove et Madame Du Terme.
- 1710, 4 Juin. Thomas, fs. de Thomas Machell, de la cité d'York, matelot appartenant au vaisseau de guerre de sa majesté appelé La Perle, et Elizabeth Bernard, de Guernezé, demt.

- paroisse d'Holyrood. Par. Les Srs. John Williams, et Daniel Vaughan (*sic*) et Elizabeth Williams.
- 1711, 28 Septembre. Thomas, fs. de Thomas Amy, Matelot de Jersé, paroisse Grouville, et Susanne Herivel, d'Origny. Par. . . . Olivier et Marie Sibron.
- 1712, 21 Avril. Phebé,¹ fe. de Pierre Payn, et Sussanne Duval, s. f. Par. Les Srs. Richard Le Blanc, ancien, de cette Eglise et Jean Orange de Jersé, et Dlle Antoinette Cougot, f. de Mr. Cougot, ministre, et Marie Le Huë, f. du Capitaine Cyprian Huë.
- 1713, 15 Novembre. Henriete, fe. d'Edouïard Pope, Anglois, et Bertrande Falaise, de Guernezé, demt. St. Michel. Par. Le très Honble. Henry, Comte de Galloway, et Madme. de Cosnes.
- 1714, 18 Août. Charles, fs. de Mathieu Laurens, de Jerzé, paroisse St. Pierre, et Elizabeth Le Cornu, paroisse St. Ouën, tous 2 demt. St. Michel. Par. Charles Arrowsmith, Junr., William Cross, . . . Herivel, et . . . Daniel.
- 1721, 6 Septembre. Jeanne Judith Marte, née le 24 Août, fe. d'Abraham Le Greslé, et Rebecca Lus, de Jersey, demt. St. Michel. Par. Pierre Deneveu, de St. Denis, docteur en theologie, et ministre de cette Eglise, et Mlles. Jeanne Corbet et Susanne Haupais.
- 1722, 30 Mars. James, né le . . Mars, 1721-2, fs. de James Naftel, et Ester Whitefoot, tous 2 de Guernesey. Par. Mr. Jaques Bernard, et Dlle. Anne Coutard.
- 1724, -- Août. Pierre et Christofle, enfans Jumeaux, de Christofle Thomas, François, et Elizabeth Smith, de Guernezey, demt. paroisse St. Jean, et sont morts huit ou dix jours après.
- 1724-5, -- Février. Benjamin, fs. de Mr. Benjamin Gavet, de Guernesey, et Elizabeth Taylor, s. f. Anglaise, demt. St. Michel.
- 1725, 19 Septembre. Thomas, né le 13, fs. de Mr. Pierre Olivier, d'Origny, ancien de cette eglise, et Dlle. Marie Picot, fe. de Mr. Picot, ministre de La forest, et tortreval en lisle de Guernesey, demt. St. Michel. Par. Mrs. Pierre et Thomas Olivier, grand pierre (*sic*), et oncle de l'enfant, et Mlle. Susanne Haupais, pour Mlle. Jeanne Le Cocq, f. dud. Sr. Thomas Olivier.

MARIAGES.

- 1578, 9 Février. Jaques Bride, n. de Valenchienne, et Clemence Artus (? Arthur), n. de lisle de Jerzé, de la paroisse Ste. Marie. Il avoit mere presente consentant. ian Vivient,¹ serviteur a pierre Le masson certifia que la mere d'elle en avoit donné consentement.

¹ Cet enfant enregistré cy dessous est Le premier qui a été baptizé suivant La Liturgie Anglicane.

² ? Vivien.

- 1580, 29 Mai. Guillaume Marie, n. de la paroisse du fresne en normendie, mes de present aiant sa demeure en la ville et Isle de Gernesé, et Claude Jorin, il estoit, et la mere (d'elle) vefue y consentoit.
- „ 5 Juillet. Pierre Touillart, n. de la paroisse de St. Eloy,¹ en lisle de Gersay, et françoise Toutain, n. de Goderville au pais de Caux, Tous deux en liberté.
- 1581, 9 Avril. Helie Le Loutre, n. de St. pierre port, de Lisle de Gernesé, et Janne Bescart, n. de la ville de Bruges, en flandres. avec consentement des deux parties. Car pierre Le Maçon Rendoit tesmoignage du consentement du Pere, d'iceluy, et M. de monange de sa mere, d'autant quiceux estoient absens.
- „ 16 Juillet. Isaac Harivel, n. de la paroisse de St. Oing, en lisle de Jersé, et Anne Vivien, n. de la paroisse de St. Sauveur en la mesme Isle. tous deux orphelins.
- „ 10 Septembre. Nicolas Gevin, n. de S. pierre port en lisle de Gernesé, et Elizabeth Coutellier, n. de ceste ville. Il avoit consentement de son pere, tesmoin thomas Le Bel, de Gernesé; la fe. etoit orpheline.
- 1582, 28 Janvier. Nicolas Le Plus,² n. d'armentiere, et Marguerite Moieur (? Mauger) n. de la paroisse de St. martin, en lisle de Gernesé. Luy vef et elle orpheline.
- 1583, 17 Novembre. Guillaume Moulin, n. d'anvers, et Marguerite Mauger,³ n. de la paroisse de S. Martin, en lisle de gernesé. tous deux vefue.
- 1586, 24 Juillet. George Du Parc, n. de Guernezay, et Thomasse Louis, n. de Normandie. Luy orphelin et elle avoit consentement de son pere.
- 1587, 16 Fév. Jan Clujeon, n. de Guernezay, et Marie Poisson, n. de Diepe.
- „ 26 Fév. Emanuel Homfred, et Sara Le Porc, tous deux n. n. de Guernezay. Par le consentement de leur parens plus proches.
- „ 14 Mars. Nicolas Pelletier, n. de Guernezay, et Perrette du Hamel, n. d'Elboeuf. Tous 2 voeux.
- „ 20 Août. Helier Bertrant, n. de Guernezay, et Elizabeth Vignon, n. de ceste ville.
- 1588, 10 Octobre. Nicolas Du Plain, n. d'Origni, et Magdaleine Mesnier, n. de Guernezé.
- 1590, 29 Mars, (stil. vet). Nicolas Schuennelle, n. de Gerzé, et Susanne Des Portes, vefue de Jan Henri, n. de Dieppe.
- 1592, 16 Avril. Clement Carteret,⁴ et Susanne Ricard,⁵ tous 2 de Gerzé.
- „ 8 Novembre. Edouart Malezard, n. de Gerzé, et Marie du Chesne, l'aisnée, n. d'Elleboeuf en Normandie.

¹ ? St. Helier.

² Ob. peste—6 Juillet, 1583.

³ No doubt the bride of the preceding entry.

⁴ Ob. peste, 5 Juillet, 1604.

⁵ Ob. peste, 28 Juin, 1604.

- 1592, 26 Novembre. Nicolas Tracé, n. de Gerzé, et Marie du Chesne, n. d'Elleboeuf en Normandie.
- 1595, 21 Avril. Daniel Du Gard, n. de Hamptonne, et Judith Du Bois, n. de Guernezé.
- „ 21 Mai. Nicolas Le Pré, et Elizabeth Petiot, tous deux n. n. de Guernezé.
- „ 31 Décembre. Pierre Harrivel, et Marie Touet, tous deux n. n. de Jerzé.
- 1596, 12 Décembre. Abraham Enoch, et Magdaleine Mesnier, vefue de Nicolas Du Plain, tous deux de Grenezé.
- 1598, 9 Juillet. Edouart Hacourt, n. de Gerzé, et Sara Pontus, n. de Zudhamptonne.
- 1600, 13 Juillet. Nicolas Hacourt, n. de Gerzé, et Elizabeth Du Gard, n. d'Elboeuf en Normandie.
- „ 23 Novembre. François Carpentier, n. de Normandie, et Rachel De La Dune, n. de Guernezé.
- 1601, 24 Mai. Timothee Mesnier, n. de Jerzé, et Marguerite Markes, de Wincester; mariez aux Anglois vers ce mesme temps.
- 1602, 9 Juin. Jan Coll, n. d'Origni, et Jacqueline Vautier, n. de Normandie.
- 1603, 2 Mars. Jan Pithon, n. de Jerzé, et Christienne Milkins, n. de Hamschire, vefue de Jan Harrivel.
- „ 17 Août. Nicolas Filiastre, et . . . Ricarde, tous 2 n. n. de Jerzé; par Monsr. Olivier, ministre de Jerzé.
- „ 30 Novembre. Pierre Chevalier, n. de Guernezé, et Marthe Thieudet, n. du Havre.
- 1605, 24 Novembre. Pierre Bride, n. de Hamptonne, et Noemi Harivel, n. de Jerzé.
- „ 11 Décembre. Jean Lahier, n. de Guernezé, et Perrette Lanechie, n. de Normandie.
- 1606, 24 Août. Jan Robert, de Guernezé, et Sara De La Dune, vefue de Robert Yon.
- „ 3 Septembre. Pierre Le Febure, n. de Gerzé, et Anne Pinel, n. de Guernezé.
- „ 23 Novembre. Jan Coustance, n. de Gerzé, et Susanne du Chesne, n. de Hamptonne.
- 1609, 24 Décembre. Jean Le Ruez, et Susanne Hakwell, tous 2 de Gerzé.
- 1610, 12 Août. Nicolas Audouaire, de Herqueville, et Marie Harrivel, de Gerzé.
- 1611, 30 Juin. Jean Sbirel, de Gerzé, et Jane Seulin, de Hamptonne.
- 1618-19, 10 Fév. Philippe Blampy et Noëmi Le Gros, tous 2 de Jerzée.
- 1623, 2 Juin. Denis Du Parc, et Collette Croix, tous 2 de Serct.
- 1631, 24 Juillet. Guillaume Journeau, et Marie D'Acier, tous 2 de Guernesee.

- 1659, 1 Janvier. Matieu Viell, de Gerzé, et Rachel Maugeur, de Gernezé, a l'Eglise Anglois.
- 1660, 13 Octobre. Charle Andro(s) et Els.¹ Fouchin, (Fashion or Fashion), donville, tous 2 de Guernezé.
- 1663, 31 Août. Simeon Coutance, de Jersey, et Dorothée Proctor, de Hamptonne.
- 1664, 29 Mai. Jean Brocq, n. de Jersey, et Hester Crali, n. de Guernesey; par le Sr. Jean Couraud, Pasteur.
- 1666, 5 Novembre. Nicolas Vaudin, n. de Guernsey, et Margite South.
- 1667, 15 Octobre. Jacques Anley et Judy Pain, tous 2 n. n. de Jersey; par Mr. Hugh Grandin, de Jersey.
- 1667-8, 23 Mars. Elie Martell, de Jersey, et Jane Pitt, de cette ville, vefue.
- 1669, 4 Avril. Phillipe De Gruchy, n. de Jersey, et Judy Rouget, n. de Guarnsey.
- „ 7 Fév. Elie De Gruchy, n. de Jersey, Marchand, et Damlle. Judic De La Motte, fe. Aisnee du sus dit Sr. Jos. De La Motte; par. Monsr. Jean Couraud, Pastr.
- 1671, 6 Juillet. Jean Ralins, Diacre en cette Eglise, et Damlle. Judic De Carteret, fe. de Monsr. le Docteur Phillipe De Carteret, de Jersey; par. Mr. Thomas Buttler, ministre Anglois a Millbrooke. Luy vef et elle fille; et le pere dicelle consentit.
- 1682, 18 Juin. Le Sr. Elie Maugier, de la paroisse de St. Lorans a Jersey, et la fille Du Sr. Richard Du Heaume, ancien de ceste Eglise; par. Mr. Couraut, ministre de ladite Eglise.
- 1688, 21 Mai. Le Sr. blaise Le Bair, et Margueritte Adam, tous 2 Doreny.
- 1692, 24 Mai. Jean Gaborel et Sara Le Gros, tous 2 de Jersey.
- „ 22 Nov. Ciprion Le Hüe et Marie Le Hüe, tous 2 de Guernesay.
- 1697, 10 Mai. Henry Meach, Anglois, et Ester De Gruchy, de gerze.
- 1700, 6 Mai. Helier De Garis, et Marie Blondel, fille d'Abraham B., tous 2 de la Paroisse de St. Sauveur en Guernezé.
- 1704, 27 Mars. David Dallain, fils de feu Pierre D., bourgeois de la ville de St. Lo, françois réfugié, Et Elizabeth Priaux, veuve de Abraham Hock, de la Paroisse de la forêt de Guernezé.
- 1704-5, 5 Février. Pierre Simon, de l'Isle d'Origny, et Elizabeth Cook, fille de Pierre Cook, de l'Isle de Jersé et de la Parroisse de St. Pierre.
- 1709, 14 Juin. Thomas Machel, de la cité d'York, matelot appartenant cy devant au Vaisseau de Guerre de sa Majesté appellé le Pembroke, et Elizabeth Bernard, de L'Isle de Guernezé.
- 1709-10. 17 Février. Thomas Amy, Matelot, de l'Isle de Jersé de la Parroisse de Grouville, et Susanne Herivell, de l'Isle d'Origny.

¹ Alice, see note, p. 154.

- 1711, 23 Avril. David Lorden, de l'Isle de Guernezé de la Parroisse St. Pierre Port, et Elizabeth Long, de Salisbury
 „ 23 Avril. John Freeman, Matelot Anglois, et Marie Journeau, de l'Isle de gersé.
- 1712, 26 Décembre. Abraham Le Grelé, de l'Isle de Jerzé, de la Parroisse de St. Ouën, et Rebecca Lus, de lad. Isle de Jerzé, de la Parroisse de Grouville.
- 1713-14, 15 Mars. Charles Herivel, de l'Isle d'Origny, et Elizabeth Le Bell, de la meme Isle.
- 1720, 26 Juillet. Philippe Le Rougetet, fs. de philippe, et de Rachel Amy, ses peres et meres, Et Sara Perchard, fe. de Jean et d'Elizabeth Du Maresq, de la paroisse de Grouville en Lisle de Jersey.
- 1721-2, 26 Février. James Naftel, de la paroisse de St. André, dans lisle de Guernesey, et Ester Whitefoot, de la paroisse de St. Martin en la mesme isle, suivant la dispense de Monseigneur Levesque de Winchester.
- 1723, 22 Déc. Chistofle Thomas, François réfugié, de la province de bretagne en france, et Elizabeth Smith, de l'isle de Guernesey, "a esté benit par. Mr. William Kingsman; le present acte enregistré a la requeste des nouveaux mariés."
- 1724, 10 Mai. Jean Holland, n. de Guernezey, et Thomasse Du Froc, n. du même endroit; par licence.
- 1725, 30 Décembre. Joseph Heberd, de l'isle de Jersey, et Marie Hodge, de l'isle de Guernesey; par. Mr. Bernard Broham.
 „ 30 Décembre. Josué Pipon, de Jersey, et Elizabeth Machell, de l'isle de Guernesey; par. Mr. William Kingsman.
- 1736, 27 Août. Jean Parshard, de l'isle de Jersey, dans le Comté, de Southampton, jeune homme, et Martha Le Fevre, de la dite Isle, Veuve; par licence.

LES MORTS.

- 1573, 6 Août. Nicollas De La Court, De gernesé, que estoit venu en ceste Ville de Hampton por. sa marchandise, ob. 6 Août. passant.
- 1578, 4 Avril. françoise Le Noir, (vefue de thomas Patron) de gernesé, ob. 3 Av.
- 1581, 20 Novembre. thomas Maugeur, marinier, de la paroisse de St. Pierre port, en Lisle de Gernesé, ob. 20 Nov.
- 1582, 20 Juillet. (Après Midy) Guillaume Broc, de gernesé, ob. 20 Juil, de grande matin.
- 1583, 16 Juin. A Germain Ozane, une servante de Gersé. peste.
 „ 27 Juin. Marguerite Quinon, Gernesienne, servante quy fut a Mestre Pestre. peste.
- 1584, 13 Février. Samuel Thomas, Jeusne garçon trespasa en ceste Ville apres estre mis hors la navire, il estoit et venoit de

- gernesé, Le 12 Février, 1584, et ensepulturé Le Lendemain.
Non peste.
- 1594, 27 Décembre. Nicolas Poitevin, de Guernezé, ob 27 Déc., au matin.
- 1599, 16 Décembre. Jan Hakbee, de Gernezé, marinier passant.
- 1600, 1 Mars. Jan Brock, jeune homme, n. de Gerzé.
- 1628, 17 Juin. Thomasse Marchant, Jeune fille, de Guernesee, ob. 16 Juin.
- „ 21 Septembre. Pierre Le Gros, Jeune enfant, fs. de Jehan Le Gros, nouvellement venu de Guernesé, ob. 21 Sept.
- 1629, 2 Septembre. François Le Montez, de Jarsee, ob. 1 Sept.
- 1657, 22 Juillet. Nicolas Le Brocq, n. de Jersey.
- 1660, au mois de Juin. Elizabeth Gobey, n. de Guernsey.
- 1662, 19 Août. Thomas Careye, le fs. de Mr. Blanchelande de lisle de Garneze, ob. le 18me. Jour du mois D'août, et fut enterré le Jour en suivant dedans cete eglise. P. Bonamy, past.
- 1663, 18 Janvier. Mr. Jean Baillehache, de l'Isle de Jersey, ob. en ceste ville le 16 de Janvier, et fut enterré le 18 dans le Temple de l'eglise François, ayant donne dix Escus aux pourses de ladite Eglise.
- 1664, 31 Mars. Damlle. Elizabeth Le Montais, de lisle de Jersey, ob. 29 Mai,¹ enterrée le 31 dans le Temple François, et le Sr. Jean Couraud, Pasteur fit le Preche pour L'enterrem't.
- 1665, 21 Septembre. Marie Pain, n. de Jersey et servante de Monsr. Courraud, nostre Pasteur, peste.
- „ 3 Décembre. Margritte Small, n. de Guernsey, peste.
- 1671, 29 Avril. Jean Le Cerfe, Jeun Homme, Agee de 24 ans, et n. de Jersey, quitta cette vie pour une vie meillieure le 28em Jour de Avrill, et fut enteré le lendemain au Coemitier de La ville.
- 1672, 3 Mai. (Au Coemitier) Docteur Phillipe de Carteret, de Lisle de Jersey, ob. 1 Mai.
- 1692, 23 Janvier. Ester Hamelin, de Guernesey, ob. 22 Jan.
- 1694, 29 Mai. Dame Charlotte Le Marchant, veuve De feu Mr. De Saumaraïs, de Guernesey, ob. 27 Mai, en cette ville.
- 1694-5, 5 Février. François Corbet, agé denviron onze ans fs. du Sr. Jaques Corbet, Marchand, et damoiselle Jeanne de Carteret, de lisle de Jersey, ob. 3 Fév.
- „ 7 Février. Abraham Le Fevre dit Filliatre, de lisle de Jersey, paroisse de St. Pierre, ob. 6 Fév.
- 1697, 30 Sept. Elizabeth Spinell, de L'Isle de Jerzé, est morte dans cette ville de Southampton, le 29 de Sept.
- 1698, 22 Octobre. Charles Connu (? Cornu), fs. de Jean Connu, et d'Abigail Mignot, d'Origny, ob. 21 Oct.
- 1700, 26 Avril. Perrine Mignot, f. de . . . Houguet, de l'Isle d'Origny, demeurant dans la Parroisse de S. Michel, ob. 25 Avril.

¹ Should of course be *Mars*.

- 1701, 27 Novembre. Jean Falle, matelot de l'Isle de Jersé, de la paroisse de St. Sauveur, ob. dans la Paroisse, de Sr. Michel, 26 Nov.
- 1705, 15 Octobre. François Bertaume, cy devant habitant de l'Isle de Jersé, ob. dans cette ville et dans la paroisse d'Holyrood, 14 Oct.
- 1706-7, 24 Mars. Marie Manger, n. de Guernezé, ob 23 Mars.
- 1708, 23 Août. Josué Henry de Merveilleux, fs. de Mr. Merveilleux, ministre d'Origny, ob. 21 Août.
- 1709, 12 Novembre. Daniel Astis, de L'Isle de Guernezé, de la paroisse de St. Samson, ob. 10 Nov.
- 1721, 12 Avril. Damlle. Judith Janvrin, de la paroisse de St. Berlade en lisle de Jersey, ob. 9 Avril, enterrée le mercredi suivant a Ste. Mary.
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Notes and Queries.

I.

AN EMIGRATION OF HUGUENOTS TO SOUTH CAROLINA IN 1764.

It is very evident from the Society's correspondence that there are many persons, bearing names of French origin and having family traditions of their being of Huguenot descent, who believe that their ancestors must necessarily have left their native land at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This erroneous idea that no religious refugees sought shelter here except about the year 1685 would scarcely seem to need refutation, had not experience shown it to be very prevalent. The Society's publications have borne witness to the large number of aliens settled in this country at least a century earlier, while, on the other hand, attention was directed in the last volume of the *Proceedings*¹ to an emigration to London from the Vallée d'Aspe in Béarn about the year 1745.

A still later emigration from the south of France to South Carolina is recorded in the documents relating to that state at a time when it was still an English possession which are preserved amongst the *Colonial Office Papers* in the Public Record Office, London. The greater number of these documents were printed in 1858 by Mr. William Noel Sainsbury, late of that office, in the *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*.² The information they contain is so important and curious, extending even to the size of the berths and the amount of the provisions allotted to the emigrants in the ship conveying them from this country across the Atlantic, that it is to be hoped they will before long be reprinted in our *Proceedings* together with such later papers as can be discovered relating to the refugees in their new home.

Prefixed to the documents is a brief summary of the contents of the more important of them, which, with some slight

¹ Vol. iii, p. 592.

² Vol. ii, pp. 75-103.

modifications, we here reproduce. A few of the documents relate to Protestants confined at Aigues-Mortes and in the galleys. These are taken from the *Foreign Office Papers* and appear to have been included in the collection under the belief that they might prove to be connected with this emigration, but we do not think this is so, and, for the sake of distinction, the portions of Mr. Sainsbury's summary pertaining to these subjects have been printed in italics.

The summary is as follows :—

*'The French Protestants of Abbeville District, S.C.
1761-1765.*

In 1761 an Act was passed in South Carolina for encouraging foreign Protestants to settle in that province. The same year Mr. Titley, the King's minister at Copenhagen, addressed a memorial to Lord Bute, containing proposals for settling foreign Protestants in the British colonies in America, which his Lordship referred to the Lords of Trade; but it does not appear that their Lordships adopted any measures in consequence. On May 28, 1762, an order in Council referred to the Lords of Trade a petition from one hundred and fifteen poor French Protestants, who, persecuted in their native country for not conforming to the ceremonies of the Romish Church, had fled to England for refuge from their oppressors, and prayed to be allowed to settle in some of the British colonies in America. On June 10 following, the Lords of Trade reported to his Majesty, that, though these refugees might, no doubt, be useful settlers in some of his Majesty's southern colonies, still they could not advise the introduction and settling of the petitioners on account of the great expense consequent on their extreme indigence, as they desired not only to be sent over to America, but even to be maintained there at the public charge. *On January 13, 1763, the Duke of Bedford, the English Ambassador in France, wrote to Secretary Lord Egremont enclosing a letter he had received from the Duc de Choiseul concerning Protestants confined on account of their religion, from which it appears that application had been made to the French government in favour of certain French Protestants confined at Aigues-Mortes and in the galleys, of whom lists had been forwarded by the Archbishop of Canterbury.* On June 8 following, at a meeting of the Lords of Trade, certain proposals of Mr. Alexander McNutt for transporting foreign Protestants to America, on condition of their having a grant of lands in the Island of St. John's, in the proportion of fifty acres to each person, were taken into consideration. Their Lordships were of opinion that it would not be advisable to comply with the same if it

were intended to transport foreign Protestants in general without limitation; but did not object if it referred only to a limited number who had come over upon encouragement from the government, though they could not consent to grant lands in St. John's. On July 29 an order in Council referred to the Lords of Trade a memorial of M. Gibert, relating to the settling of a colony of French Protestants in South Carolina. M. Gibert appears to have been informed by Mr. Jenkinson, Secretary to the Treasury, that it was useless applying for grants of land anywhere except in South Carolina. On October 20, M. Boutiton, the agent of a number of French Protestants then at Plymouth, informed the Lords of Trade that they had expressed a desire to be settled upon the river St. John's in East Florida, and that Lord Halifax had signified his approval. On November 22 a letter was addressed by the Lords of Trade to Thomas Boone, Governor of South Carolina, enclosing a list of the names and ages of the French Protestants who were to be sent to that province, with instructions how they were to be settled, &c. *On November 30 and December 7, 1763, Lord Hertford, Ambassador in France, wrote to Secretary Lord Egremont, stating the favourable manner in which his application for the release of French Protestants confined for their religious faith had been received.* In December 1763, and January 1764, there are papers relating to an unfounded report that the French Protestants had been imprisoned while at Plymouth. On April 16, 1764, Governor Boone issued a proclamation for the Assembly to meet on the 19th inst., to consider the settling of a certain number of French Protestants who had then arrived in the province. On June 1 £500 sterling was voted to be paid out of the fund appropriated for the settling of foreign Protestants, for the settling and supporting of such of the foreign Protestants lately arrived as should settle in a body at Long Canes; and on August 3, a further sum of £200 current money of South Carolina, to be paid out of the said fund for the settling of those French Protestants who had separated from the rest at Long Canes. On August 20, 1764, Lieutenant-Governor Bull wrote to the Lords of Trade, giving an account of the settling of these French Protestants. A few, who through disgust or quarrels had separated from the others, he had settled at Purrysburgh, and had honoured their township with the name of Hillsborough, while to 'its little town' he had given that of New Bordeaux, in memory of the place whence many of them had come.'

The names of the one hundred and fifteen refugees who presented the petition referred to in the Order of Council of May 28, 1762, are given in a list following the petition. The list, for some reason not entered upon in these papers, is endorsed 'List of French Protestants willing to go to Nova

Scotia.' Whether the persons named in it eventually went to South Carolina, or to any other American colony, does not conclusively appear from the documents collected by Mr. Sainsbury.

The list¹ is as follows:—

Paul du puis Sa femme et Six Enfans	..	..	..	8
Christolphe le marechal Sa femme deux Enfants	..	..	..	4
Jean Bruxelles Sa femme un Enfant	..	..	..	5
Jean Pierre Blancket Sa femme un Enfant	..	..	..	3
Franscois Fourbies un Enfant	..	..	..	2
Pierre Bourrelle et Sa femme	..	..	..	2
Vincent	..	..	..	1
Tobit Rodet Sa Femme et quatre enfant	..	..	..	6
Pierre Bieu Sa Femme un Enfant	..	..	..	3
Jean Rodet Sa Femme un Enfant	..	..	..	3
Pierre Bernier Sa femme	..	..	..	2
Jean Bertrand Sa femme trois Enfants	..	..	..	5
Jean Chauache Sa femme quatre Enfants	..	..	..	6
Jean Baptiste Gautier Sa Sieur un Enfants	..	..	..	3
Jean Jacque Grassart Sa femme Six Enfants	..	..	..	8
Jean Baptiste Boarlest Sa femme Cinq Enfants	..	..	..	7
Nicolas Sebastiens fauier Sa femme Septs Enfants	..	..	..	9
Jean Giros Sa femme un Enfant	..	..	..	3
Jean de la marre Sa femme deux Enfants	..	..	..	4
Dominique Marcelin Sa femme Cinq Enfants	..	..	..	7
Jean Rivest Sa femme	..	..	..	2
Jacques Le Gros Sa femme quatre Enfants	..	..	..	6
Moise Messine	..	..	..	1
Charle Bannierre	..	..	..	1
Jean Martin	..	..	..	1
Drom quatre enfant	..	..	..	5
Jean gro Caux Sa femme deux enfants	..	..	..	4
Pierre Fontainne	..	..	..	1
Francois Boniface Sa femme deux Enfants	..	..	..	4

¹ *Colonial Office Papers, Board of Trade, Plantations General, Vol. 17.*

The following is the list¹ of the refugees about to depart for South Carolina enclosed in the letter of November 22, 1763:— 1763. Nov. 22nd.

Liste des Protestants Refugiés actuellement à Plymouth pour se rendre en Amerique dans les possessions de sa Majesté George troisieme, Roy de la Grande Bretagne, sous la conduite & direction de Jean Louis Gibert, Pasteur.

No.		Ages.	
1	Jacques Touzeau ..	30	Catechiste.
2	Daniel Duc ..	31	Capitaine de Navire.
3	Pre. Pierre Don ..	25	Dr. en Medecine en Chirurgie.
4	Barthelemy Bonigue ..	22	Chirurgien.
5	Jacques Boutiton ..	51	Laboureur.
6	Pierre Boutiton ..	20	Laboureur.
7	Jean Roger ..	45	Commerçant.
8	Pierre Roger ..	21	Laboureur.
9	Jean Roger ..	20	Laboureur.
10	Matthieu Bereau ..	33	Laboureur.
11	Jean Bereau ..	32	Ton[n]elier.
12	Matthieu Bereau ..	23	Tonnellier.
13	Jacob Chardavoine ..	17	Marin.
14	Pierre Moragné ..	22	Laboureur.
15	Paul Nino ..	19	Perruquier.
16	Louis Villaret ..	26	Boulangier & Cultivr. de Muriers.
17	Jean Gout. . .	19	Perruquier.
18	Pierre Lioron ..	27	Jardinier & Cultr. de Muriers.
19	Jean Friselle ..	48	Pillote.
20	Pierre Gollin ..	31	Marin.
21 ²	Pierre Gollin ..	7	
22	Andre Audouin ..	24	Marin.
23	Jacob Baylard ..	23	Masson.
24	Jacob Langel ..	45	Charon.
25	Jean Faveraud ..	24	Laboureur.
26	Jacques Labrousse ..	35	Labr.

¹ *Colonial Office Papers, Board of Trade, South Carolina*, Vol. 29, pp. 212-214.

² Commencing with No. 21 the column containing the age is placed last in the manuscript, but for the sake of uniformity the order with which the list began has here been maintained throughout.

No.		Ages.
27	Etienne Labrousse ..	7
28	Francois Gross ..	26 Labr.
29	Etienne Faveraud ..	30 Labr.
30	Pierre Rolland ..	30 Menuisier.
31	Pierre Roquemoire ..	22 Bonnetier.
32	Jean Bonneau ..	28 Labr.
33	Jean Boutin ..	24 Menuisier.
34	Jean Vidau ..	23 Labr.
35	Louis Vidau ..	22 Vigneron.
36	Pierre Dumas ..	30 Tonnelier.
37	Pierre Renond ..	36 Menuisier.
38	Jacques Gereau ..	34 Do.
39	Joseph Rolland ..	27 Tailleur.
40	Jean Audibert ..	22 Vigneron.
41	Pierre Clusau ..	34 Tisseran.
42	Pierre Lartigue ..	18 Masson.
43	Jean Boyer ..	20 Vigneron.
44	Jean Priolot ..	24 Do.
45	Jean Brieau ..	24 Charon.
46	Pre. Roquemoire ..	18 Fabriq. en Bas.
47	Francois Bayle ..	24 Tailleur.
48	Jean Bouchillon ..	19 Labr.
49	André Guillebeau ..	25 Charpr.
50	Francois Pouillac ..	18 Vigneron.
51	Jean Roquemoire ..	36 Taneur.
52	Jacques Langel ..	40 Vigneron.
53	Denis Langel ..	3
54	Jacques Langel ..	2
55	Jean Dupuis ..	12 Cordonnier.
56	Pierre Bayle ..	19 Vigneron.
57	Joseph Bouchillon ..	22 Do.
58	Jean Antony ..	20 Seiller.
59	Pierre Sudre ..	20 Tonnelier.
60	Jean la faye ..	27 Vigneron.
61	Jacques la faye ..	7
62	Jean la faye ..	5

No.		Ages.	
63	Jean la faye	3	
64	Antoine Farastau	34	Vigon.
65	Antoine Gabeau	7	
66	Colas Bordajeau	33	Labr.
67	Pierre Bordajeau	6	
68	Jean Bordajeau	8	
69	Mathieu Feestat	35	Preceptr.
70	Charles Bouchonau	19	Pilot.
71	Nic. Bouchonau	15	Marin.
72	Jean Bellefaye	56	Marchd.
73	Jean Dom	16	Marin.
74	Pierre Reigne	36	Marin.
75	Jean Castan	18	Vigneron.
76	Pierre Clareau	24	Charpr.
77	Jean Bellote	50	Fabr. d'etoffe.
78	Pierre Elie Bellote	19	Marin.
79	Jean Arnaud Bellote	3	
80	Theodore Guay	23	Jardr. & Potier.
81	André Wagnon	37	
82	Abram Jacob	37	Cordonr.
83	Danl. Jacob	3	
84	Jean Bte. Gautier	45	Tailleur.
85	Theodore Gautier	7	
86	Samuel Bollomay	23	Cordr.
87	Jn. Bte. Delonay	45	Tisserant.
88	Jn. Bte. Delonay	10	
89	Antoine Delonay	4	
90	Jacques Delonay	1	
91	Jn. Bte. Petit	27	Tailleur.
92	Antoine Billaud	36	Vigneron.
93	Nichs. Basson	23	Do.
94	Pierre Barbier	23	Marin.
95	Etienne Thomas	12	Vigneron.
96	N. Labrousse	1	
97	Pierre Langel	11	
98	Antne. Herport	26	Notaire.

No.		Ages.	
99	Francois Branton ..	23	Labr.
100	Jean Pierre Beillard ..	33	Boulr.
101	Pierre Boyer ..	20	Boutonnier.
102	Jean Eymery ..	32	Relieur.
103	Pre. Galinau ..	26	Masson.
104	Jn. Pre. Nicolas ..	27	Marin.
105	Pierre Boutiton ..	50	Pasteur.
106	Louis Villaret ..	45	pr. les Murrs. &c.
107	Ant. Jos. Labbé ..	34	Precepteur.
108	Jn. Louis Husson ..	25	Charpr.
109	Pre. Nicolas Piron ..	26	Perruqr.
110	Francis Gerard ..	35	Taillr.
111	Jn. Fs. Poitevin ..	35	
112	Jn. Fs. Poitevin ..	2	

Suite de la Liste contenant ceux qui sont actuellement à Londres.¹

No.	Ages.	No.	Ages.
1	Marguerite Tessandier 54	19	Judith Fresille .. 10
2	Jeanne Boutiton .. 21	20	Marie Fresille .. 8
3	Marthe Armagnieu .. 30	21	Susanné Fresille .. 4
4	Jeanne Roudier .. 20	22	Jeanne Lievre .. 36
5	Anne Latour .. 25	23	Jeanne Gollin .. 1
6	Suzanne Latour .. 20	24	Jeanne Caris .. 30
7	Anne Coureau .. 50	25	Francoise Renateau .. 23
8	Marie Bouchonau .. 14	26	Anne Bellefaye .. 11
9	Anne Lespine .. 42	27	Jeanne Bonneaud .. 36
10	Margte. Roger .. 22	28	Ledie Goguet .. 46
11	Eliz. Gregoire .. 33	29	Marie Madelaine Bellote 16
12	Anne Beraud .. 7	30	Me. Judith Bellote .. 8
13	Marie Beraud .. 4	31	Susanne Alexandre .. 27
14	Anne Beraud .. 38	32	N. Gautier .. 1
15	Eliz. Bien aimé .. 4	33	Marie Favereau .. 30
16	Jeanne Blanchet .. 32	34	Marie Quate .. 25
17	Marie Labrousse .. 3	35	Susanne Lafonde .. 55
18	Marie Roujon .. 40	36	Jeanne Seguin .. 30

¹ This title is placed in the margin opposite to No. 105 of the list of males, but there is no doubt it should head the list of females.

No.	Ages.	No.	Ages.
37 Marie Roquemore ..	4	50 Susanne Isabeau Joly	37
38 Jeanne Alegresse ..	33	51 Marie Judith Jacob ..	5
39 Anne Langel ..	5	52 Francoise Favereau ..	26
40 Marie Seiral ..	54	53 Marie de la Mare ..	33
41 Cecile Bayle ..	22	54 Marie Delaunay ..	12
42 Marie Maginier ..	25	55 Marie Reparon ..	22
43 Marie Verdier ..	35	56 Marie Thomas ..	31
44 Marie Ferasteau ..	25	57 ¹ Anne Julne. Morin ..	35
45 Marie Ferasteau ..	1	58 Ane. Julne. Poitevin	7
46 Francoise Sacbouille	32	59 Jeanne le Fevre ..	24
47 Marie Bordajeau ..	10	60 Marie Husson ..	1
48 Jeanne Bordajeau ..	1	61 Amel. Guillaume ..	
49 Marie Vilke ..	16		

Males, 112. Females, 61.

Exd.

II.

JAMES I. AND THE CULTIVATION OF VINES.

The unsuccessful attempt of James I. to secure the raw material necessary for carrying on the manufacture of silk in this country by planting mulberry trees and endeavouring to breed silkworms, is a well known matter of history. The following letter² written by him to M. de Montmartin, Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France, suggests that he may also have entertained a design to re-establish another French industry here—the cultivation of vines, which had been practised on a small scale by several of the English monasteries before their dissolution in the preceding century.

A Monsieur de Montmartin, Depute
General des Eglises Reformees de
France pres de la personne de nostre
bon frere le Roy Tres Chrestien
Pour le prier de renuoyer le maistre
enteur avec d'autres vigneronns,
aidos, greffes, outils, et ce que sera
necessaire au labour de la culture
d'un vignoble.

Monsieur de Montmartin, Vous nous
auez fait grand plaisir de nous enuoyer
ce maistre enteur de vignes que nous
desirions auoir de vostre main, et vous
remercier tres affectuesement de la
peine et du soing qu'auez pris au
choix tant exact qu'en auez fait selon le tesmoingnage que nous
rendez de son industrie et suffisance en cest art, laquelle il
nous tardera bien que nous ne mettions en œuvre pour en faire
l'espreuue et en gouster le fruit que nous en promettez, vous

¹ The words 'Suitte contenant celles qui sont actuellement à Londres' occur between Nos. 56 and 57.

² Foreign Office Records, Foreign Entry Books, Vol. 2, 1623-1625.

priant a cest effect de le nous r'enuoyer quand il sera temps et mesmes de le faire partir quelque peu auant le temps requis pour le rendre icy a la saison de planter, a cause du retardement que les vents ou autres accidents luy pourroient causer en chemin, et du preiudice que pourroit apporter a nostre plant la perte de la prime saison, comme aussy nous vous prierons d'enuoyer avec luy tel nombre d'autres vigneronns et aides dont il sera besoing pour l'assister, et suffire au labeur de cest culture et donner ordre qu'ilz viennent fournis de tous outils necessaires, comme aussi de plans et greffes de choix, et tels que vostre experience vous fera iuger les plus propres au terroir et climat ou ils doibuent estre employez, suivant l'office que nous en faites. En quoy vous satisferez au desir non petit que nous auons de faire ceste espreuue chez nous, et nous obligerez a recognoistre le souuenir et soing qu'auex eu de nous gratifier en ceste endroit, comme nous ferons tres-volontiers en toutes occasions que se presenteront a nous pour vostre bien. Et sur ceste assurance nous demeurons Monsieur de Montmartin [&c.]

Theobalds, 6^o d'Aurill, 1624.

III.

ALIENS AT KING'S LYNN IN 1571.

The circumstances which led to the compilation of returns of the names of strangers resident in towns on the south east coast of England in 1571, when an invasion from the Low Countries was feared in consequence of the Ridolfi Plot have already been narrated in our *Proceedings*¹ and the return printed for the port of Dover.² We now print that for King's Lynn together with the letter accompanying it sent by the Mayor and Corporation of the town to the Privy Council.³

O^r Dueties vnto yo^r good Lordships most humblie Remembred, it maye please the same for aunswere of yo^r Lres. dated the xxvjth of Aprill Last, w^{ch} we have receyved the xvjth of this instant, to be aduertised That we have, according to yo^r L. Commanndement therein, taken a note of all Straungers abiding within this Towne or the Liberties of the same, w^{ch} we Send yo^r L. herewith inclosed.

The said Straungers are for the greatest part pore, of good

¹ Vol. iii, pp. 110 *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 159.

³ *Domestic State Papers*, Elizabeth, Vol. 78, Nos. 13 and 13^t. The merchants of the Hanse Towns had a factory at one time at King's Lynn: see *Proceedings*, Vol. iii, p. 153 note.

behavio^r, and gette their Livinges wth Labo^r in their Seuerall faculties expressed in the said note.

And so Leaving to trouble yo^r L. we take o^r Leaves, beseching allmightie god to Send you muche encrease of hono^r. ffrom Lynne this xxth of May, 1571.

Yo ^r good Lordships at Commaundement,	
EDWARD WATERS, Mayo ^r	ROBERT HULYOR.
XPOFER GAUNT.	THOM ^s GRAVE.
ROBERT GERVYS.	GEORGE BAKER.
JOHN PELL.	JOHN GRABBY.

GEORGE WALLDEN.

[*Addressed.*] To the right honorable and Every good Lordes, the Lordes of the Quene's Ma^{tie}s most Honorable Privie Counsell.

in hast.

[*Endorsed in Cecil's hand.*] xxvith Maij, 1571.

The Maior of Lynne and his brⁿ wth the Certificat what Straungiers inhabite there.

(*Certificate.*)

A trewe and perfect note of all the Strangers that are abiding wthin the towne of Kynges Lynne in the countie of Norff. or the Liberties of the same Towne maid the xviiith of maye according to the teno^r of the lres. of the Quenes Ma^{tie}s most honorable privie Cownsell to the Maior of the said Towne and his Brethren Directed.

Are Duchemen and not
Denisons & haue continued
wthin the Realme, viz.

Being of condicion &
qualitie euery of
them, viz.

John Dericson	iiij yeres	Merchant
John Will'mson	iiij yeres	Locksmith
Pete ^r Watersey	iiij yeres	Carpe ^r
Bartholomew Watersey	iiij yeres	Corie ^r
Joyes Antonies	iiij yeres	Dye ^r
Pete ^r Knise	iiij yeres	Sawie ^r
Dionise Joyse	iiij yeres	Weave ^r
Hugh Ad'mson	iiij yeres	Tournor
George Skepper	iiij yeres	Weave ^r
Pete ^r Browne	iiij yeres	Gardener
Jaspe ^r Baronson	iiij yeres	Joyne ^r
Raker	iiij yeres	Tiler
Antony Lorance	iiij yeres	S'geon
Harbert Joston	ij yeres	Tailor

Gerardus Martinson	iiij yeres	Preacho'
Lucas Dericson	ix yeres	M'chant
Jacob De flegar	iiij yeres	Weave'
Levin Brakinman	iiij yeres	M'ch'unt
Jacobus Harrison	iiij yeres	Outler
John Antony	iiij yeres	Joine'
Will'm Bowen	iiij yeres	Ropemaker
Danyell'	iiij yeres	Shomake'
Simon Alegar	ij yeres	Labore'
Adrian Johnson	xxv yeres	Shomake'
Jherom Johnson	ij yeres	Tailo'
Joyes De Yong	iiij yeres	Kelemaste'
Cornelius Johnson	iiij yeres	Tailo'
Theodorus Hayne	iiij yeres	M'ch'unt
Henricus Alirtes	iiij yeres	Vinegermak'
Corvin Tomson	iiij yeres	Labore'
Reginaldus Girdes	iiij yeres	Shipmast'
Pete' Johnson	one yere	M'chant
John Lenardes	iiij yeres	Weaver
Will'us Towncx	iiij yeres	Weaver
Will'm Wanteruelis	iiij yeres	Potmaker
Jacob Vienheke	iiij yeres	Twiste' of yerne
Mathias Dericson	iiij yeres	Carpente'
Henry Outswell'	iiij yeres	Coope'
Mathias Harrison	xvij yeres	Smyth
Pete' Johnson	iiij yeres	Cutle'
Martin Hollard	iiij yeres	Mason
John Coone	iiij yeres	Tailo'
Harman Colman	xxviiij yeres	Hatmaker
Harbert Bavers	iiij yeres	Potmaker

are Skottes and not
Denisons and haue continued
with in the Realme, viz.

Being of Condictio &
Qualitie euery of
them, viz.

John fflowell'	iiij yeres	Labore'
Rob't Grepe	iiij yeres	Labore'
James Stewarde	xxiiij yeres	Tailo'
John Smythe	xiiij yeres	Keleman
Will'm Pate'	vij yeres	Pedle'

	are Duchmen and Denisons and have continued with in ye relme, viz.	Being of Conclicion & Qualitie euery of them, viz.
John Savery	ix yeres	Bake ^r
Roge ^r Robinson	xviii yeres	basketmake ^r
Bowin Martin	xv yeres	Surgeon
Henry Limdale	xxx yeres	Tailo ^r
James Levin	l yeres	Keleman

And are in nombre viz. of	Men	lxvij	And do occupie xliiij housholdes
	Women children & S ^r v ^u antes besides xiiij accompted in the nombre of men	clix	

IV.

THE SEIZURE OF A HUGUENOT BY THE FRENCH
AMBASSADOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

The following account of the kidnapping of a Huguenot, shortly after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by the French Ambassador at Constantinople, is taken from a letter written by Lord Chandos, the English Ambassador there, to the Lord President [of the Council], from 'Pera of Galata' on February 21, 1686-7.¹

I am sorry to find myself forced now at last, for conclusion of this tedious and, I feare, insipid epistle to disturb your Lordship with an account of a very indecent passe the French Ambassador hath lately put vpon my publick character, of which the matter of fact is breifly thus:—Among the multitude of French Protestants that lately retyred (as they pretend) on the score of religion into England, there was one that calls himself Vagangelt, son of a marchand banquier at Paris, who being young, airy, and idle, on pretence of a desire to see the world and improve himself thereby, embarked himself at London on board the ship *Levantine*, Captain Welburne, Commander, for the whole voyage to and from Constantinople home againe. Being here, [t]he said monsieur spared not to divertise himself from place to place, till at last the French Ambassador contrived him an invitation to a collation on board the ship *Mercure*, (formerly a man of warr, but now employ'd in the corne trade,) and there without any manner of ceremony confined him, never after permitting him

¹ *Foreign Office Records, Turkey*, Bundle 19, 1684-1697.

to be spoke with by our captain that brought him heither, or any one else of our nation. When this was done the Embassador sent a man without a note to the captain of the *Levantine* to demand this Vagangelt's cloths, which being refused, the man being all together a stranger to our captain, and coming without any colour of legall authority, the French Embassador presently sent his dragoman to me with a huffing and yet shamming message. The import was:—That as for preserving a good correspondence with me he was carefull not to medle with the persons or concerns of my master's subjects, so he pray'd me (girdingly) to be contented that he might governe all his master's subjects at Stamble, which he hoped he was able to doe without troubling any one for their help. I replied:—But what need is there of all these warme words between his Excellencie and me? Have I ever gone about to oppose his Excellencie's authority over his own nation? I think there are fresh instances to the quite contrary. But to the point. What is the businesse our patrone will be at (for all this while I knew nothing of Vagangelt being secured and forceably detain'd)? The dragerman answered:—The matter was that a certaine subject of his master's whose occasions were to returne to France, and in order thereto had obtained his patron, the French Embassador, his permission; but having before agreed with an English captain, now in this port, for his passage, paid his money and put his cloths on board said captain's ship. He had demanded his mony and goods of the said captain, but was deny'd them, therefore his Excellencie required in point of justice my order to oblige the said captain to deliver his said mony and goods to him. I reply'd:—I had had the honour to serve my dread soveraigne lord and master in this post near six years, yet never in all my time did I ever receive or send such an obscure message as this seemed to me: that a subject of his most Christian Majestie's, without a name, imbarked vpon an English ship, no body knows which, bound no body knows where, and to saile you know not when. Pray salute your master on my part, and assure his Excellencie, if he will be pleased to expresse himself in such termes as are vsuall on such like occasions, I shall not faile to returne him a very plaine and as satisfactory an answer as becomes the duty of my place. The dragoman presently returned to lett me vnderstand from his patrone that the monsieur's name was Vagangelt, the ship the *Levantine*, and that his patrone did insist vpon his demand for the mony and goods of said Vagangelt. I

answered:—Tho' this Vagangelt had embarked himself in England, and there engaged himself to the captain for the whole voyage out and home, and moreover had put himself vnder the English protection here, yet to shew his Excellencie that we did not practice force on said monsieur's person or conscience, let him but come personally before me and declare what you say, (for all along, after once they had named him to me, the dragoman still affirmed his going to France was his owne seeking,) and I promise you truly he shall be discharged from our ship, and thence receive all that belongs to him. But this by no means would be condescended vnto, said the dragoman. Then, said I, I must conclude this person is taken and detained by force. I was patrone to thinke as I pleased. Then I insisisted (for the honour of the captain and myself) that this gentleman might (at least) be permitted to discourse a few words with me, and give an attestation that his leaving the ship, to which he had obliged himself in England, proceeded from no just cause of disgust he had received from either the captain or me. This was also flatly deny'd. Then, said I, there was, I saw, no other remedy but for me to declare that his Excellencie dealt very vnfreindly with me, and that the consequence thereof would be a cooling [of] the good correspondence I had bin so long cultivating with him. He sent me word:—As to correspondence with him, it might be as I liked it, to him it was among the very indifferent things. Then, I said, since his Excellencie would vnnecessarily steer a harsh, and to me, very vngratefull, course to arrive at his will on this poor young man, I thought meet to let him know that it was a shame for him to seek, by the way of freindship, the cloths of the person he had taken by fraud and would keep by force, and therefore should leave him to his wisdome to compleat his noble atcheivement, not having any ambition to share with him in the honnour thereof. He sent me word by his dragoman the 3d time, for all this dialogue was mannaged by messages on his part, without having so much good temper as to expect a regular reply from me:—That he cared not whether I would order the delivery of the goods or no; if I did not, he would supply what was wanting out of his owne purse. The conclusion was, that sending my dragoman to demand an amicable discourse with the gentleman in custody, to know of him if it really was his owne mind to have his things out of the ship or let them remaine there, the Ambassador mett my dragoman at his antichamber, and told

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him he would not heare him, for he knew what he had to say, and it would be but tedious and troublesome to him to heare it over againe. It's impossible any one alive can tell your Excellencie what I have to say, answered my dragoman. 'Tis enough that I thinke so, (dictator like,) said the Ambassador. Then since your Excellencie refuseth to heare what I have to say from my patrone, the King of Great Brittain's Ambassador, I must declare your Excellencie the breaker of the good correspondence, and not my patrone. Let him vnderstand it as he please, said the Monsieur. And thus the case at present stands betweene vs, and is like to continue during my time, vnlesse I receive his Majestie's command to the contrary. For I think it a great affront, that the French Ambassador, (who had often sent to me for French seamen that had left their owne ships to saile with ours, and allways had bin served to his full content,) should so rudely spirit away, (as not so much as to try whether I would first by faire means have complied with his humour herein, as on other occasions I had done,) an innocent young man, that had retyred into England, there received his Majestie's protection, and in confidence thereof had embarked himself on an English ship for the whole voyage out and home. And in the next place it was very scandalous and vngentile to refuse to heare the message of at least his equal, sent to him in a regular ceremonious manner. But the whole embroile, I suppose, is quite over with me, for I heare his most gracious Majestie hath appointed Sir William Trumball to this employment, and that Sir William by this time is well on his way for this place, so that 'tis time for me to bethink myself of my retreat.

V.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S FRENCH TUTOR.

The Rev. Joseph Stevenson, speaking of the linguistic acquirements of the Princess Elizabeth in his preface to the Calendar of *Foreign State Papers* (Roll Series) for the years 1558 and 1559, says¹ her French tutor "was John Belmain, a native of France, who also had the honour of reckoning Prince Edward² among his scholars. Being a zealous Protestant he may possibly have assisted in strengthening Elizabeth's senti-

¹ p. xxv.

²Mr. Stevenson has a foot-note: "An annuity of xl marks for John Belmain, schoolmaster to my Lord, the Prince's Grace, for the French tongue, from the Annunciation of our Lady last past, during his life." — *Signed Bills*, Sept. 1546."

ments in that direction. In the year 1544 we find her employed in translating into English '*A godly medytacyon of the Christian soule concerning a love towards God and Hys Christe*, compyled in Frenche by Lady Margarete of Naver, and aptely translated into Englysh by the ryght vertuouse Lady Elizabeth, daughter of our late Soverayn Kynge Henri the viii.¹ This work had some sort of traditional claim upon her notice, having been written by Margaret d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, in whose court Anne Boleyn (Elizabeth's mother) spent a considerable portion of her time while in France."

* * * * *

"Elizabeth's² translation of it is not a happy one, it wants ease, fluency, depth; but what right have we to expect these from the child of twelve?³ As a school-girls exercise it is correct enough, and having said this the less that is said the better. Elizabeth pleads her own cause the best when she admits that it is 'all imperfect and incorrect,' and that having 'joined the sentences together as well as the capacity of her simple wit and small learning could extend themselves, she knows it in many places to be rude and nothing done as it should be.'"

VI.

THE FRENCH CHURCH OF WAPPING.

We are now able to print two further documents⁴ relating to the history of this church. One is an undated petition presented to the Treasury by Peter Gally de Gaujac, whose name occurs in the list of ministers of this congregation which we lately reproduced from Burn's *Foreign Protestant Refugees*.⁵

It appears from this that Queen Anne had granted an annual pension of 40*l.* towards the support of the minister, which was no doubt the 'yearly allowance' mentioned in the last of the documents relating to the foundation of the church

¹ In another foot-note Mr. Stevenson says: 'A copy of this rare little volume is in the British Museum. Another edition, varying considerably, from the first, occurs in Bentley's *Monuments of Nations*, 4, Lond. 1582. The original was first printed at Alençon in 1531, and again at Paris in 1533.

² p. xxvii.

³ She was born on Sept. 7, 1533.

⁴ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. ccxlii, No. 78.

⁵ *Proceedings*, Vol. iv, p. 345.

which we printed some years ago¹ —, the amount not being there stated. It would also appear that the pension was not personal to de La Prade, first minister of the church, but was continued to his successor. It would, however, seem that it was personal as regards the Queen herself, and it ceased at her death, though evidence may yet be discovered to show that it was revived by subsequent monarchs.

Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714, and the object of the petition was to obtain payment of the year's allowance due at Midsummer in that year.

The other document is annexed to this, and is an official certificate stating this year's pension was still due, and that George I. had sanctioned the payment for the first half of the year ending at Christmas 1713, but that though the King's instructions were issued on December 20, 1714, up to the date of the certificate, viz., May 22, 1721, payment had not been made.

The endorsement of the petition itself, shews that on Dec. 6, 1722, direction was given for the issue of an order for the payment of £20, no doubt for this particular half year, ending in 1713.

Burn was not able to assign a date to the commencement of the ministry of de Gaujac.² Apparently he was the immediate successor of de La Prade, though this is not quite certain. The last definite mention of de La Prade in connection with this church is in 1706.³ Burn says he was officiating in 1716,⁴ but there are no means of checking this statement, and it is probably inaccurate. Any how we now know that de Gaujac was at the church in 1713 and 1714, and probably was still there in 1722. As Burn⁵ says he died in 1742, and that Francis Beaupin was minister in that year, de Gaujac may have continued to officiate until that date.

Other points to be noticed are that the church, or chapel, as it is now called, is still held at a rent, and that the congregation seems to be just as poor as it was in de La Prade's time. Whether the nine pounds mentioned is the total amount of the rent, or not, is not quite clear; it was ten pounds a year during de La Prade's ministry.

To the Honourable Board of the Treasury.

The humble petition of Peter Gally de Gaujac, Minister of the French Chapel at Wapping,

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. ii, p. 255.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 345.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 345.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Humbly sheweth that about eighteen years ago¹ her late Majesty Queen Anne was, by the advice of the late Archbishop of York and of the late Bishop of London, graciously pleased to grant to a considerable number of her faithful but very poor subjects born in Jersey, Garnesey, and other Ilands where divine service is performed in French, but settled at Wapping, the summ of fourty pounds per annum as a salary to the Minister who should take care of their instruction, and that your humble petitioner hath not been pay'd for the last year of her late Majesty's reign, as it will appear by the certificate hereunto annexed,

And therefore your humble petitioner humbly prays this honourable Board that they would be pleased to order that the said summ of 40*li*. be payd him, for it would be very hard for him to have preached a whole year for nothing, and payd nine pounds out of his own pocket for the rent of the Chapel, and he will for ever pray, &c.

[*Endorsed.*] To the Honourable Board of the Treasury, &c.
The Humble Petition of Peter Gally de Gaujac,
Minister of the French Chapel at Wapping.

[*Minuted.*] 6th Dec., 1722.

To have 20*li* out of the Queen's arrears.

[*Certificate annexed.*] These are to certify whom it doth or may concerne that there is due to the Reverend Mr. Peter Gally de Gaujac the summe of forty pounds for one year's pension from her late Majestie, Queen Anne, at Midsummer, 1714, payable by Edward Nicholas, Esqr.

By his Majestie's royall sign Manual, dated the 20th day of December, 1714, to the said Edward Nicholas,² to pay twenty pounds for half a year of the aforesaid pention due at Christmas, 1713, out of the said late Queen's arrears: the said Mr. Nicholas hath not yet received the aforesaid twenty pounds from his Majestie's Exchequer to pay the aforesaid half year's pention due at Christmas, 1713.

Witness my hand this 22 day of May, 1721.

EDW. GODFREY.

Que: whether the said arrears, or any part, is payd in any other office.

I do not know.

¹ This must be an error. The pension was probably granted in 1706. See *Proceedings*, Vol. ii, p. 255.

² Some words are evidently omitted here.

VII.

COLONEL FRANCIS BAULDOUIN.

The certificate printed below¹ was apparently forwarded to the Treasury with the view of obtaining a grant of money or a pension from the public funds for Colonel Francis Bauldouin or Baldwin, a distressed French Protestant refugee from St. Martin, in the Isle of Rhé. Though it has no special bearing upon the history of the Huguenots settled in this kingdom, being one of a class which was no doubt somewhat numerous at the time, it is of some interest to us owing to the fact that the original signatures appended to it are those of members of well-known refugee families, several of which are now represented in our Society.

We, the severall Persons hereunder subscribing, Merchants & Inhabitants in y^e City of Dublin in Ireland, Do hereby certify That we know and are well acquainted with Francis Baldowin, formerly Collonel of Horse and Dragoons in the Towne of S^t Martins in the Isle of Rhea under Lewis the Fourteenth the present French King, And that by reason of y^e Persecution in France he made his escape into England severall Years ago with a very considerable Sum of Money, having left behind him in France (as we hear & believe) a good Estate both Real and personal, and being wholly mov'd thereto for the Sake of Religion, And that afterwards he settled in this Kingdom, and became an Eminent Trader in the Way of Merchandising, and of very good Repute & Credit in this Kingdome, but by great Losses, which he sustained at Sea, he is since reduced to great Poverty, and he & his Wife, being both Seventy Four Years of Age, with Four Relations, who are all above Seventy Years Old and have their sole Dependance upon him, remain in a very indigent and necessitous Condition. Give under our hands this First day of September, One thousand Seaven hundred and Seaven.

LEWIS CHAIGNEAU.
THEODORE RABOTEAU.
G. BINAUD.
LOUIS CROMMELIN.
DELA CLIDE.
FRANCIS DANIEL.
JANSSEN DE TUDEBEUF.
DELABRISSONNIÈRE.

SAMUEL DE BOISROND.
JEREMIE BANCORD.
ISAAC CHARRIER.
NICOLLAS FERRAND.
LOUIS PAPIN.
THEO. DESBRISAY.
BERET.
JEAN BRUNET.
PIERRE GARESCHÉ.
Coll^l Francis Bauldouin.

JOHN EOCLES.
J^o. BOYD.
PETER VATABLE.
STEPHEN MARYCK.
JOHN PORTER.
JOHN BUREAU.
PETER SEJOURNÉ.
M. GENDRON.

[Endorsed.]

¹ *Treasury Papers*, Vol. ciii, No. 15.

VIII.

THE ENGLISH PENSIONS TO THE VAUDOIS.

We lately had occasion to make a few observations¹ upon the history of the pensions paid by the English government to the Vaudois, and some time before we printed a petition² presented by the Vaudois ministers to George II., on his accession to the throne in 1727, praying for the continuation of these pensions. We now print a further petition³ on the same subject sent by them in the following year, 1728, to the Duke of Newcastle, one of the two Principal Secretaries of State.

Des Vallées de Piemont, le 15 Mars, 1728.

My lord,

Les Eglises des Vallées de Piemont, que Dieu a conservées depuis tant de tems malgré tant d'efforts que leurs ennemis ont toujours fait pour les détruire, & qui ont été rétablies par les instances du Roy Guillaume de glorieuse memoire, sont, Mylord, honorées du charitable souvenir de Vostre Excellence; Etans les Ministres de ces mêmes Eglises, nous nous donnons l'honneur d'en rendre à V. E. les tres-humbles remerciemens dont nous sommes capables, & nous vous supplions, Mylord, de nous accorder la continuation de cette si grande faveur. V. E. sait à peu près nostre etat par des memoires recens, & dans qu'elles conjonctures nous nous trouvons; encor donc que S. M., nostre bon Souverain, dont la vie nous est si precieuse, ait dernièrement eu la bonté d'asseurer de nos gens qu'il pretend que nous jouissions de tous nos privileges, ensuite des temoignages de fidelité que nous lui avons donnés; Ce ne sont que des paroles, qui, quoy que Royales, ne levent pas les Griefs ruineux que les nouvelles Constitutions nous causent, lesquelles ne faisant aucune mention de l'Edit de nostre Retablissement au lieu qu'elles en rappellent tant d'autres pour les confirmer, il est censé revoqué, & le sera quand l'ennemi aura des occasions favorables; nostre Souverain est mortel comme les autres, & on ne se souviendra plus de nous, cela ne nous cause pas peu d'inquietude; l'ordre du Senat de Pignerol sur tout nous tend des pieges, dans lesquels il n'est presque pas possible de ne pas tomber. Il défend à tous les Ministres, Anciens & autres, sous peine de confiscation de biens, banissement & autre peines arbitraires, de recevoir aucun étranger à faire aucune fonction de nostre Religion, excepté ceux des vallées, dont il est fait mention dans la même Edit de nostre Retablissement. Daillieurs ces Eglises étant tres pauvres, soit parce que les familles

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. iv, pp. 335, 336.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 583.

³ *Home Office Papers, Treasury and Custom House*, Vol. i, 1729-1750.

sont nombreuses, soit parce qu' on est ici fort à l'étréit, dans vn pays montagneux & sans commerce, il leur seroit du tout impossible de fournir à l'entretien de leurs Ministres, sans les pensions que la charitable & bien heureuse Angleterre fournit, desquelles nous sommes en arriere depuis le 25^e 7^{bre}, 1725, de maniere que la disette regne. Tout cela nous engage, Mylord, à nous approcher de V. E., & à Vous supplier, dans l'humilité la plus respectueuse, de vouloir, au nom de Dieu, continuer l'honneur de Vostre charitable Souvenir à les pauvres Eglises auprès de S. M. B. pour que, s'il étoit possible, ces Grieffs fussent levés, que nous soyions à couvert de cet ordre captieux de Pignerol, ce que nous n'avons point pû obtenir par aucune Requete, & que nous touchions quelque chose de la continuation des pensions ; Cependant nous poussons tous au Ciel les vœux les plus ardens pour la conservation, le long & glorieux Regne de LL. MM., pour toute la famille Royale, & qu'il répande aussi sur V. E. & sur Vostre Illustre maison les plus precieuses benedictions, etant dans le plus profond respect,

Mylord,
De V. E,

Les tres humbles, tres obeissans, & tres
obligés serviteurs,
Les Ministres des Eglises des vallées de
Piemont, & pour tous,
P. REINAUDIN, Min^{re} à Boby & Modera^r.
J. JAHIER, Pasteur à Pramol & Ajoint.
JEAN VINCENT ARNAUD, Past^r à La Tour
et Secr^{re}.

[Addressed.]
[Endorsed.]

S. E., Mylord Duc De Newcastle.
Des Vallées de Piémont.

March 1st, 1728.

Ministers of the Protest^t Churches there.
R. 1 Ap^l.

IX.

MISCELLANEA.

Services in the parish church of St. Helier, Jersey.—A curious permission granted to this church to follow the form of service adopted in the French Church of London, while the other parish churches of the island had to keep to the order of

service prescribed to the church of England, is recorded in the following extract from the draft of a letter written on May 10, 1567, by the Privy Council to Amias Paulet,¹ whose father, Sir Hugh Paulet, was the governor of the island. The letter was one directing Amias Paulet to repair to Jersey, and there to follow his father's instructions for putting the island in good order and a proper state of defence. The words here printed in italics are struck out in the original, and were intended to be replaced by the interlineations which are in the handwriting of Sir William Cecil:—

'And where as yt hath bene permytted to the ynhabytantes there, vpon their earnest *sewet* ^{sute} *Λ*, to vse suche order and fourme of Service and common prayer in the parishe Church of S^t Hyllerye's in the said Iale as is vsed and accustomyd in the *french* Church at ^{appointed to the french nation} *London* *Λ*, following and observing the Quene's Majestie's Booke of Devyne seruyce in *their* ^{all and every} *Λ* other ^{of the said Iale} *parishes* *Λ*, Lyke as we doubt not but that the same is dulye observid according to *our order and Warrant* geven in that behalf, So these shalbe eftsones to require youe to haue especyall regarde to the accompyshement therof in all thinges ^{without any other alteration or innovation} *apperteyning* *Λ*, And fynally aswell herein, as in all other thinges that touchethe that Charge, to followe suche farther order and direction as shalbe prescribed vnto youe by your father, Whereof we require youe faile not.'

Flemish Refugees at Rye.—The paper on *Foreign Refugees at Rye*² read before the Society by Mr. Hardy shows that there were many Netherlanders as well as French refugees settled there in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. The following extract from the minutes of the proceedings of a meeting of the Privy Council, held 'at Cheynies, the — of July, 1570,'³ refers to the arrival of a body of aliens at the town, who, as they came in a Flemish vessel, were presumably natives of the Low Countries, and, indeed, are described as 'Flemish fugitives' in a marginal note to the minute.

¹ *Domestic State Papers, Addenda*, Elizabeth, Vol. xii, No. 74.

² *Proceedings*, Vol. ii, pp. 406, 567.

³ *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, (edited by John Roche Dasent), New Series, Vol. vii, p. 380.

'Flemish fugitives. A letter to the Mayour and Jurattes of Rye signifieng the receipt of their letters whereby they do advertise of a Flemishe pinke lately arryved there with the number of xxx^{ti} passingers, requireng to knowe their opinions touching the receving or refusing of them or any other that shall arryve there; lyke as they do commend theyr good discrecions in imparting thus moche unto to (*sic*) them and desirous to understand their advises in such a case, for aunswer it is signified that touching those passingers that be now arrived, incase they shall by good matter finde that they be come out of their countrye for religion and for safegard of their conscience, and that they be such as may be beneficiall to that towne, and be also comprised within the number of straingers limited by the Queen's Majestie to inhabit there, that then they do receve and suffer them to remaine with them; and further, &c., according to the mynute remayninge, &c.'

The French Church of Ipswich.—So little is known respecting this church that every fact concerning it, however trivial, is of importance. The following memorandum¹ relates to the issue of a pass to a member of the congregation. Whether he was of Scotch origin as his name seems to indicate, or whether his name was an English adaptation of the French name of Le Grand cannot yet be determined. The name "Mons^r Lorty" written in the margin is that of the person at whose recommendation the pass was issued.

Mr. Grant, A Pass for M^r Peter Grant belonging to the French
pass. Church at Ipswich and his goods and necessarys to
Monsr. Lorty. passe from hence to Ipswich. Dated Whitehall, 28
July, 1690, Nottingham.'

The Heart of Admiral Duquesne.—The 'Globe' newspaper of September 7th, 1894, contains the following paragraph. 'The "Gazette de Lausanne" announces that in the Church at Aubonne, the tomb which, according to the Latin inscription on the memorial stone, contains the heart of the famous French naval commander, Abraham Duquesne, was formally opened in presence of the authorities, and a small silver box was found in a cavity hollowed out of the rock. The box was opened, and found to contain a human heart encased in lead. A record of the discovery was drawn up by a notary, and the box was then replaced, pending its removal to Dieppe, the municipality of which town has expressed a desire to have the relic, Duquesne having been born at the Norman seaport in

¹ *Domestic State Papers, Warrant Books*, Vol. 35, p. 328.

1610. The Commander, who died in 1688, was the hero of the defence of Bordeaux against the English and Spaniards in 1650. He also won a brilliant victory over the famous Dutch Admiral De Ruyter in 1676. Although known to history as Admiral Duquesne, he never enjoyed the title officially, his profession of the Protestant faith having prevented his attaining flag rank.'

Lucas D'Heere. Our Fellow, Mr. Lionel Cust, has contributed to the volume of the *Archæologia*¹ last issued an interesting '*Notice of the Life and Works of Lucas D'Heere, Poet and Painter of Ghent,*' who, having embraced the doctrines of the reformed faith, was, together with his wife Eleonora, daughter of Pieter Carbonier, compelled to seek refuge in England after the outbreak of Alva's persecutions in the Netherlands.

James Abbadie.—The following curious paragraph appeared in the number of *Notes and Queries*, for June 29, 1889, under the signature of 'Y.S.M.' 'Mr. Abbadie, Dean of Killaloe, was appointed to that deanery,² instead of St. Patrick[s], because he could speak no English. I take this from Primate Boulter's "*Letters*", p. 73; and he might have added that, being a French Huguenot, the Dean could not speak Irish, but only his own language.'

Family of Porcher.—Mr. Percival Landon, of Pallheiro, Putney, S.W., asks if any Fellow of the Society can furnish him with genealogical information relating to this family, and would be very grateful for the loan of a book on its history which he believes was published about the year 1650.

¹ Second Series, Vol. 54, Part 1, p. 59 *et seq.*

² He was installed May 13, 1699. He died in London on September 25, 1727. *Cotton's Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*, 2nd ed., Vol. i, p. 478.

APPENDIX.

The Huguenot Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope.

BY CAPTAIN W. H. HINDE, R.E.

(*A Paper read before the Society, January 9, 1895.*)

I wish this evening for a short time to direct your attention to the Huguenot Settlement formed at the Cape of Good Hope, to which a considerable number of French Huguenots found their way, chiefly in the years 1688 and 1689.

For some years past I have been hoping that someone would take up the subject of this Settlement, and not only trace the descent of a large number of the Cape Colonists and South Africans generally, from their Huguenot forefathers, but also collect all the information that can be obtained as to the old settlers themselves; from what places in France they fled to Holland; through what vicissitudes they passed on the way; their rank, family, or status in life before they were forced to quit their old homes; in fact all such particulars as possess any value or interest.

A good deal of such family history is given in Smiles' 'Huguenots in England and Ireland' about the English settlers; why should not similar information be forthcoming, and collected about the Cape settlers?

A large amount of labour has been expended upon this tracing *down* out in South Africa, and probably little remains to be done beyond compiling and publishing the information collected; but so far as I am aware little or nothing has been done towards tracing the Cape Refugees *up*, through Holland, and possibly Switzerland, back to their former homes in France, and to the families to which they belonged. This I submit is well worth doing, and must be chiefly done in Europe, with the assistance of our kindred Societies on the Continent, but especially of those in Holland and Belgium. I feel sure that they will give all the help they possibly can.

Understanding that our energetic Secretary, Mr. Faber, had long been wanting some one to take up the Cape Huguenot subject and work it out thoroughly, and had hoped one or

more of our Fellows out in South Africa would do so—but in vain, I undertook to furnish a paper upon it. Personally however I can lay before you only a limited amount of information, gleaned from such scanty sources as I have had access to in England, and during a sojourn of some eighteen months at the Cape.

The late Mr. Christoffel Coetzee de Villiers commenced the compilation of the Cape family registers in 1882. At first he limited himself to working out the pedigrees &c. of his own family, and those connected with it, but as he went on he found the latter become so very numerous, that he determined to make his work more general, and to include in it all the well known old Cape families. By bringing them down to within fifty or sixty years of the present time he intended to be able to trace the descent of every member of these families, who was merely able to nominate his parents, or grandparents.

Unfortunately he did not live to complete and publish the results of his labours himself, having after a sudden and very short illness, died on the 4th Sept. 1887, leaving his papers quite unprepared for the press.

For some time there was a difficulty with regard to funds to compile and publish them, until, in 1892, the Colonial Government undertook to advance sufficient for publishing one volume. This volume, which deals with families beginning with the first ten letters of the alphabet, A to J, was consequently brought out in 1893, entitled 'Geslacht Register der oude Kaapsche Familie,' and edited by Mr. G. Mc. C. Theal, the distinguished author of a number of works upon the history of South Africa, &c. On his death-bed Mr. de Villiers had expressed a wish that Mr. Theal would take up his unfinished work and complete it.

If this first volume pays its way so that the funds advanced by the Cape Government can be repaid, the remaining volumes will appear in due course; if not, the difficulty as to funds will again arise.

The information collected he obtained from the Cape Archives to some extent, but chiefly from the Deeds Registry and the Cape Church books, the whole of which—the marriage registers at any rate—he waded through to as late a date as 1815; by personal enquiry from members of the different families; and by going through and comparing such pedigrees as they possessed. When it is noticed that in this first volume the pedigrees of 214 families are given, beginning with the letters A to J, the amount of labour expended upon

the whole alphabet can be guessed at, and some idea can be formed of the difficulty of arranging the lists from his unsorted papers, which in places were difficult to decipher, and not unfrequently conflicting.

Had Mr. de Villiers been spared to us too there can be little doubt but that he would have pushed his investigations farther, and made an effort to follow up the Refugees to their original homes in France. In this direction he left behind him some Notes on Huguenot Families at the Cape, containing such information as he had been able to collate about the places from which they came, &c. These Notes are given at the end of the present Paper from a copy presented to the Society by Mr. W. J. C. Moens.

The following names, which have a French appearance, and are met with as those of settlers at the Cape before 1710, are not dealt with in these Notes: Appel, Bernard, De Bacre, Extreux, Faber, Fleuris, Lens, Le Lièvre, Lourens, Mahieu, Marcevene, Dumont, Olivier, Pleunis, Romond, Senaymant, Tas, Verron, and De Vos. If these families were French they were probably Huguenot also.

From despatches of the Chambers of Delft, Middelburg, and Rotterdam to the Cape Government we have the names, ages, number of children, and other details of at least eighty-four Huguenot passengers in their ships. If the Dutch East India Company took this trouble it seems far from unlikely that their arrival in Holland, and whence they came, may be found recorded in the Walloon Church Registers, and elsewhere.

It may perhaps be argued that it would be useless, and mere waste of time, attempting to follow up the clues we already have, and those we shall obtain, because these Refugees were merely artizans, agriculturists, and labourers, with common French names. But the rather scanty references made to this Settlement which I have been able to hunt up scarcely bear out this view, although it may be true with regard to many—perhaps the majority, of the settlers. The same can, I take it, be said about the majority of those who settled elsewhere, whether in England, Holland, Switzerland, America, or in what is now the German Empire.

In Voltaire's '*Siècle de Louis XIV.*' Vol. II, p. 330, there is what Macaulay, who quotes it in his *History of England* (1871) Vol. I, p. 326, calls 'a terse and spirited summary' of the Huguenot settlements generally:

'Il y en eut qui s'établirent jusque vers le Cap de Bonne Espérance. Le neveu du célèbre du Quêne, lieutenant général de la marine

fonda une petite colonie à cette extrémité de la terre; elle n'a pas prospéré; ceux qui s'y embarqueroient périrent pour la plupart. Mais enfin il y en a des restes de cette colonie voisine des Hottentots. Les Français ont été dispersés plus loin que les Juifs.'

This notice of the Cape Huguenot Settlement—the first one I met with myself—did not sound encouraging, but I fancy Voltaire would be considerably surprised if he saw a South African Directory of the present day.

In *Notes and Queries* 24th April, 1869, Henry Hall wrote as follows:

"Mr. Smiles' interesting volumes on the history of French Huguenot Refugees, and their descendants in the United Kingdom, deserve to be supplemented with a notice of their brethren who sought asylum in South Africa after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many of whom belonged to the most noble and ancient families of France, among whom I may mention the names of Du Plessis de Mornay, Roubaix de la Fontaine, Chavannes, Marillier, Faure, Joubert, De Villiers, De Celliers, Malan, Serrurier, Le Sueur, Aling, Basson, Du Pré, Le Roux, Rétif, Marais, Théron, Rousseau, Du Toit, Ratré, Naudé, Jourdan, &c. Among the present possessors of these names may be found lineal descendants of many old French families now supposed to be extinct. I may particularly mention that of the ducal and once famous house of Du Plessis. Amongst the roll of Governors of the Colony under the Dutch we find the names, of no doubt French Calvinistic families; D'Abling 1707, Mauritz de Chavannes 1714, De la Fontaine 1724, Naudé 1727, and even at the present day many of the most respectable Cape families are proud to trace their descent from the sufferers of Louis XIV tyranny."

Accordingly, in later editions of Smiles' *Huguenots*, he refers to—

'a Settlement of considerable importance having been formed at the Cape of Good Hope, led by a nephew of Admiral Duquesne, and including members of some of the most distinguished families of France,'

and quotes many of these names as examples.

In Poole's '*Huguenots of the Dispersion*' there is not much to quote, but on p. 43, he says:

'The Council of Seventeen offered free passage to any Huguenots who were willing to apply themselves to husbandry and handicrafts in Cape Colony.—About 80 families (M. G. Gognel says 150. *Bulletin* 15. 159, 1866) under the guidance of a nephew of the great Duquesne (Aignan-Etat des Protestants 21 f.) availed themselves of the proposal.'

On p. 170 he also says :

'The emigrants of La Rochelle are allowed by the intendant Tessereau to have been of the principal inhabitants as touching birth, substance, and reputation. (Delmas).'

M. Charles Weiss in his 'History of French Protestant Refugees' also speaks of 'eighty families having accepted the offers' made by the Dutch East India Company, and having 'embarked under the guidance of a nephew of Admiral Duquesne.'

Elsewhere he has plenty to say about the families of Duplessis and Duquesne.

In view of the statement made by Voltaire, H. Hall, Smiles, Weiss, and Aignan that the Settlement was formed under the leadership of a nephew of Admiral Duquesne it is a curious fact that there should be no evidence among the State Archives at the Hague of such having been the case. It is however quite possible that he may have been an originator of the scheme, and though taking a deep interest in it have purposely kept himself in the background.

The best known, if not the only, nephew of Admiral Duquesne adopted the profession of his uncle and father, is first mentioned in the Cape Archives as a lieutenant of the celebrated *Vaudricourt*, and himself rose to the rank of vice-admiral. From his frequent voyages to and from the East he knew the Cape well, and had always been on most intimate terms with Commander van der Stel who was once reprimanded by the Directors for the kindness he had shewn to him and the officers of his squadron. Thus he might very well have suggested the Cape as a suitable home for his co-religionists and fellow countrymen, just as his cousins had projected forming Huguenot colonies in Bourbon and elsewhere at about the same time. But he was still an officer in the French service, and France was at war with Holland, so that although he may have given advice and information as regards forming a Huguenot Settlement at the Cape under Dutch auspices he cannot possibly have personally led the expedition. It would be interesting to ascertain whether he—or some other nephew of the old Admiral had in reality anything to do with the Settlement, or not.

No doubt many more extracts could be collected from other authorities to the same effect, shewing that the Cape Refugees belonged to various social grades, some having been of high rank in France whilst others were artizans, agriculturists, &c.,

or as M. le Dr. du Rieu once puts it—the settlers were ‘des fils de nobles et de roturiers.’

They were sent out to a great extent with a view to supplying practical men for growing wheat, cultivating vines and olives, rearing cattle, and so forth, but it does not necessarily follow that they had always been employed in menial capacities in those industries. Thousands of Huguenots when driven out of France had lost everything in their hasty flight except their lives, and were forced to earn their daily bread as best they could. For example the three brothers De Villiers—Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob, described as vine dressers, *may* very possibly have been *owners* of vineyards before they fled from La Rochelle. We know that Jean Prieur du Plessis was a surgeon, and belonged to a noble family of Poitiers, before he became a wine farmer at the Cape; and most probably the proverb of beggars not being choosers is applicable in many other cases.

It is said that when Napoleon I, in the early part of his reign, wished to rally round his throne all the old French families he could induce to acknowledge his pretensions, he offered to the Du Plessis at the Cape—a simple minded farmer of Stellenbosch, who then represented the ancient ducal house—the restoration of his family title and estates: but the offer was declined. The Cape boer, in whose mind all recollections of his family traditions had died away, preferred his quiet vineyard to the brilliant saloons of the Tuileries. (Smiles' Huguenots in England and Ireland.)

It is now quite time to turn our attention to the Cape of Good Hope itself.

It was discovered by the Portuguese in 1486, but no settlement was made there until the Dutch East India Company in 1652 formed a refreshment station in Table Bay. In those days a passage to Batavia, their head quarters in the East, was considered a very quick one if made in six months, and the loss of life on these long voyages, through scurvy, was so great that a port of call rather more than half-way was very desirable.

In 1679 Simon van der Stel was appointed Commander, and outlying posts were formed at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein some thirty miles away.

About this time the Council of Seventeen, which controlled the various Dutch East India Companies having offices at Delft, Middelburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen, were doing all they could to induce suitable families to emigrate to the Cape—with ill success; few could

be prevailed upon to volunteer, and they were scarcely of the class required.

Before long however the Huguenot persecutions in France, culminating in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, drove thousands of all classes to take refuge in Holland and thus flooded the labour market. These immigrants had been arriving to some extent for years, and as most of them spoke only French, wherever their numbers became large, clergymen were appointed to conduct services for them in French; but the congregations so formed only became new branches of those already in existence. It is partly for this reason that I feel sure that much valuable information about many of the Cape Huguenot families will be obtainable from the registers and records of these Churches. Members of some of these families were living in Holland for years, Le Fèbres at Middelburg; De Lanoy, Du Toits, Jouberts, Malans, and Mesnards at Leiden; Nels at Utrecht; Cordiers at Haarlem; and Malherbes at Dordrecht.

The Directors offered these 'exiles for conscience sake' a home in South Africa, with liberty to return to Europe at the end of five years should they wish to do so. In addition to free passages they further promised the engagement of a French clergyman to accompany them, gratuities to the head of each family and to every unmarried man and woman, farms without payment, and all necessary farming stock at cost price on credit.

Fully two hundred accepted this offer. The Directors hoped that these would supply the technical knowledge needed in various branches of agriculture which it appeared desirable to start or to improve.

'Among them' (says one of the despatches to the Cape Government) 'are persons who understand the culture of the vine, who will in time be able to benefit the Company and themselves. We consider that as these people know how to manage with very little they will without difficulty be able to accommodate themselves to their work at the Cape, especially as they will feel themselves safe under a mild government, and freed from the persecution which they suffered. It will be your duty, as they are destitute of everything, to furnish them on their arrival with what they may require for their subsistence, until they are settled and can earn their own livelihood. Further you will have to deal with them as we have on former occasions directed you in regard to the freemen of our own nation.'

Thus they were to take the same oaths of allegiance and to

enjoy the same privileges as natives of the United Provinces.

The Company's orders were not exactly to the liking of Commander van der Stel, for he was an immense believer in anybody and anything Dutch, and would have greatly preferred that the settlement should be peopled entirely by his own countrymen. He appears however to have acted according to his instructions.

Several vessels were despatched with numerous Huguenots on board, one of which sailed from Delftshaven, one from Rotterdam, and two from Middelburg; and they arrived in Table Bay, after passages varying from three to six months, between April 1688 and May 1689. Some few Huguenots did however arrive both before and after these dates. In despatches sent out to the Cape Government the names and some other details of many of the Huguenot passengers are given; there are seventy-three names &c. given in the Passenger Lists quoted in Theal's History of South Africa. It is rather a pity he has not given us the names of those known to have died on the voyage.

Shortly after their arrival a sum of money, Rds.6000—equal to about £1250 was sent at the request of Commander van der Stel by the board of deacons of Batavia for the relief of those in want, and from the lists showing in detail how this money was distributed in April, 1690, a copy of which is preserved among the archives at the Hague, an almost complete list of the Huguenots at that time is obtained. This is also given in Theal's History, those who received a share numbering 158, and those who were not in need of assistance only eighteen.

Among the many legacies for which the old Cape families are indebted to the late Mr. C. C. de Villiers is a series of four sheets published by Messrs. Van der Sandt de Villiers & Co., of Cape Town (at ten shillings the set) giving in fac-simile the signatures of a large number of their founders, both Dutch and French. I have brought with me a set—the first sent to England, feeling sure that many here will be interested in seeing them. Collected from the Church books, Deeds offices, and other sources, there are no less than 568 autographs given, with the dates of signature written against them. At the foot of each sheet is a list of all the names in order as they appear upon it. Those of fifty-two Huguenot Refugees are given on the first sheet, which is therefore to us the most interesting of the four, but other Huguenot signatures of later generations may be seen scattered throughout them. Most of

the signatures are fairly legible, though the old-fashioned cramped hand-writing of some is fearfully and wonderfully designed, and the spelling is curious. Many a good man in that age was content with making his mark, while others did not venture upon more than their initials. Number six is a specimen of the former, an anchor being drawn as Pieter Visagie his mark, and there are several instances of the initials only being printed in capital letters. Those of Jan du Buisson (No. 389) look full of suggestion to the latter-day colonist, as the letters 'I. D. B.' are now used as an abbreviation of 'Illicit Diamond Buyer,' the term employed to designate the gentry who deal in diamonds stolen from the mines at Kimberley.

The supply of a single copy to each colonist whose name is to be found in this collection would be no light task, as their numerous descendants are now widely scattered over the whole of South Africa, from Cape Town to Delagoa Bay or Mashona Land. While Sir Henry de Villiers is without doubt the most distinguished descendant of these Refugees in Cape Colony, the chief military command in the South African Republic is vested in one who bears, *à la hollandaise*, the same two names as his French Huguenot forefather, Pierre Joubert.

From the valuable paper of M. H. de Jager on the Walloon Church of Brielle in the Bulletin de la Commission des Eglises Wallonnes, vol. 1 p. 243, we learn that this Pierre Joubert was married there. The marriage entry quoted from the Church Register runs as follows:

'Le 1 de février 1688 fut faite la benediction du mariage de Pierre Joubert, natif du lieu de la Motte d'Aigues en Provence, et de Susanne Reyne de la Roque, native d'Antheron en Provence; tous deux embarquirent dans le vaisseau le *Mont de Sinai* faisant voile pour le Cap de Bonne-Espérance sous la conduite du Capitaine Samuel van Groll, et cela après trois annonces publiées dans un même jour du consentement de Mess^{rs} du Ven. Magistrat de cette ville.'

According to Mr. Theal's Passenger List however he arrived at the Cape with Isabeau Richard 'his wife' (in the *China*, which sailed from Rotterdam on the 20th March, 1688), and 'Susanne René, 20 years old, a young unmarried woman.'

Most probably Susanne Reyne de la Roque and Susanne René are one and the same person, and the *Mont de Sinai* and the *China* the same vessel, as very kindly suggested by Doctor W. N. du Rieu. If Pierre Joubert landed at the Cape with Isabeau Richard already his wife, Susanne, his first wife, must

have died in Holland, or on the voyage out. Herhasty marriage readily accounts for her appearing as a spinster in the Passenger List. The same thing occurred in the case of Jacques Pinard and Esther Fouché, though in their case a marginal note was added to say they were man and wife. The name of one of the farms afterwards owned by Pierre Joubert was La Roche or La Roche, probably a memento of his first wife.

It would be interesting to obtain further particulars as to these marriages, and also about a tradition of the same family, according to which a Guillaume Adolphe Joubert was the first victim of the persecutions to which the French Protestants were subjected.

Some of the Refugees were settled at Stellenbosch, but the greater number were placed by Commander van der Stel upon lands along the Berg river valley, at Drakenstein, now known as the Paarl, and La Petite Rochelle afterwards called Fransche Hoek, which means French Corner, and is still so named. There, in addition to growing wheat, and planting vines, olives, and fruit trees, they planted a large number of French and Scriptural names throughout the district, such as Le Parais, Lamotte, Cabrier, Normandie, Rhône, Champagne, Languedoc, Lorraine, Orléans, Orange, La Provence, La Providence, La Vallée de Josaphat, &c. The titles of many of these estates still remain as memorials of the localities where they fixed their abode, and will be found marked on large scale maps. The Bible names are interesting as shewing their devout belief that under Divine protection they would one day be gathered from the lands into which they had been scattered, and would be avenged upon those who had persecuted them, (*Vide Joel chapter iii. 2.*)

The Refugees were not long in settling down in their new homes. As they did not possess the ordinary necessities of life on landing, ships' biscuit, peas, and salt meat were issued to them for the first few months; timber was also supplied for building purposes, as well as other stores on credit. A fund was raised for their benefit in the Colony, and this rendered them considerable assistance. They set about building and planting with alacrity, and those more or less accustomed to work with their hands had soon put up rough dwellings and laid out vegetable gardens. Others there were quite unused to manual labour, and these suffered severely until, with the help of others, who had been less fortunate in former years but now had all the best of it, they too were able to make a start in farming. Ere long tations of several

were among the most flourishing in the Colony, those for example of Abraham de Villiers and Louis le Grand.

The vine was not, as at one time supposed, first introduced by the Huguenots into the Cape, but there is little doubt that they did much to improve its cultivation, and the manufacture of wine and brandy. Owing to this, viticulture has always been the most important branch of agriculture in the west of the Colony. The first vine stocks were brought out from the Rhine in 1653, and within a few years of that date almost all the garden plants of India and Europe and many kinds of fruit trees had been introduced. Commander van der Stel was an enthusiastic tree-planter, and the oak and fir trees now growing in such profusion at Stellenbosch, in the Cape Peninsular, and elsewhere, are mainly due to him.

In accordance with their promise the Rev. Pierre Simond, sometime pastor of Embrun in Dauphiné, and afterwards Minister of the Refugee congregation at Zierickzee, was engaged by the Directors to go out to the Cape. Sailing from Middelburg he arrived at Cape Town in August, 1688. He appears to have been a typical pastor of those days, an earnest fearless man, of great strength of character, and most determined will. He was appointed to reside at Stellenbosch until transferred to Drakenstein in 1691. Having composed a new metrical version of the Psalms he returned to Europe at his own request in 1702 to look after its fortunes, and settled at Amsterdam. He officiated there pretty frequently until June, 1705. Being awarded a pension by the Synode at Haarlem in 1708 he went there with his wife Anne Bereau (also written De Beureau and De Beront) and two children, Catherine and Pierre, for a time, but returned to live at Amsterdam towards the end of 1708. Services were held in French on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein by the pastor, a 'sick comforter' officiating in Dutch in his absence. The Refugees were not allowed to form a separate congregation of their own, and when at the end of November, 1689, a Drakenstein deputation headed by their pastor approached the Commander on the subject their request was sternly refused.

The time selected for asking concessions on behalf of the French settlers was unfortunate. War had been declared by France against the United Netherlands just a year before, and the news of this, and of all the Dutch vessels in French harbours having been seized reached the Cape in March, 1689. Far removed as the Commander was from assistance, and

receiving intelligence from Europe only when months old, he must have spent an exceedingly anxious time until the Treaty of Ryswick—which put an end to the war—was signed in 1697. Small wonder then that he treated the Deputation as if they were demanding political concessions, however innocent their petition for a separate Church of their own may have been.

On Pierre Simond's departure the Directors withdrew their permission for public worship to be conducted in French, the Huguenots were merged in the Dutch Reformed Church, and the least semblance of any other ecclesiastical establishment or worship was not permitted.

This prohibition, as also that of separate congregations, was of course due to the policy of the Company that both the French language and the separate nationality should be suppressed as early as possible, and there is no doubt that from their point of view the Directors were quite right. With this end in view the Refugees were scattered among the other colonists, both on first arrival and afterwards, as much as possible, and they vainly did their utmost to thwart the plan.

The reason for this action being taken is given in a Despatch dated 12th June, 1690, sent by the Council of Policy at the Cape to Amsterdam :

'Our object is to amalgamate them (the Huguenot refugees) with our own countrymen, that the one may impart to the other his own particular knowledge and experience, and in that manner agriculture be promoted. For that purpose we have deemed it expedient to order that their religious services be held alternately every Sunday at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, in the Church, and on the same footing as the Dutch services.'

They *may* have had another object in view later on when they opposed the gravitation of the refugees towards Drakenstein, viz. to minimise the chances of their being able to render assistance to the French should an attempt be made to seize the Cape. It does not seem probable however that Huguenots would have been anxious to put their heads into a Catholic noose in that way, even if they were dissatisfied with Dutch rules and regulations.

In 1709 the use of French in addressing the Government upon official matters was publicly prohibited, and in 1724 the lessons were read in French at Church for the last time, so that before the second generation had died out the language was practically extinct.

The French astronomer, the Abbé de la Caille, who visited the Cape in 1752, refers in his 'Journal' to the condition of his fellow countrymen, and notes the gradual extinction of the language among their children.

'With respect to the Refugees,' he says, 'they have preserved the French language, and have taught it to their children; but the latter, partly because they trade with the Dutch, and Germans who speak the Dutch language, and have married or become connected with them, have not taught French to their children. There are no longer any of the old Refugees of 1680 to 1690 at the Cape, only their children remain who speak French, and they are very old. I did not meet any person under forty years of age who spoke French unless he had just arrived from France. I cannot however be sure that this is altogether general; but I have heard those who speak French say that in twenty years there would not be anyone in Drakenstein who would know how to speak it.'

Le Vaillant, the French naturalist, who visited the Colony in 1780, states² that he only came across one old man who understood French.

Personally I came across the use of French once at the Cape, in 1888, when I was stopped in the street by a stranger and with many apologies for the liberty taken, asked whether I was French myself. No very adequate reason having been given for my being asked the question I strongly suspect that it was hoped I might assist in composing the interesting announcement which appeared in the *Cape Times* shortly afterwards to the effect that my interviewer had been recently presented with a son. This so took my fancy as an amusing instance of pride in Huguenot descent that I cut it out and happen still to have it by me. It was worded thus: 'H—— née a Simon's Town. Madame F—— H——, de un fils.'

Lady Duff Gordon in her Letters from the Cape gives a somewhat amusing account of her meeting with a descendant of the Cape Huguenots named De Villiers, but corrupted into Filljee, as is frequently the case. She says:

'He is a pure and thorough Frenchman, although unable to speak a word of French. When I went in to dinner he rose and gave me a chair with a bow which, together with his appearance, made me ask "Monsieur vient d'arriver"? This at once put him out and pleased him.'

¹ *Journal Historique du Voyage au Cap de Bonne Espérance* by Nicolas Louis (l'Abbé) de la Caille.

² *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les années 1780, '81, et '82:* by François le Vaillant. Paris, 1790.

Put him out because he could not understand or speak French, and pleased him as he liked being taken for a Frenchman.

Even now-a-days one does occasionally meet with Cape Colonists who look French, with dark hair and eyes, small active figures and sharply cut features, but these are exceptions, for the frequent inter-marriages with other races have practically obliterated such distinctions.

Mr. C. C. de Villiers told me that he knew one old gentleman, still alive in 1887, in whom the Huguenot blood had been preserved unmixed, though he was of the fifth generation; but it was the only instance he had met with. My grandmother, a Rousseau, through whom alone I can claim Huguenot descent, was, I am glad to say, a full-blooded French-woman, although born one hundred years after the arrival of the refugees at the Cape and belonging to the third generation. Even this was rather exceptional. The total numbers of the Huguenots never exceeded one sixth of the Colonists, and though they tried hard to preserve their language and distinctive race in the teeth of the Directors and Governor by resolving to marry none save their own countrywomen, the latter were too scarce to admit of the resolution being adhered to. It is only natural therefore that their race should have been practically absorbed by the middle of the eighteenth century.

As to the language commonly spoken by their descendants of the present day, Mr. Theal says:

'The South African colonists never lost a knowledge of the pure language of the Dutch Bible and in their devotions almost invariably employ it. Any Dutch book whatever printed in the 17th century is also read with the greatest ease by the colonists to whom the phraseology is familiar; though the same persons find the language of a modern work, issued in Holland, stiff and heavy. Most of what in South Africa are erroneously supposed to be peculiarities of Cape Dutch are merely survivals of idioms in use in the Netherlands in the 17th century, and which may still be occasionally detected in secluded localities there.'

Those who can boast of French descent are still proud to do so. As an example of this I can scarcely do better than quote the preamble of a family pedigree which, with some difficulty, I persuaded the owner to lend me. He used to keep it carefully locked up, and handled it as something most precious, if not sacred. It did one good to hear him roll it out in Dutch, translating for my benefit as he went along, and

lingering over the passages treating of the persecutions to which his forefathers had been subjected.

‘In the years 1685-7 the French Protestant Refugees fled from France on account of their religion when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in the reign of Louis XIV. At this time some 50,000 families quitted France and sought refuge in other lands, despite the frontiers being all guarded and dragoons being quartered upon them inland to convert them with their sabres. They fled from Nismes the capital of Languedoc to Holland and thence with many more fugitives to the Cape of Good Hope, where they arrived, with many privileges granted to them, to colonise the Cape which had then been founded about thirty-four years. They were very evil entreated by many of the inhabitants who, when the Colony was being founded had been recruited from orphanages, alms-houses, ay and perhaps the streets, to come out in search of a livelihood. Yes, some were not even ashamed to oppress them in a manner not to be expected from intelligent beings. ‘They were more ready to give a crust of bread to a Hottentot, or a dog, than to a Frenchman, perhaps because of the many great privileges granted to them when they first came out.

‘But, though hated by their fellow creatures, God hath not forsaken them; they have good blood, land, and kindred, and by reason of their faith and clear conscience God hath protected them in the land of their exile unto the 3rd and 4th generation. Yes, and God will likewise protect their descendants.

‘They were the founders of Fransche Hoek, Great Drakenstein, Little Drakenstein, the Paarl, and a portion of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. They stood by another, and formed as it were a compact to intermarry with none save French Refugees. This is clearly shown by the pedigree.’

This account of ill treatment the refugees were subjected to at the Cape would however appear to be greatly exaggerated. When the Drakenstein deputation already spoken of sought permission to establish a separate church and were refused, high words were openly indulged in on both sides, which would have been better left unsaid, and for a time there no doubt did exist a bitter feeling between the two races. But on the whole the refugees appear to have been treated with great kindness, both by Commander van der Stel, and their fellow colonists.

In a Despatch to the Directors dated 26th April, 1688 the Council wrote :

‘We shall lend a helping hand to the French fugitives, and give them proofs of Christian love by helping them on their legs’;

and in another of the same date to the Chamber of Delft :

'The *Sion* will not call at the Cape. . . . The French fugitives on board have been brought hither in the coaster *Jupiter*. They were received by us with proofs of Christian love and compassion, and will be assisted in everything. We shall give them at the earliest opportunity two French Bibles and ten Psalm books.'

On the 6th June, 1690 they wrote to the Chamber of Amsterdam :

'The fugitives . . . have been located—some in the Cape district, many in the Stellenbosch, but the greater portion in the Drakenstein district, where they can well subsist on agriculture and different trades. . . . We have helped them as far as our weak powers allowed, and it is evident that the majority of them will find a living. The gift sent them from India will do them good.'

120 acres of land were granted to each who wished to take it up, and as to its quality the Council wrote on 22nd April, 1688 :

'Altogether the soil is splendid, one part perhaps a little better than another, but whoever has received a plot not quite so good as his neighbour's has only to blame chance for it. The Commander has worked hard to put all these people properly on their legs, and gave them cattle and sheep.'

As the farms prove at the present day, those who settled down and worked industriously soon succeeded.

The donation sent from Batavia for their relief was expressly asked for by Commander van der Stel, and a voluntary subscription was raised at the Cape to assist them.

They were not, it is true, allowed to have a separate Church of their own, but neither were their fellow countrymen in Holland. A great number of the restrictions and regulations imposed by the Company upon trade, &c., with a view to its own profits were no doubt vexatious, but in this respect they were on the same footing as the rest of the Colonists.

Looking at the question therefore from a 17th century point of view it is not easy to see that our refugees were so very badly treated.

The founder of the particular family I have alluded to, Daniel Hugod, (now spelt without the final D) born in France in 1665, is described as having been

'very small of stature, scarcely so long as a yoke, i.e. four feet four inches high. He was forty-five years old when he married

Anna Rousseau, a young lady of fifteen. At the christening of this lady he was a 'witness,' and taking her in his arms he said to those assembled "This child shall be my wife."

He apparently thought that his superiority in years would compensate for his inferiority in inches, and in due time he realised his matrimonial project.

Cape pedigrees generally are apt to be perplexing studies, there having been marriages, not only between first cousins, but also between ascending and descending generations, and within degrees of relationship disallowed by English law. Second, and even third marriages were also far from uncommon.

These pedigrees are however being worked out and arranged at the Cape, and it is to be hoped that in the course of time the whole will appear in book form. Meanwhile—to come back to the point from which we started—it will be a pity if no one will take in hand the work necessary to trace the members of this Huguenot Settlement back to their original homes in France. I trust that this paper, put together though it is by a tyro, from odds and ends of notes in no way collected for the purpose of writing a paper, may have some effect in that direction, by calling attention to the subject, and thereby perhaps doing something towards inducing others with more ability and experience in such matters, and more time and opportunities at their disposal, to take the necessary researches in hand.

Notes on Huguenot Families at the Cape of Good Hope.

BY THE LATE C. C. DE VILLIERS, Esq.

(FROM COPY PRESENTED BY W. J. C. MOENS, ESQ., F.S.A.)

[Names commencing with De, De la, Des, Du, Le, and La, should as a rule be looked for under the first letter of the remainder of the name].

- Anthouarde,** Marie, mother-in-law either of Jean Mesnard or of his wife, Louise Corbonne, sailed with the Mesnards in the *China*, from Rotterdam on 20th March 1688, but it does not appear that she ever reached the Cape.
- Arniel,** Matthieu, 'with wife and two children,' figures in the list of Huguenots among whom some money, sent by the Board of Deacons of Batavia, was distributed on the 18th and 19th April 1690. This list was published by Mr. G. McCall Theal in his 'Chronicles of Cape Commanders,' pp. 286 and 287, and again in his 'History of South Africa,' vol. i, p. 349. The family is mentioned by Mr. Theal among the most notable inhabitants of Drakenstein in 1692 (Theal's History, vol. i, p. 367). No record of it is to be found in the Church Registers.
- Avice,** Sara, 'd'Chateau dun,' spinster, arrived here in the *Oosterland*, which sailed from Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688 (see Passenger List in Theal's History), and is also mentioned in Theal's Distribution List of 1690. Beyond this no trace of her.
- Marie Avis, in Muster Roll 1692, as wife of Claude Marais, and as sponsor down to 1697 in the Church Registers.
- Baché,** Marguerite, 'unmarried woman 23 years old,' in Passenger List of *Voorschoten* which sailed from Delfts-haven 31st December 1687, but there is no further record of her.
- Barillé,** Pierre, 'with wife,' in Distribution List 1690, and among inhabitants of Cape District 1692. No further record of him.
- Barré,** Louis, in Distribution List 1690, and among inhabitants of Drakenstein 1692. In the Muster Roll of the

latter year he is described as 'maat,' or partner of one of the **Jourdans**. No further trace of him, except as sponsor, down to 1701, in the Drakenstein Church Registers.

- Basson,** **Arnoldus Willemsz**, of Wesel, married at the Cape 15th Dec., 1669, Angela of Bengal. In the Baptismal Register he figures simply as 'Arnoldus Willemsz.'
- Guillaume**, mentioned among the inhabitants of Drakenstein in 1692, was a son of **Arnoldus Willemsz**. Large family of **Bassons** still living.
- Batté,** **Pierre**, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further trace of him.
- la Batte,** **Jeanne**, wife of **Guillaume Nel**. See **Nel**.
- Beluzé,** **Abraham**, in Distribution List 1690, and residing at Drakenstein 1692. Born at Calais about 1665, married Elizabeth **Posseaux** (widow of **Jacob Bisseux**), whom he survived. Died between 1735 and 1737.
- Beneset,** **Pierre**, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein burghers 1692. Also figures as sponsor to a child of **Paul Roux**, in 1696.
- de Beront** or **de Beurau,** **Anne**, wife of **Pierre Simond**. See **Simond**.
- de Bevernage,** **Francina**, wife of **Jacques Mouton**. See **Mouton**.
- Bisseux,** **Jacques**, with 'wife and two children' among the additions to Cape Population between 1691 and 1700. His wife, **Maria le Febre**, died about Sept. 1700, leaving an only child **Pieter** 6½ years old. He then married **Elisth Posseaux**, and died in 1723, leaving two children by her, **Elisabeth** and **Johannes**. **Elisth Posseaux**, spinster, of Paris, 18 years old, embarked from Delft in April 1700, with the **Selljers** and **Couvrets**, and arrived here in August 1700 by the *Reigersdaal*. **Pieter Bisseux**, is described in his Marriage Entry (1729) as being from 'Middelburg in Zeelandt.' He appears to have had no children, and the family in the male line became extinct. **Elisabeth Bisseux** married a son of Captain **Oloff Bergh**, often mentioned in Mr. Theal's 'Chronicles of Cape Commanders,' and the present family of **Berghs** is for the most part descended from her.
- There is at present a family of **Bisseux**—that of **Isaac Bisseux** who is now (1884) about seventy-seven or seventy-eight years of age, and was born in the Department of L'Aisne. He was sent out by a Missionary Society in Paris, when young. His father was **Jean Bisseux**.

- Blignaut,** Jean, is stated to have been sent for from Europe by Daniel Hugot, to come and teach his children, the two having known each other before coming out to the Cape. When Hugot died, Blignaut married his widow, Anna Rousseau, in 1725. In his Marriage Entry Blignaut is described as a 'Soldier in the Company's Service,' and as being 'from Amsterdam.' Goodly number of descendants still living.
Jean Blignaut's mother, Elisth Desbordes, widow of Pieter Blignaut, was sponsor of her first child in 1726. Blignaut arrived here as midshipman in 1723.
- Brasier,** Paul, in Distribution List 1690, and among Burghers of Cape District 1692. No further trace.
- Briet,** Susanna, wife of Isaac Taillefer. See Taillefer.
- Bruère,** (Now written Bruwer and Bruwel). Etienne, 'a wagon maker, bachelor, 23 years old,' arrived here in the *Voorschoten*, which sailed from Delftshaven on 31st Dec. 1687. In the Distribution List 1690 his name appears 'with his espoused, Esther de Ruelle,' and among inhabitants of Drakenstein 1692, 'with wife.' First entry of him in Church Books is in Stellenbosch Marriage Register, as 'Steven Brouard, of Belois, widower,' married 19th Feb. 1702, to Anna du Puis, of Amsterdam, 'spinster.' Good many descendants still living.
- Buisset,** Maria, second wife of Jean Prieur du Plessis, the refugee. Vide Du Plessis. She married again in 1711, Dirk Smith, of Nieuburgh. She is described as being 'from Lorraine.' Two children by second husband, but no further descendants.
Marie Buisset married Du Plessis in January 1700 in the 'Domkerk' at Amsterdam (communicated by a member of Du Plessis family at the Cape).
- du Buisson,** David, among additional Cape families 1700-1710. He married Claudine Lombard, daughter of the refugee Pierre Lombard; first mention of this couple in Church Books and in Baptismal Register of Stellenbosch 1708. Only a few descendants still living.
- de Buys or du Buis,** Jean du Buis (I have also seen the name written 'De Beuze') agriculturist of Calais. Arrived in the *Oosterland*, which sailed from Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688. He married Sara Jacob, and the first record of the couple is in the Drakenstein Baptismal Book 1701. The prefix 'de' is now generally dropped by their descendants.

Carnoy,**Antoinette**, a widow and mother-in-law of **Jacques de Savoye**, in Distribution List 1690. See **de Savoye**.**Cellier or
Sellier &c.**

(Also written **Sellier**, **Seillier**, **Solliers**, **Silje**, **Cilje**, etc., but now generally spelt **Cilliers** and **Celliers**.) The numerous representatives of these names at the present time all descend from **Josue Sellier**, and his wife **Elisabeth Couvret**. They were both born at Orleans, and in a joint will executed by them 15th March 1720, their ages are given as 53 and 44 years respectively. This **Josue Sellier** 'with his wife and two children' is mentioned among the additions to Cape families between 1701 and 1710. Their first child was christened at Drakenstein 1701.

Contemporaneously with **Josue Sellier**, appears **Gilles Sollier**, who had a brother **Durand Sollier**. The latter married, but left no male issue. His only daughter married **Renaud Berthault de St. Jean of Sauoere**, a Surgeon, whose daughter married for the second time the first **Van der Riet** in 1754, of whom descendants still exist.

A despatch from the Chamber of Delft, dated 5th April 1700, and received here by the *Reigersdaal* 22nd Aug. 1700, mentions among a few more freemen to whom passages have been allowed '**Josue Selljer** and **Elizth Couvret** his wife, agriculturist and vine-grower, and also a carpenter.'

Gilles Sollier having served the Dutch East India Company since 1697, applied in Jan. 1718 for leave to return to his fatherland with his wife **Anna Roulin**, and his son **David Sollier**.

deChavonnes, Dominique Pasques, lieutenant in the service of the Dutch East India Company, succeeded on the death of Capt. Cruse, in 1687, to the command of the garrison at the Cape. There is an inventory of **De Chavonnes'** widow **Marie Lany** framed upon her death and dated 5th July 1715. Her surviving children and grandchildren were **Petronella Agnes** married to '**den Heer**' **Jacobus Bolwerk**; **Dominique Marius**; **George**; and **Johanna de Jongh**, wife of **Richard Munniks**, representing her deceased mother **Johanna Pasques de Chavonnes**. Family extinct.

Lieut.-Colonel **Maurits Pasques** of the Hague. Governor at the Cape 28th March 1714 until his death on the 8th Sept. 1724.

le Clercq,

Marie Madeleine, of Tournay, wife of **Jacques de Savoye**. See **de Savoye**. There are now several families of **De Clercq** or **De Klerk**, the latter being the more

- usual way of spelling the name. They are descendants of **Abraham de Clercq**, of Scrooskerken, bachelor, who married at Stellenbosch 12th May 1709, **Magdalena Bourzon** of Middelburg, spinster. In the Baptismal entries of the children of this couple the mother's surname is written '**Mouton**.' **Abraham de Clercq** was to all appearances a son of **Pieter de Clercq** and **Sara Cochet**. See **Cochet**. Mr. Theal makes no mention in his published lists of this latter family.
- Cloudon**, **Jean**, arrived in the *Oosterland* which left Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688, and is described in the Passenger List as 'a shoemaker of Condé.' In Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further traces.
- Corbonne**, **Louis**, arrived in the *China* which sailed from Rotterdam 20th March 1688, then a 'bachelor 20 years old.' In Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No descendants.
- Louise Corbonne**, wife of **Jean Mesnard**, arrived in the same vessel. See **Mesnard**.
- Cordier**, **Louis**, 'with wife and four children,' in Distribution List 1690, and among Burghers of Drakenstein 1692 'with wife and five children,' the wife being **Françoise Martinet**. Descendants still living, name mostly written **Cortje**.
- Costeux**, **Esaias** and **Susanne**, in Distribution List 1690 as 'two orphans now living with Nicolaas Kleef.' In a document at the Deeds Office their parents are described as **Esaias Kosteau** and **Susanna Albert**, French Refugees from Hak, near Calais. No further trace of this family. **Susanne Costeux** married **H^a Gildenhuyzen**, by whom she had one daughter, **Susanna**, christened 15th Dec., 1715. The mother must have died soon after, for in 1717 **Gildenhuyzen** had a child by a second wife, christened.
- Jan Costeux**, of Calais, applied in January 1718 for leave to return to his fatherland. He was sponsor to a child of **Hendrik Gildenhuyzen** and **Susanna Costu** baptized in 1715.
- Couteau**, **Marie**, wife of **Pierre Lombard**. See **Lombard**.
- Couvât**, **Daniel**, in Distribution List 1690, and Drakenstein Burgher List 1692. No descendants. Returned to Europe about 1708.
- Couyret**, **Paul**, with 'wife **Anne Valleté** and two children,' among additional Cape families 1691-1700. In the Church books there are only two baptismal entries of this

couple (both girls) in 1701 and 1705. Beyond this, no further trace of the family.

There was also **Elisabeth Couvret**, wife of **Josue Sellier**, (see **Cellier**) an 'agriculturist and vine-grower, and also a carpenter.' They came out in the *Reigersdaal* from Delft about 5th April 1700. A Despatch from Chamber of Delft dated 5th April 1700, and received here by the *Reigersdaal* 22nd August 1700, speaks of free passages having been given—among others—to 'Paul Couvret and Anna Valet, his wife, born at Bazoze near Orleans, with a little child named Anna Elisth Couvret. He is an agriculturist and vine-grower and also a shoemaker.'

Cronje,

(Also written **Crognnet**). **Pieter Cronje**, and **Stephanus Cronje** among additional Cape families 1691-1700. The Drakenstein Church Books contain Baptismal Entries of children of **Pierre Cronje** and **Susanna Taillefer** from 1710 to 1718. It is from this couple that all the present Cronjes are descended.

A Despatch from the Chamber of Delft dated 7th May 1698 and received here by the *Driebergen* 3rd Dec. 1698, announces the embarkation of some more French refugees, among them 'Pierre **Crosnier** and Estjenne **Crosnier**.' They were brothers.

Delpont,

Jacques, 'with wife and one child,' among additional Cape families 1691-1700. He married **Sara Vitout**. The first record of this family is in the Drakenstein Baptismal Register of 1702. Many descendants still living.

Drouin,

Philippe. See du Tuillet.

Dumont,

Pierre, 'with wife,' among additional families 1691-1700. He married **Cecilia Datys**, the widow of **Hercules du Pré** the elder, but left no children.

Durand,

Jean, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein burghers 1692, in partnership with **Pierre Meyer**. He was born about 1699 at Lamotte Shellancon (La Motte Chalançon) in Dauphiné. Some descendants still living.

Faure,

Antoine Alexander, born at Orange 1685, arrived here 1708, and married 1714 **Rachel**, daughter of **Abraham de Villiers**, the refugee. Antoine was a son of **Pierre Faure** (by his second wife **Justina Pointy**) who fled, on account of religious persecution, from Orange, where he was a merchant in 1685 to **Barkelo** (**Borculo**?) in Gelderland. After the conclusion of

peace he returned to Orange in 1689, and died there. His first wife was Marie Soulier.

His (Pierre's) father was Philippe Faure, who was born in 1608 and married (1) Louise Roussel, and (2) a lady of the family of Fontaine. Philippe was also persecuted on account of his religion, and for a long time imprisoned at Grenoble. Philippe's father was Antoine, son of Philibert (in Latin Faber) Knight (Ridder), Baron of Peroges, first President of the Council of Savoy, celebrated for his important position at Court, and also for his learning, being the author of 'Conjecturarum Libri xx, De Erroribus Pragmaticorum, and Interpretum Juris Chiliades Tom iv, Codex Fabrianus,' and other works. Originally he came from Bourg in Bresse, now Ain. He was born 1556 and died 1624, having been married to Benoite Faure, 'Vrouwe van (lady of) Vangelas.'

For these particulars I am indebted to a family register of the Faure family framed by the late Rev. Dr. A. Faure, and the late advocate Faure, father of the Rev. D. P. Faure, who recently (1884) acted as Interpreter on behalf of the British Government in the interviews between Lord Derby and the Delegates of the Transvaal Republic.

Pretty numerous families of Faures still existing, all descendants of Antoine Faure, and Rachel de Villiers.

le Fèvre,

Pierre, 'with wife and two children,' in Distribution List 1690, and 'with wife and three children' among inhabitants of Stellenbosch 1692. In the Cape Town Registers are three baptismal entries of this couple in 1684, 1686, and 1688, all three relating to girls. The mother's name is left blank in the second entry, but in the first and third entries it is given as 'Maria de Grave,'

- In the Drakenstein Books are two baptismal entries of children of Paul le Fevre, the wife's name being blank in one (1699), and in the other (1701) merely Elizabeth Sisillia. No further record of these two families.

In the Cape Town Baptismal Books from 1713 to 1738 are entries of sixteen children of Gysbert le Febre and Catharina van de Zande his wife, but whether this Gysbert is any connection of either Pierre or Paul le Fèvre, I cannot tell. They seem to be of a different family from the other two. There are very few, if any, of the Le Fèvre family still living. In

the Church Registers the name is spelt in many different ways.

**Terrier,
Fouché,**

Daniel. See Terrier.

Philippe, arrived in the *Voorschoten*, which sailed from Delftshaven 31st Dec. 1687, with his wife Anne Fouché and three children:— Anne, six years old; Esther, five years; and Jacques, three years. In the Distribution List 1690 the couple appears with 'two children,' and among the Drakenstein families 1692 with 'four children.' The first record of this family in the Church Books is the baptismal entry of Philip, a child of 'Steven Fausi' and Maria Olivier in 1723. Considerable number of descendants still living. **Gaspar Fouché**, 'bachelor, 21 years old,' also arrived in the *Voorschoten*, but there is no further record of him.

Fourié,

Louis, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein burghers 1692. Married (1) Susanne Cordier, and (2) Anna Jourdan. Baptismal entries from 1696 down to 1738 of some twenty children by the two marriages. Louis Fourié died about 1750. Numerous descendants still living.

Fracassé,

Matthieu, a 'bachelor, 26 years old,' arrived in the *China*, which left Rotterdam 20th March 1688. In Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. Married Jeanne Cordier; and three children were christened, the first being Jean in 1698. No further trace of the family, therefore extinct. **Fracassé** must have returned to Europe with his wife early last century, as in a will of his brother-in-law (Jacques Cordier) drawn up in July 1713 he (**Fracassé**) is stated to be residing in the fatherland.

Furet,

Jean, bachelor, eighteen years old, embarked in the *China* at Rotterdam 20th March 1688, but his name does not appear in any of the published lists. Must therefore have died on the voyage.

Gardé,

Jean,¹ in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. Married Susanne Taillefer and left two children, Jean born in 1701, and Susanne about 1703. The son appears to have died unmarried; the daughter married in 1725 Jozua Joubert, son of the refugee Pierre Joubert.

Gardiol,

Jean,¹ among additional Cape families 1691-1700.

¹ Probably the same individual.

Susanne and Marguerite Gardiol, (sisters) married respectively **Abraham de Villiers** and **Jacob de Villiers**. See de Villiers.

Gaucher,

André, was among those who did not need assistance from the funds sent from Batavia 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692 'with wife and one child,' his wife's name being written in the original '**Janneye du Pleex**.' Janne, a child of '**Handris Gauch**' and '**Janne le Clair**' was baptized at Drakenstein in 1695. In the Cape Town Books there is a marriage entry dated 19th Aug. 1691 of '**Andries Goosche**, widower, from Languedoc with **Johanna de Klerk** from Zeelandt, spinster.' The name was subsequently written '**Gaus**' and '**Gous**,' the latter being the general spelling at present.

Steven Gauche, of Geneva, married in 1718 **Catharina Bok**. Their descendants are also called '**Gous**' now.

Godefroy,

Paul, in Passenger List of the *Voorschoten* which sailed from Delftshaven 31st Dec. 1687 as 'bachelor 22 years old,' in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No descendants.

Le Maire de la Rochelle en 1627 était **Jean Godefroy aîné Sr de Richard**.

Goiraud,

Pierre, 30 years old, and **Francoise Rousse**, his wife, 28 years old, embarked in the *China* at Rotterdam 20th March 1688, but appear to have died on the voyage.

Gournai,

Salomon, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record.

Arrived 1688; obtained leave in Jan. 1718 to return to fatherland.

le Grand,

Gideon, a surgeon, among arrivals 1700-1710. No descendants extant.

la Grange,

Pierre, 'bachelor 23 years old' arrived in the *China* which sailed from Rotterdam 20th March 1688. In the original Passenger List he is clubbed together with '**Louis Corbon**, bachelor, 20 years,' who is described as his cousin. **Pierre la Grange** is in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. There is a joint will of '**Pieter Grangie**' of Cabrière in Provence, and his wife **Margaretta Kool** of Amsterdam, executed 23rd April 1718, in which their ages are given as 'about 54 years' and '28 years' respectively. There are several families of '**Le Grange**' still living, who can be traced in the Church Books to **Jan la Granche** 1737,

- but I have not been able, as yet, to connect him up with Pierre the refugee.
- Grillion,** Marie, wife of Gideon Malherbe the refugee. See Malherbe.
- Gros,** Antoine, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record.
- Hucebos,** Maria Catharina, also written Hucibos, Huibeaux, and Wibeaux. See Verdeau.
- Hugot,** Daniel, also written 'Hugod,' in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. According to a family register of the Hugos, Daniel only married when 45 years of age, Anna, daughter of Pierre Rousseau the refugee, she being only 15. The first child christened, of this couple, is in the Drakenstein Register 1705. Numerous family still living, the 't' and 'd' having been dropped.
- Jacob,** Pierre, 'with wife and three children,' in Distribution List 1690, and 'with wife and two children' among Drakenstein families 1692. There is no record of this family in any Church Books. Daniel Jacob (also written Jacobse) had four children christened at Drakenstein and Stellenbosch, the eldest, Pieter, in 1703. It is quite probable that Daniel, and Sara Jacob who married Jean du Buis, were children of Pierre Jacob. Descendants still living, the name being now generally spelt 'Jacobs.'
- Pierre Jacob must have arrived here with a wife, Susanna de Vos, and grown up children. Jacob's widow married again, Nicolas de Lanoy. She died about 1708, and in the inventory of her estate, three children are mentioned as her heirs, viz.—(1) Sara, then wife of Jean de Buyze. (2) Daniel, also married. (3) Susanna (deceased) represented by her two children.
- Joubert,** Pierre, 23 years old, and Isabeau Richard his wife, 20 years old, arrived in the *China*, which sailed from Rotterdam on 20th March 1688. This couple is in the Distribution List 1690 'with one child,' and among Drakenstein families 1692 'with two children.' A joint will was executed by Pierre Joubert and his wife on the 30th November 1718, in which their ages are given as 55 and 48 respectively, both of them being described as from Provence. Pierre died about 1732, and his widow about 1748. At her death she owned among other properties the farms:—'Bellingkamp,' 'Lormarius,' 'La Roche' (Roche?), 'La

Motte,' and 'La Provence,' all situated in the Drakenstein district, and 'De Plaisante' situated in Waveren (now Tulbagh). The oldest of these farms was 'Bellingkamp,' the grant of which is dated 8th October 1695. Numerous descendants still living, among them Piet Joubert, the well-known Commandant General of the Transvaal (now South African) Republic.

Jean Joubert in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. Beyond this, there is no further trace of him.

Jourdan,

The original Passenger List of the *China*, which sailed from Rotterdam 20th March 1688, gives a family of seven persons, viz:—

- (1) Joanne Marthe, widow Jourdan, 60 years old.
- (2) Jean Jourdan her son, 28 years.
- (3) Pierre Jourdan (Theal adds 'of Cabrière') idem 24 years.
- (4) Marie Jourdan, widow, 40 years.
- (5) Jeanne Rousse, her daughter, 10 years.
- (6) Marie Rousse (according to Theal, Roux) her daughter, 10 years.
- (7) Margarite Rousse (according to Theal, Roux), her daughter, 7 years.

Of these (1), (4), and (5) appear not to have reached the Cape. The same original list gives a further family of three persons, viz:—

- (1) Pierre Jourdan, bachelor, 24 years.
- (2) Paul Jourdan, bachelor, 22 years.
- (3) Andre Pelanchon, 15 years.

These three are described as 'Cousins germains.' Paul, however, appears to have died on the voyage. Jean Jourdan 'with wife,' and two Pierres Jourdan are in the Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692—Jean Jourdan 'with wife and 1 child,' Pierre Jourdan in partnership with Louis Barré, and 'Pierre Jourdan of Cabrière.'

Jean Jourdan married Elizabeth le Long (also written Isabeau Longué) of which couple three children were christened at Drakenstein, the first in 1695 and the last in 1699, when the father was already dead. In an inventory evidently of the same couple, dated 4th April 1699, and signed by the widow, 'Isabella Long,' the husband is styled Pieter Schordan, 'and the farm they owned is called 'La Moth.'

Pierre Jourdan de Cabrière married (1) Anna Fouché and (2) Maria Verdeau. In a joint will executed 6th

May 1719 by this **Pierre Jourdan** and his second wife, he gives his age as between 56 and 57 years and she hers as 19 years, she being born at the Cape. and the child of **Hercules Verdeau** and **Maria Catharina Wibeau**.

Numerous descendants of both **Jean Jourdan** and **Pierre Jourdan de Cabrière** still living, their name being now spelt 'Jordaan.'

de Lanoy

Nicolas, 'with mother and brother ' in Distribution List 1690, and among Burghers at Drakenstein 1692.

Maria d'Lanooy, native of Aulys married at Stellenbosch, 1698, **Hans Hendrick Hattingh**, of Spyer, of whom descendants are still living. This lady had first married **Arie Dirckez Lekkeruyn**. The **De Lannoys** left no descendants in the male line, and the **Lekkerwyns** also became extinct after two or three generations.

Nicolas de Lanoy married **Susanna de Vos**, widow of **Pierre Jacob** in 1695. **Susanne Lanoy**, presumably the same person, acted as a sponsor in 1696.

Lécheret,

Jean, in additional list of Cape families 1700-1710. He is described as being 'of Compagnien.' He arrived here as a free burgher in 1693. In March 1716 he applied for leave to return to his fatherland.

Lombard,

Pierre, 'a sick man with wife and 1 child' heads the Distribution List 1690, and is among Drakenstein families 1692 'with wife and three children.' The wife's name was **Marie Couteau**. There is a joint will of this couple executed 8th Jan. 1709, in which **Pierre Lombard's** birthplace is given as 'Pointais in Dauphiné' and his age as 51; his wife's birthplace as 'Soudiere in Dauphiné,' and her age as 50. Numerous descendants still exist, the name being now mostly spelt **Lombard**.

le Long,

Jean, 'with wife and 2 children,' and **Marie le Leng** (married to **Adriaan Van Wyk**) 'in Distribution List 1690. Among Drakenstein families 1692, **Jean le Leng** appears 'with wife and one child' only. In a work published by **Jacobus Van de Heiden** and **Adam Tas** at Amsterdam in 1712, enumerating the charges brought against **William Adriaan van der Stel**, **Charles**, **Jacob**, and **Jean le Long** are shewn to have signed an address in favour of the Governor.

Loret,

Among additional families 1700-1710 '**Guillaume Loré** with wife,' the latter being **Elizabeth Joubert**, daughter of **Pierre Joubert** the refugee. The date of baptismal entry of first child of this couple is 1710,

at Drakenstein; in it the father's name is written **Lauret**. In a will executed 20th Dec. 1713, **Guillaume Loret's** birthplace is given as 'Nantes,' and his age as 42 years. He only left daughters and the family in the male line has therefore become extinct.

Madan,

Antoine, 30 years old, and his wife **Elizabeth Verdetta**, 23 years old, together with a daughter 10 months old are included in the List of Passengers as having sailed in the *China* from Rotterdam 20th March 1688, but none of the family appear to have reached the Cape; probably all of them died during the long voyage. Twelve French refugees did so die.

Magnet,

Jean, among Drakenstein Burghers 1692, and in Distribution List 1690. No further trace of him. A **Jean Maniel** stood as sponsor to a child of **Jacques Tharond** in 1700 at Drakenstein.

Malan,

Jacques, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He married **Elisabeth le Long**, widow of **Jean Jourdan**, the first child being born (according to a Malan family register) 2nd July, 1700. Numerous descendants still living.

Malherbe,

Gideon, 'with wife' in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692 'with wife and one child.' His wife was **Marie Grillion**. The first record of them in Church Books is that of a child christened at Stellenbosch in 1691. **Gideon Malherbe** sailed in the *Voorschoten* from Delftshaven 31st December, 1687, being then a bachelor, 25 years old. Numerous descendants still living.

Mantior,

Zacharie, in Distribution List 1690, & among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No record of him in Church Books.

Marais,

There sailed in the *Voorschoten* from Delftshaven on 31st December 1687 **Charles Marais**, of Plessis, and **Catherine Taboureux** (in the Drakenstein Registers **Tabourdeux**) his wife, with four children, viz:—**Claude**, 24 years old; **Charles**, 19 years; **Isaac**, 10 years, and **Marie** 6 years old. In Distribution List 1690 is the 'widow of **Charles Marais**, with four children,' the father having been murdered by a Hottentot at Drakenstein in April 1689. 'De oude **Charl Marais** blykt hier wel aanghekomen te zyn, doch in het jaar daarop (1689) is hy overleden op zyne plaats ten gevolge van wonden bekomen in een aanval ophem door een zvarte gedaan.' This family is among Drakenstein inhabitants 1692.

The farm where they first settled is still known by the name of 'DuPlessisMarle,' called after the place (no

doubt **Marli**, ten miles N.W. of Paris) they came from, which in the document of old **Mr. Marais**, quoted above, is written 'Le Suer du Plessis **Marle**' near Paris.

Claude married **Susanne Gardé**, and **Charles** married **Anne**, daughter of **Daniel de Ruelle**. Very numerous descendants still living.

According to the **Marais'** family register, **Isaac** and **Marie** died unmarried. By the Church Books however, **Marie**—in one place also written **Magdalena—Marais**, married (1) **Etienne Niel**, baptismal entries from 1703-1711; (2) **Pierre Taillefer**, baptismal entries from 1714-1721; and (3) in 1734 **Pieter Booyesen**, of **Blokzijl**, widower.

In a joint will executed 13th May 1716, by **Marie Marais** and her first husband, she states her age to be 34 years and her birthplace **Hierpoix**, a province of France. The farm they then owned is called 'Orange.' **Claude Marais** married for the second time **Susanna Gardiol**, widow of **Abraham de Villiers** the refugee.

Maré,

Ignace, among additional families 1700-1710. His wife was **Susanna Janse van Vooren** (or **Vuren**). First entry of baptism in 1716 at **Drakenstein**. Goodly number of **Marées** (as the name is now mostly spelt) still living

Margra,

Jean, 'with wife,' in Distribution List 1690, and also among **Drakenstein** families 1692. No record of them in Church Books.

Martin,

Antoine, in Distribution List 1690, and among **Drakenstein** Burghers 1692. No trace of him in Church Books.

Martineau,

Michel, in Distribution List 1690, and among **Drakenstein** Burghers 1692. No mention in Church Books.

Martinet,

Françoise, wife of **Louis Cordier**. See **Cordier**.

Menanteau,

Madeleine, wife of **Jean Prieur du Plessis**. See **du Plessis**.

Mesnard,

Jean, 28 years old, sailed in the *China* from Rotterdam on 20th March 1688, together with **Louise Corbonne**, his wife, 30 years old, **Marie Anthonarde**, her mother-in-law, 64 years old, and six children:—**Jeanne**, 10 years; **Georges**, 9 years; **Jacques**, 8 years; **Jean**, 7 years; **Philippe**, 6 years; and **André**, 5 months old; in all a family of nine persons. In Distribution List 1690 **Jean Mesnard** is described as a 'widower' with 4 children; and among **Drakenstein** Burghers as a

'widower with two children.' Of these children only Philippe married, viz., in 1712 Jeanne Mouy. From this couple all the Minnaars (as the name is now written) of the present day are descended. In a will of Philippe Mesnard, executed 18th Feb. 1722, his native province is given as Provence, and his age as 40 years.

Meyer,

Pierre, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692, with Jean Durand as partner. According to the Book published by J. van der Heiden and Adam Tas already referred to, Pierre Meyer gave some evidence before a commission on 9th April 1706 respecting accusations against Governor W^m Adriaan van der Stell, in which he states that he was born in Dauphiné, and was 38 years of age. He married Aletta de Savoye, daughter of Jacques de Savoye. Some of the Meyers of the present day are descendants of this couple.

Mouton,

Jacques, among additional arrivals 1691-1700 'with wife and two children.' In his will his birth-place is given as 'Steenwerk, near Ryssel (no doubt Steenwerck twenty miles west of Lille), and according to an inventory of his estate framed just after his death in 1731 he married (1) Catherina L'Henriette, by whom there were three children, still living in the fatherland, viz., Jacob, Antonie, and Maria. He married (2) Maria de Villiers, by whom he had three daughters who all married here.

This Maria de Villiers I cannot trace. She could not have been a daughter of either of the Refugees de Villiers, but perhaps a sister, for in 1703 the first baptismal entry is recorded of a child of this Jacques Mouton, in a Drakenstein Book, by his third wife Francina de Bevernage. The farm where he first settled was called 'Steenwerp,' and is still known by that name.

Mouy,

Pierre 'with wife,' among additional families 1691-1700. No record of this family in Church Books beyond intermarriage of presumably two daughters, viz., Jeanne with (1) Jean le Roux of Blois, and (2) in 1712 Philippe Mesnard; and Marie with François Rétif, the refugee. Family therefore extinct in the male line.

Mysal,

Jean, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record of him.

Naudé, No mention of this family in any of Theal's published Lists up to 1710. I find **Jacob Maude** in the Paarl Church Book, 1723, his wife being **Susanna Taillefer**. Many **Naudés** still living, being descendants of this couple, and also of **Philip Jacob Maude**, of Berlin, who came here about 50 years later.

Nel, **Guillaume**, 'with wife and 2 children,' in Distribution List 1690, and 'with wife and 3 children' among Stellenbosch families 1692. The wife was **Jeanne la Batte**. First record of this couple is in the Stellenbosch Register of Baptisms in 1691. There is a joint will of the same couple executed 26th Jan. 1734, in which the husband's birthplace is given as 'Rouaen' (Rouen?), and his age between '71 and 72 years,' and his wife's birthplace as 'Saumur,' and her age 71 years. The **Nels** still living are all descendants of **Guillaume**.

Niel, **Etienne**, with 'wife and one child' among additional families, 1691-1700. His wife was **Marie** (also written in one baptismal entry **Magdalena**) **Marais**; first record in Drakenstein baptismal Book 1703. This family appears to have survived only one generation. No descendants in the male line. **Etienne Niel**, according to a will executed by himself and wife (**Maria Madelena Marais**) on 13th May 1716, describes himself as born in the province of Dauphiné, his age being given as 48 years; his wife was born in the province of Hierpoix and her age 34 years.

Nortier, There sailed in the *Oosterland* from Middelburg on 29th January, 1688:— **Jean Nortie** (so spelt in the original) agriculturist; **Jacob Nortie** ditto; and **Daniel Nortie**, a country carpenter (boeren-timmerman) and his wife **Marie Vytou** (also spelt elsewhere **Vitout**.) These four persons are styled in the original as the 'domestique' of **Jaques de Savoye** who came out in the same vessel. There is a marriage entry in the Drakenstein Church Book of '**Jacob Montje** bachelor of Cales' (Calais?) with **Margaretta Mouton**, 8th August 1717. The name is now mostly written '**Nortie**,' the spelling of '**Nortier**' being however retained in a few instances. The descendants of the present day all come from **Daniel** and **Jacob**. **Jean**, **Jacob**, and **Daniel** 'with wife and one child' all in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692.

Parisel, **Jean**, in Distribution List 1690, and among the Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record of him. In

- the Passenger List of the *Oosterland* which sailed from Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688, he is styled 'an agriculturist of Paris.'
- Pasté,** Jean, in Passenger List of the *Voorschoten* which sailed from Delftshaven 31st Dec., 1687, as 'bachelor 25 years old,' but in none of the other lists, nor in the Church Books.
- Pelanchon,** André, in the Passenger List of the *China*, sailing from Rotterdam 20th March, 1688, '15 years old,' also in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. (See Jourdan.) No record in Church Books.
- Perrotit,** Marguerite, 'widow with 2 children,' in Distribution List 1690, and nowhere else.
- de Pierron,** Louis, with wife and 3 children,' in list of those who did not share in the relief funds in 1690; and 'with wife and 4 children' among the Drakenstein families in 1692. No records of them in Church Books. Family therefore extinct.
- Maria Magdalena Poron**, apparently a daughter of Louis de Pierron, married Jacobus Mostert in 1712, descendants of whom are still living at the Cape.
- Pinard,** Jacques, '23 years old, a carpenter,' and Esther Fouché '21 years old, spinster,' in the original Passenger List of the *Voorschoten*, which sailed from Delftshaven 31st Dec. 1687, with a marginal note as follows:— 'These two have been married here before their departure.' The Despatch covering this list is dated Delft, 19th Dec. 1687. Couple in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692 'with two children.' Good many descendants still living, all now writing their name 'Pienaar.'
- du Plessis,** Jean Prieur, 'surgeon of Poitiers, and his wife Madelaine Menanteau,' arrived in the *Oosterland* which left Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688. This couple 'with one child' is in the Distribution List 1690, and 'with two children' among the families in Cape District 1692. There is a baptismal entry in the Cape Town Church Book of a child of theirs, Charl Prieur du Plessis, christened in Table Bay on board the *Oosterland* on 19th April 1688. Numerous descendants still living. In a short list of French refugees at the Cape in 1690 who were otherwise provided for, and therefore did not need assistance from the funds sent from Batavia for their relief.

An **Abraham du Plessis** is also among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. There is no record of him in Church Books, and he appears not to have left any descendants.

Mr. (now Sir) John Noble in an old contribution respecting the Pilgrim Fathers relates a story of how at the beginning of the present century Charles du Plessis, the oldest representative of the family then living, was invited to assume a ducal title and certain estates in France, but the old gentleman preferred staying here and living in simplicity. This story is also narrated in the more recent editions of Smiles' Huguenots in England and Ireland. Mr. Theal told me that Jean Prieur du Plessis returned to Europe to enquire after his family estates. This must have been at the end of the seventeenth century, for, from information furnished me by a member of the du Plessis family at the Cape, it appears that du Plessis' second marriage—to Maria Buisset, took place in the 'Domkerk' at Amsterdam in January 1700. He had a daughter named Judith, who in her marriage entry is described as a native of England, though in her Will she is stated to have been born in Ireland. I am satisfied that she must have been born during this visit to Europe. Du Plessis must have returned to the Cape in or before 1704, as in that year there is a baptismal entry of a child of his, by Maria Buisset, in the Stellenbosch Register.

Pogean,

Elisabeth, 'spinster of Paris, 18 years old,' embarked in the *Reigersdaal* at Delft about 5th April 1700.

Posseaux,

Elizabeth. Vide Bisseux.

Pottier,

Jacques, 'with wife and four children,' among additional families 1700-1710. In his marriage entry (1705) he is described as being from 'Moncrosi.' No further trace.

Poussioen,

Marthinus, 'with wife and three children,' among families in Cape District 1692. No further trace. Am doubtful whether this is really a French refugee.

du Pré,

Hercule, 'with wife and five children,' in Distribution List 1690; and 'with wife and four children' in list of Drakenstein Burghers 1692, together with Hercule du Pré, the younger. The wife of H. du Pré, the elder, was named Cecilia **Datys**. The numerous descendants still living write their name '**Du Preez**.' I have seen the signature of the younger Hercule, and it was written '**Despres**' or '**Desprez**.'

In the Distribution List of 1690 is also '**Elisabeth du Pré**, a young unmarried woman.'

**Prévot or
Prevost,**

'Widow of Charles (re-married to Hendrick Erkhof) with four children by her deceased husband,' in Distribution List 1690; and among Drakenstein families 1692. There is in the Cape Town Books an entry of a child—Jacob, of 'Carel Provo' and 'Mide Febers,' baptised on board *De Schelde* 29th May 1688. This Carel Provo is most likely the husband of the widow Prévot above. As to the children I find a marriage entry at Stellenbosch 12th May 1709 of Abraham Prévot of Calais, with Anna van Marseveen. They had two daughters only, and the family in the male line became extinct.

At Drakenstein there are baptismal entries of a whole string of some eighteen children of Anna Prevot and her husband, Schalk Willem van der Merwe the son of Willem Schalk, the first arrival, commencing 1696.

Elisabeth Prévot married Philippe du Pré; children from 1699-1721.

du Puis,

Anna. The first record of her is an entry of marriage with Etienne Bruere (widower) at Ollenbach in 1702, in which she is described as a 'spinster of Amsterdam,' her name being written 'Du Puit.'

In the Church Books are baptismal entries from 1695 down to 1724, of children of David Senechal and Madeleine (also written Anne Madeleine and Maria Magdalena) du Puit, clearly a different person from Etienne Bruere's wife.

Réné,

Susanne, 'a young unmarried woman, 20 years old,' in Passenger List of *China*, 20th March 1688, as published by Theal, but in the original the surname is written 'Résine.' She is not in the Distribution List 1690, nor any other record.

Rétif,

François, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. In the document already referred to under the **Le Roux** as having been published by old Mr. Marais, François Rétif's date of birth is given as 2nd Feb. 1663 (not stated where born); he married 1700 Marie Mouy. The youngest daughter of this couple born in 1720 lived to be 97 years of age, and there is a portrait of her at the Paarl. Numerous descendants still living, the name being now generally written 'Retief.'

**Richard,
le Riche,**

Isabeau, wife of Pierre Joubert. See Joubert.

Louis, and wife Susanna Fouché, among additional arrivals 1691-1700. First record of them in Draken-

stein Books 1709. Only a few descendants now living. Louis le Riche arrived here in Dec. 1698, with the Cronjes in the *Driebergen* which sailed from Delft about the 7th May 1698. See Despatch of that date.

Rochefort,

Pierre, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record of him.

Roi,

Jean, of Provence, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He married 1712 Maud Catharina le Febre, a widow—presumably of Gabriel le Roux. This family became extinct, only one of their two sons having married, and he left daughters only.

Rousseau,

Pierre, 'with wife and one child,' in Distribution List 1690; and 'with wife and two children' among Drakenstein families 1692. In a family register of the **Rossouws**—as the name is now usually spelt—Pierre is stated to have been born in 1666, but on 26th March 1702 in giving evidence before a commission then investigating charges against Governor W^m A. van der Stel, he stated his age to be 40 years. He married (1) Anne (or Hanne) Rétif and (2) Geertruy du Toit. First record of baptism is at Stellenbosch 1691. In an inventory of the joint estate framed upon the death of his first wife in 1710, his farm is called 'De Boog van Orleans.' In a joint will of himself and second wife, executed 25th Aug. 1711, Pierre Rousseau's birthplace is given as 'Mair' (no doubt Mer, on the Loire, twenty-three miles from Orleans).

Among the members admitted into the Stellenbosch Church there is entered on the 7th Jan. 1690 '**Maria Rossaux.**' She married Jan Jansz van Eden, of Oldenburg; he was a Stellenbosch burgher 'with wife' in 1692. Rather numerous descendants living. In what appears to be the marriage entry of this couple at Cape Town 1688, she is stated to be a native of Dubloys (? de Blois, thirteen miles from Mer). Her surname is also written '**Russaar,**' '**Russouw,**' and '**Rossouw.**'

**Roux and
le Roux,**

Paul, of Orange in France, was appointed 8th Nov. 1688 schoolmaster of Drakenstein; he also acted as Church clerk ('lecteur') under the pastor of the Refugees, the Rev. Pierre Simond. He was among the few who did not need assistance from the funds sent from Batavia and distributed in 1690, and among the Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He married

Glaudine (or Claudine) **Seugnet**; first baptismal entry is in 1694. Large number of descendants still living. **Pierre Roux** in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. There is no record of him in Church Books. There is a will of **Pierre Roux**, of Cabrière, executed 17th Sept. 1739, from which it would seem that he must then have been an old man. In this will he appoints as his executor **Heemraad Daniel Malan**, of 'Morgenster,' Hollenlok, Holland, as his sole heir, on condition that he (Malan) should maintain him for the rest of his life.

There is a marriage entry in 1718 of '**Pieter Roux**, bachelor, of Cabo' (i.e. Cape-born), and **Susanna**, a daughter of **Abraham de Villiers**, the refugee. Since the eldest son of this couple is named 'Petmo,' it is just possible that the father may have been a son of **Pierre Roux**. Numerous descendants still living of **Pieter Roux** and **Susanna de Villiers**.

Jean Roux, of Provence, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He does not appear to have married. In a will executed 17th Feb. 1705, he gives his age as 40 years, and his birth-place as 'Lormarin, in France.' He appointed as his sole heir, his father **Philip Roux**, then residing at Lormarin, and 68 years old, and in the event of his father dying before him (the testator), his property was to go to the 'Diaconie' (Board of Deacons) of Drakenstein.

Jean Roux, of Normandie, in Distribution List of 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record of him.

Marie and **Marguerite Roux**, 'two little orphans,' in Distribution List 1690. They arrived in the *China*, '10 and 7 years old' respectively, with the **Jourdan** family. See **Jourdan**. **Marguerite** married **Etienne Viret**. See **Viret**.

de Ruelle,

Daniel, 'with wife and one child,' in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein families 1692 as a 'widower with one child,' this child being no doubt **Anne de Ruelle**, who married **Charles Marais** the younger. See **Marais**.

Esther de Ruelle. See **Bruère**.

Sabattier,

Pierre, of Massié, bachelor, 22 years old, figures in Passenger List of *Voorschoten*, which sailed from Delfthaven, 31st December, 1687; in Distribution List 1690; and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. No further record.

de Savoye, Jacques, of Ath; Marie Madeleine le Clerc, his wife, of Tournay; and their three children:—**Margot** (or **Marguerite**), 17 years old, **Barbère**, 15 years, and **Jacques**, 9 months old, together with Antoinette **Carnoy, de Savoye's** mother-in-law, sailed in the *Oosterland* from Middelburg on 29th Jan. 1688. In a despatch from the Chamber of Rotterdam dated 24th Dec. 1687, special mention is made of Jacques **de Savoye** in the following terms:—

‘By this opportunity there will proceed to the Cape to settle there as a Colonist one Jacques **Savoye** and his wife. He has been ‘under the cross’ (persecuted), and for many years an eminent merchant at Ghent in Flanders; where he has been persecuted by the Jesuits to such an extent, and where even his life was being threatened, that in order to escape from their snares, and peacefully end his days beyond their reach, he has resolved to cross the ocean as a Colonist and to take with him various Flemish farmers of the reformed religion, who have also suffered persecution, and for the same reason as that of **Savoye** leave their Fatherland. And because we know **Savoye** as we have described him, we most willingly recommend him to your notice and request you to lend him a helping hand, and consider him in the light in which we have introduced him, hoping that for the furtherance of the intentions of the Lords Seventeen he will be an able and desirable instrument.’ (*Rambles through the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope*, by H. C. V. Leibbrandt, 1887.)

Jacques **de Savoye** ‘with wife and two children’ were among those who did not need any assistance from the Relief Fund 1690; and ‘with wife and three children’ among the Drakenstein inhabitants 1692. He left no sons. His daughter **Marguerite** married before 1690, (1) Christoffel **Snyman** (descendants still living) and (2) Henning **Villion**, son of François **Villion** (or **Fignon**) of Clermont. **Barbère** married (1) Christiaan **Elers** (no descendants), and (2) Elias **Kiena** (no descendants). **Aletta de Savoye** married Pieter **Meyer**, presumably Pierre **Meyer** the refugee.

Sénéchal, David, in Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He married Madeleine (or Anne Madeleine) du Puit. First record in Drakenstein Baptismal Book 1695. Some descendants still living. The name is now written ‘**Senekal**.’

Senet, Anthoine, in Passenger List of *China* from Rotterdam,

20th March 1668, as 'bachelor, 19 years old.' He appears to have died on the voyage.

**Sengnet or
Seugnet,¹**

There is an entry in the Capetown church books of Glode, Susanna, and Johanna Sevinjet having joined the congregation at Stellenbosch on the 9th April 1689, and having brought with them certificates of membership (attestaten) from Amsterdam. Glode (Glaudine?) married Paul Roux, of Orange; and Susanne married François du Toit. Susanne is described in her marriage entry to be 'of St. Onge'. *Seignette?* Fénelon s'attribue la conversion au catholicisme de Elie Seignette, ancien du consistoire de la Rochelle à la Révocation. La famille Seignette encore aujourd'hui protestante, porte coupé au 1^{er} de J. gueules au cygne argent nageant sur une onde d'azur au re d'argent à la bande de sable accompagnée en chef d'une tête de lion, de sable languée de gueules et au pointe d'une rose de gueules.

Simond,

The Rev. Pierre, 'with wife and two children' among Drakenstein Inhabitants 1692. He was formerly pastor at Embrun in Dauphiné, and afterwards minister of the refugee congregation at Zierickzee, before coming out to the Cape with his wife Anne de Beront, in the *Zuid Beveland*, which left Middelburg on 22nd April 1688, as the first minister of the French refugees out here. He returned to Europe in 1703 and settled down at Amsterdam.

Sollier,

See Cellier.

Taboureux,

Catherine, wife of Charles Marais the elder. See Marais. In the Drakenstein baptismal registers the name is spelt Tabourdeux.

Taillefer,

There arrived in the *Oosterland*, which left Middelburg 29th Jan. 1688 :—Isaac Taillefer, vine dresser, of Thierry (in the original it is written 'de Chateau Thierry et buc, a vine-dresser and hatter'); Susanne Briet, 'de Chateau Thierry' his wife, and their six children :—Elisabeth, 14 years, Jean, 12, Isaac, 7, Pierre, 5, Susanne, 2½, and Marie, 1 year old.

Of these children Elisabeth married Pierre de Villiers (refugee); Pierre married Marie Marais, presumably the widow of Etienne Niel. With his children, though he had a son, the Taillefer family became

¹ In the Drakenstein Register as printed in Theal's History of South Africa, Vol. II, the name is spelt *Sengnet* nine times and *Seugnet* once.

extinct in the male line. One of his daughters married into the **Gildenhuys** family, and another daughter married Edward Christian **Hauman**. From both of these couples there are still descendants living.

Susanne Taillefer, married (1) **Jean Gardé**; (2) **Pierre Cronje**; and (3) **Jacob Naudé**.

Isaac Taillefer, 'with wife and four children' in Distribution List 1690, and among **Drakenstein** families 1692 'with wife and 3 children.'

la Tatte,

Nicolas, in Distribution List 1690, and among **Drakenstein** Burghers 1692. There is an inventory of **Nicolas de Labat**, agriculturist, and his widow, **Elisabeth Vivie**, dated 1718. No children given.

Terreblanche,

Etienne, among additional families 1700-1710, was a native of Toulon, and married 1713 **Martha la Febre**, widow of **Jacques Pinard**. Good many descendants still living, the name being now spelt **Terblans**.

**Terrier or
Ferrier,**

In Theal's List of Burghers at **Drakenstein** 1692, as well as in Distribution List 1690 is **Daniel Ferrier**, most likely the same person as **Daniel Terrier** in the **Drakenstein** Baptismal Books, 1695-7 and 9. His wife was **Sara Jacob**, presumably the one who married **Jean du Buis**. Three children, **Marie**, **Susanne**, and **Pierre**, but no descendants in the male line.

Thérond,

Jacques, in Distribution List 1690, and among **Drakenstein** Burghers 1692. There is a copy of a letter in the Grey Library from **Jacques Thérond**, dated 2nd April 1719, from Nîmes the capital of **Languedoc**, and addressed to his son **Jacques Thérond** the refugee. The farm owned by the latter at the Cape was called 'Languedoc.' **Jacques Thérond**, the refugee, married **Marie Janne des Preez**. First child born 1698. Where the wife's name is given in the **Drakenstein** Baptismal entries it is written '**De Pre**' or '**De Pret**,' according to Theal. Numerous descendants still living, writing their name now simply '**Theron**' without the 'd.'

du Toit,

François and **Guillaume**, two brothers, both in Distribution List, 1690, **Guillaume** 'with wife and one child,' and **François** simply 'with wife.' **François** is among **Drakenstein** Burghers 1692, 'with wife and two children,' and is described in his marriage entry (1690) with **Susanne Seugnet** of **Saintonge**, as being of or from **Ryssel** (**Lille**). The now numerous families of **Du Toit** are descendants of this couple. **Guillaume** is among the **Stellenbosch** burghers, 1692, 'with wife and three children.' He married in 1788

- Sara Cochet, widow of Pieter de Klercq, she being a native of Ostrouburgh; there were only daughters by this marriage. According to a family register of the du Toits there was also a brother named Bruno.
- du Tuillet,** Jean, and Philippe Drouin, embarked at Delft in the *Driebergen* in May, 1698, together with two Cronjes and Le Riche, (see despatches from Delft, 7th May, 1698) but not having met with their names here I cannot tell whether they ever reached the Cape.
- Valleté,** Anne. See Couvret.
- Verdeau,** Jacques, 'bachelor 20 years old and Hercule his brother, 16 years old,' in Passenger List of *China* from Rotterdam, 20th March 1688. The latter alone is in the Distribution List 1690, and among Drakenstein Burghers 1692. He married Catharina Hucibos, (also written Maria Catherina Huibeaux, Hucebos, and Wibeaux.) Only two girls Magdalena and Susanna were born, 1703 and 1707, to this couple, and the family became extinct. In a joint will of Hercule Verdeau and his wife, executed 30th July 1718, his age is given as 46, and her's as 43.
- Maria Verdeau (presumably another daughter) married (1) Pierre Jourdan de Cabrière (widower), by whom there was a child christened 1722; (2) Daniel Malan, to whom Pierre Roux de Cabrière bequeathed all his property.
- de Villiers,** Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob, three brothers, vine-dressers from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle, arrived here in the *Zion* on the 6th May 1689. In a despatch from the Chamber of Delft, dated 16th Dec. 1688, and received by the *Zion*, special reference is made to these three brothers as possessing a good knowledge of the cultivation of the vine, and recommending the Governor to give them every assistance. In this despatch the names are mentioned in the following order—(1) Pierre, (2) Abraham, and (3) Jacob, which may perhaps indicate the order of seniority. In the Distribution List 1690 we have Abraham de Villiers 'with wife and two brothers,' and among Drakenstein families 1692:—Abraham de Villiers 'with wife and two children,' Jacob de Villiers 'with wife and two children,' and Pierre de Villiers 'with wife and one child.' Abraham married 1689 Susanne Gardiol, and left nothing but daughters.
- Jacob married Marguerite Gardiol, first baptismal entry 1695. Pierre married Elizabeth Taillefer, first baptismal entry 1699.

I have taken a good deal of trouble to find out the relative ages of these brothers, but have only succeeded in ascertaining Jacob's from a joint will executed 11th Jan. 1719, in which he gives his age as 58 years and describes himself as a native of 'Borgondien.' His wife (Marguerite Gardiol) is stated in the same document to have been born in Provence and to be 45 years old.

The De Villiers are at the present time the most numerous of the Huguenot families here, and are all descendants of Pierre and Jacob.

A family tradition states that four brothers left their home, but the youngest (Paul) after having gone some distance became homesick, turned back, and was never heard of again.

Pierre, Abraham, Jacques, et Paul de Villiers sortirent du royaume de France 1685. Ils étaient fils de Pierre de Villiers. (*Archives de La Rochelle.*)

Villion,

No mention in Distribution List 1690, but in the list of families in the Cape District 1692 is the 'widow of François Villion, with two children.' There is in the Cape Town Church Books a marriage entry in May 1676, of François Fignon, bachelor of Claremont, free burgher, and Cornelia Campenaar, spinster of Middleberg. In the baptismal entries of the children of this couple the surname is mostly spelt 'Villion.' The name is now generally written 'Viljoen,' and there are now numerous descendants of this couple.

In 1725 there is a Church Book entry of Pieter Vion, (also written Wion) but he is the ancestor of the Wium family, which name is pronounced very much like 'Viljoen' though without the 'l.'

Viret,

Etienne, in Distribution List 1690, and list of Drakenstein Burghers 1692. His wife was Marguerite Roux, presumably one of the two orphans mentioned under the heading 'Roux.' First baptismal entry is in 1697. Though he had five sons borne him, he appears to have left no descendants in the male line. In a joint will of this couple executed 14th Aug. 1726 Viret is described as being of 'Dauphiné,' aged about 64, and his wife as being 'of Provence, 44 years old.'

Visagie,

Pieter, is described in his marriage entry (21st June 1671) as 'of Antwerp,' his wife being Catherina Kieuts van ter Veer. In one of the baptismal entries the surname is also written 'Visasie.' The spelling of 'Visagie' is still generally retained and there are a good number of descendants now living.

**Vitout,
Vivier,**

Sara, wife of Jacques Delpont. See Delpont.

Jacob, Abraham, and Pierre, in Distribution List 1690, and among the Drakenstein Burghers 1692. In the original Muster Roll of the latter year, the three are described as being 'maats' or partners. Abraham married Jacquemine du Pré, sister of Jacques Thérond's wife; the others did not marry. First record in Church Books the christening of a child in 1698. From this couple the Viviers of the present day are descended.

Jehan Vivier conseiller au Parlement de Paris en 1699. La famille établie à Saintes puis à la Rochelle porte d'azur au cygne d'argent nageant sur des ondes de même (Vivier) accompagné en chef de trois étoiles d'or.



ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Avice,

Ezechiël, Ministre à Boulogne, 1637.

Philippe Amies du Consistoire à Roncy, en Picardie 1681.

La femme de **François de Blois** à Genève 1691.

Nicolas, marchand, de Mer en Gatinais, réfugié avec cinq personnes à Berlin en 1700. (*France Protestante réimpression 1877.*)

Barré,

Pierre et Jean, persécutés en Poitou près de Poitiers, 1681.

Isaac, de Tours, réfugié à Londres avec sa femme et ses enfants. (*Fr. Protest. Réimp.*)

Pierre, de Pontgibaud près de La Rochelle, réfugié à Dublin (*ibidem*).

- Briet,** La famille existe encore en la personne de M. E. Briet, Maire d'Estômes par Chateau-Thierry, Aisne.
Taillefer et S. Briet sa femme étaient de Chateau-Thierry.
Jean, de Chateau-Thierry, maître maçon.
Jean et Isaac, de Meaux, réfugiés à Berlin 1698-1700. (*France Protestante Réimp.*)
- Bruère,** Pierre, de Blois, réfugié à Berlin 1709.
Cellier, Claude, libraire à Orleans en 1602, son fils.
Antoine, à Paris, en 1641, Imprimeur.
Autre Claude Cellier, réfugié à Londres en 1702. (*France Protestante Réimp.*)
- Cordier,** Louis, de Meaux, fut surpris dans une assemblée religieuse et condamné à mort sous le règne de Louis XIV. Mais le Roi changea la condamnation et l'envoya aux galères. (*France Protestante Réimp.*)
- Coste,** Pierre, d'Anduse, (Petrus Costens Andusiensis), à Genève.
Pierre, d'Usès, en 1688 réfugié en Suisse et à Leyde.
- Couvret,** Paul, emprisonné au Chateau de Saumur.
Couvret famille réfugié au Cap de Bonne Espérance. (*France Protestante Réimp.*)
- Du Buisson,** Plusieurs familles en Languedoc.
Du Plessis, Plusieurs familles de ce nom sont devenues célèbres.
Du Pré, Une famille de ce nom était à Montauban, et à présent elle est à Nérac.
- Du Puy,** Plusieurs familles de ce nom en Languedoc.
Faure, Nom du Languedoc. Beaucoup de familles de ce nom.
Godefroy, Une famille de ce nom à Paris avant 1685. Une autre famille du même nom à Genève avant 1685. Une autre enfin à la Rochelle avant 1685. Après la Révocation on trouve des réfugiés du nom de **Godefroid** à Hambourg. (*France Protestante 1ère édition, 1856.*)
- Labat et Vivie,** Ces noms paraissent être des noms de Réfugiés sortis de Montauban, où existent des familles du même nom.
Le Clerck, Ces noms existaient à Montauban avant 1685.
Savois,
Le Febore ou Lefèvre, On connaît des familles de ce nom à Château-Chinon, et à Rouen.
Le Riche, On connaît une fille de Paris nommée **Marguerite Le Riche**, que fut brûlée martyre de la religion.

- Le Roux,** Philibert Joseph, réfugié à Amsterdam, auteur d'un dictionnaire des Proverbes Comiques.
- Lombard,** du Dauphiné. Jean, réfugié à Genève, et son fils Jean, en 1710.
Jacques, avec ses fils Aimé et Jean à Genève en 1713; et Charles, marchand-drapier, à Genève en 1731.
Jean Guillaume, réfugié en Prusse devint secrétaire intime du Roi de Prusse.
Frédéric Guillaume, né à Berlin d'une famille de réfugiés originaires du Dauphiné. Né en 1767, mort en 1812.
- Malherbe,** On connaît une famille de ce nom en Normandie réfugiée à Leipsig.
Isaac Malherbe, de la Bretonnière, et son fils Isaac Henri, né à Leipsig en 1750.
- Martineau,** Famille du Fontenay près Paris. Réfugiés en Angleterre établis à Norwich.
- de Marées,** George, peintre estimé, fils d'un réfugié à Stockholm, né 1697, mort à Munich 1776.
- Mesnard,** Famille du Poitou. Une autre famille donna Jean Mesnard, ministre à Charenton près Paris. Avait étudié la théologie à Genève en 1666. Il passa en Hollande en 1686, se fixa à La Haye, et devint Chapelain du Prince d'Orange.
- Meyer,** Nom d'une famille en Alsace
- Naudé,** Famille de Metz réfugiée à Berlin.
- Neel,** Famille de Normandie, dont plusieurs sortirent de France.
- Niel ou Neilles,** Famille de réfugiés à Utrecht et Wesel Famille de la Flandre Française.
- Prevost,** Famille d'Issoudun.
- Richard,** Famille de la Rochelle.
- Rousseau,** Famille de Paris, réfugiée à Genève.
- Roux,** Plusieurs familles de ce nom.
- Sabatier,** Pierre, de Massiéré (Mesières ou Mazères). Ce nom est celui de plusieurs familles dans le Languedoc. Mazères est une ville du Languedoc.
- Savoye ou Savais,** Il y avait une famille de ce nom à Montauban.

A Refugee Pasteur at the Revocation : Jacob De Rouffignac and his Descendants.

BY J. W. DE GRAVE.

ONE of the most cruel of the many cruel provisions of the Edict of 22nd Oct., 1685, by which Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Toleration of 1598, known to us as the Edict of Nantes, was that which required the Pasteurs of the Reformed Faith in France, in default of conversion, to leave their homes and flocks within fifteen days or to suffer the penalty of the galleys for life. In Paris an even shorter shrift was meted out to the Pasteurs of that city, for these were required to depart from the kingdom within two days.

Amongst the hundreds of Pasteurs thus torn from their homes were many men of distinguished piety and learning who would have been deemed ornaments to any Christian community.

Some found an asylum in Switzerland, Geneva was again the City of Refuge; some in Germany, especially in the Electorate of Brandenburg; many in Holland and in the United Kingdom.

Amongst those who found refuge in these Islands were men who in eloquence and learning were not inferior to ministers of religion in any part of the world. The names of Abbadie, Saurin, Drelincourt, Marmet, and Allix, are but a few of those who attracted in London overflowing congregations, not of their own fellow Exiles alone, but of Londoners generally, drawn from all ranks of Society. A great many of these exiled Pasteurs took Orders in the Church of England, especially in the diocese of London, for the Refugees had no kinder or firmer friend than Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who himself, in the reign of James II, suffered for his sturdy Protestantism and his opposition to the despotism of the King in both civil and religious matters, and was, in consequence, suspended from his episcopal office by the Court of High Commission under the presidency of the infamous

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Jeffreys. Some, however, of the Refugee Pasteurs could not bring themselves to ask for episcopal ordination. Their Calvinism was so markedly a portion of their lives and their convictions, that they preferred to remain, in the eyes of the National Church, non-conformists, and to adhere to the simple ritual to which they and their flocks had always been accustomed. Among these non-conforming Refugee Pasteurs was Jacob de Rouffignac, Pasteur of the little church and congregation of Puycasquier near Mauvezin, who, as far as I can ascertain, neither took Orders in the Church of England, nor was attached as permanent Minister to any of the non-conformist French Churches of London.

Puycasquier was but a village, forming with Montfort, Touget and Mauvezin, the last named the capital, the Principality or Vicomté de Fezensaguet in the Comté of Armagnac, represented practically by the modern department of the Gers. The Comté of Armagnac had, after being a Principality, governed for generations by its own hereditary Comtes, become definitely an appanage of the House of Valois in the time of Francis I, and later, by the marriage of his sister Marguerite d'Angoulême, the widow of the Duc d'Alençon to whom Francis had given the Principality, with Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, it passed to the House of Bourbon, and thus to the Royal House of France. A congregation of Protestants had existed at Puycasquier as early as 1571, but it must have suffered eclipse of some kind, probably as the result of the St Bartholomew and, later, of the Wars of the League, for by an ordinance of Henri, King of Navarre, dated 1st June, 1584, the exercise of the Reformed Faith was solemnly re-established in Puycasquier.

The Church or *Temple* and the Congregation existed nearly to the Revocation, enduring, we may be sure, much oppression and many deliberate insults; amongst other trials being the imprisonment of the Pasteur, Jacob de Rouffignac, for two years before the Revocation. On the 6th July, 1685, the demolition of the *Temple* itself was begun, and completed on the 7th.

¹'Demolition du Temple de Puycasquier. Le 5 Juillet, 1685, M^r Jaques Ducasse, Curé de Puycasquier, se présente devant Jean Silvestre de Mauléon Darquier, juge en la Vicomté de Fezensaguet, et lui remet un ordre de M^{sr} de la Berchère, intendant de Montau-

¹'Le Protestantisme dans la Vicomté de Fezensaguet.' Jean Philip de Barjeau. A most interesting little work, of which I here avail myself with acknowledgments to the author.

ban, qui enjoint de procéder à la démolition du Temple de Puycasquier. On signifie cet arrêt au pasteur Rouffignac. Le même jour, le juge de Mauvezin se rend à Puycasquier. Paul Calas, ancien, sur la réquisition du juge, apporte la clef du Temple. Le lendemain, 6 Juillet, on se transporte devant le Temple. On trouve gravés sur la porte les caractères suivants. M. D. . . . May, 1599. On entre dans le Temple, où il y avait 'une Chère de bois fort uzée qui pouvoit avoir servi au ministre pour y dire le preche et y enseigner les erreurs de la R. P. R.' Le 7 Juillet, la démolition était achevée. Le 8, il y a dans l'église un prêche sur le triomphe de la Croix, par le père Estienne, du Couvent de Cologne. Et après une procession solennelle, la Croix est plantée sur l'emplacement du Temple.'

The story of the Exiles and their sufferings is the same, probably, for Puycasquier and its neighboring towns as for the rest of France. Jacob de Rouffignac was imprisoned for some two years, firstly at Gimont and subsequently at Toulouse, but at the Revocation he was ordered, as were other Pastors, to quit the kingdom within fifteen days. Monsieur de Barjeau says that most of the Refugees from Mauvezin and its neighbourhood took refuge in England, and, undoubtedly, many of their names are found scattered throughout the Registers of the French Churches of London. Jacob de Rouffignac, accompanied by his wife, Madeleine de Bonafous and their three children, two sons and one daughter, reached London, probably, in November, 1685, leaving, according to family tradition, property of some kind behind him; if real, to be surely confiscated by the King and to be granted, no doubt, to some *nouveau converti*, either a relative or some favourite of the Government; if personal, some loss, partial or entire, would surely result in the attempt to realize. Indeed a difficulty of this kind is referred to in one of his letters from England, which will be referred to presently.

Our Pastor, Jacob de Rouffignac, was a native of Laroche-foucauld in Angoumois, born in 1640, and thus but forty-five years of age at the Revocation. In 1699, he was at the Academy of Puylaurens as a *Proposant* or Candidate for the Ministry, and, in that year, he supplied, at Cuq-Toulza, for a time, the place of the Pastor, Etienne de Bonafous, whose sister, Madeleine, he afterwards married.

In the 'Bulletin' of the 'Société de l'hist. du Prot. Fr.' for 1891, some most interesting letters from, and relating to, Jacob de Rouffignac, were published by Mons. Charles Pradel of Puylaurens. These were derived from, or formed part of,

the 'Papiers de la famille Périès-Labarthe, conservés au Mas-Grenier, Tarn-et-Garonne.' The first letter published is from a member of the Bonafous family to his uncle 'Monsieur de Lavernède à Lavernède,' and is a letter of introduction in complimentary terms for Jacob de Rouffignac.

'A Puylaurens, ce Samedi au soir,¹ 1669. Monsieur mon oncle. Monsieur de Rouffignac va à Cuq rendre une proposition pour mon cousin Bonafous² qui est dans nos montagnes, comme vous savez, sans doute. J'ai été chargé, par mon oncle Bonafous,³ de vous écrire afin que vous ayez la bonté de faire en sorte que cet honnête homme qui vous rendra mon billet, voie quelques personnes dont il vous entretiendra, qu'on croit être peu assurées dans notre religion. Je ne doute point que vous ne fassiez tout ce qui dépendra de vous pour cela, et que vous ne me fassiez la grâce de croire qui je suis avec beaucoup d'attachement, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur. (sd.) Bonafous.

After reaching England, de Rouffignac corresponded for some time with his friend, *Monsieur Barjeau de Salpinson, bourgeois à Mauvezin*, an intimate friend of ten years standing. His letters, which are most earnest and interesting, were sent under cover, for the sake of safety, to *Monsieur Lagravère, Marchand de Montauban*, a Protestant and a native of Mauvezin in Guienne. The first published letter from Jacob de Rouffignac is dated '*a Hitchin, près de Londres, ce 8e Oct., 1687.*' In this he announces the birth of his fifth son on the 12th Sept., 1687. His financial position was evidently very modest for he notes that:

'Il n'en coûte pas moins ici de trente six sols la semaine sans le savon et bien d'autres choses. C'est ici que la femme de Lagravère (his friend mentioned above), nous serait nécessaire; mais j'espère que Dieu pourvoira à celui-là (his newly born child), comme il a fait aux autres.'

He appears to have found some employment, because he goes on to say:

'Vous comprenez bien que je ne suis pas sans occupations, étant dans un pays inconnu, sans aucun Français et encore nouveau venu. Avec tout cela, rien ne m'a manqué jusqu'ici . . . Il n'y a que les maladies longues que je craigne; et c'est proprement tout le danger

¹ No date.

² Etienne Bonafous, ministre de Cuq-Toulza and afterwards of St. Amands.

³ Jean Bonafous, ministre de Puylaurens, cousin of Madeleine de Bonafous, the wife of Jacob de Rouffignac.

que courent ceux qui viennent sans rien apporter pour vivre comme je l'ai fait.'

He gives as his address:

'Chez M. Albert, Marchand, derrière la poste à Londres.'

His faith in the Providence of God seems bright and clear, for he goes on to say:

'Je m'en console comme de tout le reste sur quoi je n'ai jamais fait fonds, Dieu voulant démontrer en moi d'autant tout sa merveilleuse puissance, afin que je n'eusse confiance en aucun moyen humain, mais dépendre uniquement de sa providence qui se plait à me départir son pain chaque jour pour la subsistance de ma famille, et à m'apprendre à vivre du présent et à être content des choses, selon que je me trouve, à l'exemple de Saint Paul. Si quelque chose interromp quelque fois cette paix d'esprit, c'est la pensée de l'avenir ou la longueur de cet état auquel il fait bon être muni de quelque petite provision qu'il ne faille pas rechercher parmi les étrangers à qui on a toujours crainte d'être à charge, quoique j'éprouve tous les jours qu'ils ont un fonds de bonté à l'épreuve de tout soupçon.'

In addition to the anxiety arising from nursing a sick wife for two months, he had nearly lost an infant of eighteen months, 'mais Dieu l'a redonné à nos larmes.' He refers to the news he had received, 'par le frère David,'¹ of the death in London of his friend, Samuel Sabatery, a surgeon of Mauvezin, who, as a Protestant, had been removed by the authorities,² from the charge of the hospital in that town. Sabatery had been tended in his fatal illness, 'une fièvre chaude,' which carried him off in ten days, by a M^{lle} Baraillé, and he had given 'toutes les plus belles marques de piété qu'un chrétien peut donner en mourant. Rien n'a manqué à sa consolation.' From a remark he makes in this letter it may be gathered that Jacob de Rouffignac had been fourteen years at Puycasquier up to the fatal date of the Revocation, viz: from 1671 to 1685, and, à propos of this, he reminds M. Barjeau that he can guess what his friend is doing at each season of the year in the old home in France.

¹ Michel David 'proposant à l'académie de Puylaurens,' who subsequently took refuge in London, and no doubt the same Michel David, *formerly minister of my Lady Dutchess de la Force*, whose name appears amongst those of the ninety-six French Ministers who signed in London, 30 March, 1691, the Declaration against the Socinians. *Proceedings*, Vol. III, p. 339.

² Sabatery had reached London viâ Denmark.

‘Je m’imagine que vous commencez à être à repos du tracas des vendages et ne songez qu’à semer vos champs. Mais je sais aussi qu’en ce temps-ci vous pouvez avoir quelques heures de loisir pour donner à la mémoire de vos amis qui parlent perpétuellement de vous, ou du moins à la lecture de quelques unes de leurs lettres qui vous en rafraichissent le souvenir et vous rappellent les temps heureux auxquels vos récoltes étaient accompagnées d’une sainte liberté qui en faisaient tout l’assaisonnement, sans laquelle vous n’y trouvez plus que du dégoût. . . . Le vin a renoncé à la qualité de réjouir le cœur, chez vous, puisque Dieu a ôté à son peuple les moyens de se réjouir saintement en lui à la chute de ses grâces. Qui est-ce qui aurait le cœur d’être joyeux lorsque tout le royaume est en deuil et que tant de bonnes âmes gémissent jour et nuit. Le lion a rugi, qui ne tremblera ? C’est ce rugissement de la colère de Dieu qui ébranle vos consciences, trouble vos sens, bouleverse votre jugement, heurte l’édifice de votre foi, et, l’ayant trouvée chancelante et indéterminée entre Jésus-Christ et le monde, vous a causé ce triste et lamentable naufrage où vous n’avez pu trouver une seule aîe pour vous y arrêter.

His correspondent had evidently bowed before the storm of persecution in France and outwardly conformed to the Church of Rome ; hence these reproaches, which are still further driven home.

‘De plus, vous saviez qu’il ne faut jamais faire mal, afin qu’il en arrive du bien, soit spirituel, soit mondain. Je sais que plusieurs raisonnent ainsi : nous n’adorons que Dieu seul ; nous n’invoquons point les saints ; nous ne pensons point à leurs reliques ; nous ne regardons pas leurs images ; nous rejetons l’autorité papale ; nous ne croyons point que l’absolution du prêtre nous reconcilie avec Dieu ; nous ne croyons point que Jésus-Christ soit substantiellement dans l’espèce du pain. Il est vrai que nous allons ouïr messe, que nous nous prosternons devant l’hostie etc. Mais c’est parce-qu’on nous y contraint. Cependant notre cœur demeure toujours entièrement à Dieu que nous invoquons seul, et à Jésus-Christ que nous adorons dans le ciel en fléchissant les genoux sur la terre. . . .’

It hardly becomes us in these days of religious liberty in England to join in the reproaches which this good Pasteur addressed to his friend at home in those dreadful years following the Revocation. It was a question, for our unhappy forefathers, of death, the galleys or perpetual imprisonment on the one hand, or flight, abandoning home and property, perhaps wife and children, on the other. We to whom such trials are happily unknown, cannot wonder that their strength and courage at times gave way, and that outward conformity

covered their shame and untold misery at the apparent abandonment of their beloved Faith.

Before the conclusion of this letter, Jacob de Rouffignac returns to more mundane affairs.

'Je vous prie de m'en donner à celles de Mars,' i.e. 'de vos nouvelles,' (written in the preceding March), 'et d'y joindre quelques greffes des meilleures qualités de poires que vous pouvez recouvrer, les mettant dans une petite caisse avec un peu d'argile et à chaque paquet son écriteau. Le moyen de les faire tenir à Bordeaux est de faire porter la caisse (de bois le plus léger qu'on pourra, bien liée avec des cordes) au Mas de Verdun, au logis de la barque, et recommander au maître de la donner au batelier de la poste pour la porter à Bordeaux chez M. Albert, rue des bahutiers, à qui j'écirai et qui me l'adressera par un vaisseau.'

He then, in conclusion, speaks of friends on both sides of the channel, and says with regard to his wife 'Elle vous prie de ne pas trouver mauvais si elle ne vous écrit pas de sa propre main.' He asks also for news of the family of *M. de Roquevidal à Puycasquier*, desires remembrances to *M. et M^{lle} de la Jasque, Mademoiselle de Saüssens, M. de Luppé, M^{rs} de Cudeillan et Mérens, Pouchentut, de Saintorens, de Saint Remesy* and others . . . *et en un mot tout notre ancien voisinage.* He desires that word may be given to *M. d'Estarron*, to write a letter to his uncle,¹ *qui excuse la dernière car elle l'a extrêmement chagriné. Tout le monde se porte bien à Londres, parmi ceux que vous connaissez, sans exception.* Finally, he asks for one of his essays or pamphlets, 'Couvertes de papier rouge que je laissai, où mon nom est imprimé au titre, qui est : *De Natura, objecto et fine Fidei.*' The exact title was 'Theses theologicæ de Natura fidei, quas, divino favente numine, sub prææs. Joan. Gominarci, tueri conabuntur : Jacobus Rouffignac, Rupifocaldiensis Engolismensis ; Paulus Dorgis, Cozensis Xanto. Ab octava ad vespæram, die 29 mensis junii anni, 1671 (in 4° de 14 p.)'²

In a second letter (place not stated) dated *ce 13^e Novembre (en France³)* 1687, the Pasteur, de Rouffignac, expresses his disappointment that his correspondent has not received two previous communications sent, as usual, by way of Montauban. In this letter he refers to some business matters

¹ Presumably a Refugee in London.

² Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. Fran., 1891, p. 50.

³ i.e. new style, not yet adopted in England.

in which he had been deceived by M. Bon. . . .¹ (name not given in full). It may be gathered that, in the hurry of his departure, he had disposed, as best he could, of some of his property, but without the usual legal formalities, the result being that the arrangements he had made were repudiated. He says truly :

‘Un homme qui n’a que quinze jours pour sortir du royaume en sortant du prison et qui n’ose presque paraître où il est connu, n’a pas aisément le temps et les moyens de passer des actes en justice en vendant ce qu’il a. Combien de marchands même vendent et achètent sur la seule parole. Il eut fallu avoir l’art magique ou du devinement pour prévoir qu’on demanderait un contrat de vente pour une chose de si peu de conséquence, etc. . . .’ He then gives two addresses, (1), ‘à M. Maillet, in roze Street, near coven garden, London’; en Francais, à M. Maillet, à l’enseigne du raisin, rue de la rose, près du Commun Jardin,² à Londres. (2) ‘Au frère David,’ (mentioned above) ‘a M. Baiz at Master Edwin, in Austin friers, London. Son ancienne adresse était : chez Mons. Villars, près le commun jardin. Si vous voulez continuer la mienne, vous n’aurez qu’à mettre : à Mons. Albert derrière la poste, à Londres. M. Goulard sait bien l’adresse de M. Maillet et on entend le français dans les bureaux.’

Like most of the Exiles in the early years after the Revocation, de Rouffignac was not without hope of returning to France, some day. How little he realized the depths of bigotry which governed Louis XIV, and were to govern that Monarch’s successors, time abundantly proved as years rolled on.

He says ‘si Dieu permet que je revoie encore votre figure et celle de votre chère épouse, comme je l’espère, ce sera le comble de ma satisfaction puisque ce sera la fin de nos inquiétudes.’ He mentions that ‘Suzon’ has a perfect recollection of their friends in the old country. ‘Suzon’ was his daughter; her name will appear later. Then follow remembrances to various friends at Mauvezin and to members of his old flock at Puycasquier. In the fold of this letter he writes a few words to M. Lagravère, begging him to continue the favour of allowing letters to M. Barjeau to be sent under cover to him.

To the care of Mons. Lagravère other letters, unsigned, were sent from London by Exiles from Mauvezin; these are dated

¹ Bonafous, a relative of Me de Rouffignac, probably her brother, Jean Bonafous. A M. Bonafous is taken to task over business matters in the letter from Hitchin. This was no doubt the same brother-in-law, Jean Bonafous, *avocat à Puylaurens*.

² Covent Garden.

'Londres, 17 Novembre, 1687' and 'à Londres ce 19 Janvier, 1688.' In the latter the arguments for resisting the seductions of those who were attempting to draw the Faithful away from the Reformed Church are insisted upon at great length, and the reception given to the Exiles in the various countries of refuge is traced in sympathetic and grateful language. These arguments and the subject, generally, had then a force and an interest which, in these days, we cannot estimate at their true value. As usual the letter of this *Mauvezinois* closes with affectionate messages and remembrances from himself and fellow Refugees to old friends who had not had the courage to leave all and seek liberty in exile, or, perhaps, to resist the persuasions of the *convertisseurs*. Messages are sent from London from—

'Messrs. d'Anroches et Mérens, qui sont arrivés en bon santé avec partie de leur familles; la chambrée de Mess^r Charles, Saint-Faust, de M^{me} de St. Germain et des demoiselles de Charles et de Lacour; M. Rouffignac et sa famille. M. et M^{lle} de Tissier, M. Molinier, M^{lle} de Baraillé et sa famille. M. Aiguebère et sa femme, mon cousin Bigos . . .'

The following, amongst other Refugees from Mauvezin and its neighbourhood, fled to the United Kingdom. David Lascostes, a candidate for the Ministry (son of Jean Lascostes, Seigneur de Barjeau) in 1683; he afterwards took Orders in the Church of England. Paul Charles, one of the Pasteurs of Mauvezin, with his wife, who was a sister of Jean-Pierre Saint-Faust, the Pasteur of Montauban. In 1687 le Seigneur d'Enroches with his children; les Seigneurs de Beaucour et de Prévost and Monsieur Dembon de Saint-Faust.

Leaving France with the intention of settling in Holland, some of these journeyed viâ Spain, but at Bilbao they were arrested and only released after much suffering. In the end they sailed for England, where they settled.

Jacob de Rouffignac's friend, Mons^r Lagravère is amongst the exiles later.

Many of these served in the army in Ireland, the Seigneur de Barjeau Saint-Jean, being one of the body-guard of W^m III.

Another letter from Jacob de Rouffignac dated 'Londres, ce 2 Sept., 1689,' is published, from which it appears that although he was then in London, this was not his usual place of residence:

‘Parceque je ne demeure pas sur une route et qu’il faut que les lettres viennent à Londres avant de venir jusqu’à moi. Cependant nous ne sommes qu’à six lieux¹ l’un de l’autre.’²

In this letter, which follows, he mentions how constantly the conversation and the thoughts of himself and his friends from Mauvezin and neighbourhood turn upon those left behind, and how ardently he desires their prayers. The great number of people arriving from all sides break his heart inasmuch as he cannot find amongst the new arrivals those whom he would wish to see. This induces him to resolve to come to London to join his brethren in the hope that he, with them, may partake of the King’s—William III—bounty. He speaks also of a suggestion that the Refugee Ministers were to be sent to Ireland to re-establish there the Protestant religion. This letter is most eloquent, though it is not without complaints against those to whom the distribution of succour for the Refugees was entrusted.

*A. M. Lagravère, de Montauban,
pour remettre à M. Barjeau du Salpinson.*

Londres, ce 2 sept. 1689.

Monsieur, j’ai reçu une lettre de M. Barjeau, du 16^e août, qui m’apprend la substance d’une autre lettre venue de France qu’il n’a pas voulu risquer de perdre, parceque je ne demeure pas sur une route et qu’il faut que les lettres viennent à Londres avant de venir jusqu’à moi. Cependant, nous ne sommes qu’à six lieux l’un de l’autre. Cette lettre m’apprend les soins qui ont été pris pour mettre M^{lle} de Bonafous à la raison. C’est un redoublement de reconnaissance que j’en ai aux auteurs, les suppliant de ne se lasser point de la solliciter. Son fils a passé ici sans que j’en aie eu connaissance. Il a suivi M. de Schomberg en Irlande, comme plusieurs autres. Je n’étais point ici depuis le 11 d’avril, auquel temps j’écrivis, ne cessant pourtant jamais de faire mention de mes amis dans ma solitude avec ma famille qui en parle aussi avec plaisir, espérant de Dieu la grâce de les revoir encore. Le pauvre M. de Saint-Faust, m., n’en peut pas dire autant, il est mourant d’un ulcère au poulmon, sans espoir. Il a testé. Sa femme est toujours fort adroite. On craint qu’elle n’en agira pas mieux³. Marion de Tournier est avec

¹ Where this was I have not been able to trace. The distance is not great enough for either Hitchin or Meppershall.

² Monsieur de Barjeau, one of his friend’s family, now in England.

³ Jean-Pierre Saint-Faust, originaire de Mauvezin, reçu au ministère en 1664, pasteur à Puycaquier en 1667, à Mauvezin de 1672 à 1675, à Montauban de 1675 à 1685, avait épousé en premières noces Isabelle de Luppé, morte le 7 août 1673. Ils s’étaient remariés trois ans après avec Jeanne Véay.

M. Tissier. M. de Langé a resté pour les recrues. M. d'Aiguebère me donna un lit avec M. Langé, chez a Brune, depuis 4 ou 5 jours, où nos entretiens ont toujours roulé sur Mauvezin et ses environs pour qui je conserverai toute ma vie toute la tendresse dont je suis capable. Je prie donc et conjure tous ceux qui se ressouviennent encore de moi de m'accorder le secours de leurs prières (je n'ose dire publiques, ne croyant pas leur fermeté aussi grande que celle d'autres lieux), afin que nous leur soyons redonnés pour l'augmentation de leur foi, le réveil de leur zèle au sommeil et pour le relèvement de leurs actes dont la gravité doit faire la matière continuelle de leurs particulières méditations. C'est pour cela même que nous nous humilions ici extraordinairement, priant qu'il ne leur soit point imputé.

Au moment où j'écris, j'attends les huit heures pour me trouver au temple français, à la célébration d'un jeûne, après avoir communiqué hier matin. Le grand nombre de gens qui arrivent de toute part me font crever le cœur, n'y trouvant pas ceux que je voudrais. J'ai mangé avec Mad^e de La Balme et Mad^e d'Enroches et sa famille¹ avec un plaisir extrême, quoique mêlé de larmes. On ressent ainsi ce qu'on ne saurait exprimer. Mais cette triste joie a pour moi des charmes qui me font résoudre à quitter ma campagne pour me joindre à nos frères, sur l'espoir qu'on nous donne de quelque petite bénéficiaire du Roy pour nous faire vivre. Plusieurs ministres ont érigé ici de nouvelles Eglises françaises, ce que ne plaît pas à la nation Angloise. On craint que les commissaires . . . (*déchirure*). . . que l'esprit Français commençoit à prendre avec trop de rapidité. J'ai quelque joie d'avoir été hors d'occasion de m'en mêler. On parle même de nous envoyer en Irlande pour y rétablir généralement la religion protestante. Là-dessus, je me ressouviens du chapitre IX de Néhémie que je prie mes amis de consulter, et méditer le 6^e verset du X chap. du Lévitique sur lequel a roulé tout un sermon à l'occasion de l'embrasement de Londres, il y a 23 ans. Vous y trouverez de quoi appliquer à la colère de Dieu le brûlement de ses sanctuaires au feu de la mission dragonne. Car il est un feu consummant aux pécheurs obstinés: Hébreux XII. L'eau, seule, est capable d'arrêter le feu; mais ici il n'y a que celle qui découle d'une vraie, sincère, longue et ardente repentance qui puisse arrêter celui-ci; même on peut dire qu'un feu tue l'autre: le feu du zèle éteint le feu du Ciel. Le meilleur moyen d'éteindre un grand feu, c'est d'aller au devant et couper ce qu'il est prêt à embraser. Si nous avoins coupé nos mauvaises habitudes devant le feu qui commença la persécution, nous aurions sauvé l'arche. Mais Dieu avoit résolu de s'assurer jusque où pourroit aller notre épreuve. Il vouloit savoir qui seraient ceux qui choisiroient le parti de le suivre au péril de leur vie, beau-

¹ On trouve, à Mauvezin, la naissance d'Etienne, fils de Noble Charles de Prévost, seigneur d'Enroche, et de Blaise de Manas, sa femme. Il fut présenté au baptême par Etienne de Saint-Faust et par Judith de Dareis, femme de Gaspard de Labalme; 15 sept. 1671.

coup plus facilement, au péril de leurs biens. Après avoir espéré que quelqu'un mettroit la main à l'œuvre, il s'est lassé d'attendre ; et c'a été alors que chacun a bien oui crier au feu, mais il n'y a point eu de larmes pour l'éteindre. Il a fallu le sang de tant de confesseurs qui coule encore, dit-on, du côté de Castres et des montagnes, et ce sang crie de la terre : Vengeance contre les tièdes qui n'ont pas eu le courage de suivre Jésus-Christ plus loin qu'à la porte du prétoire du monde. Ah ! que de remords quand on songe à tant de meurtres commis, tant de pauvres gens morts de misère et de coups dans les prisons, sur les galères, dans l'Amérique parmi les barbares, que notre fermeté eût pu sauver, si tous unanimement eussions protesté que nous aimions mieux mourir que renier notre foi, que de vivre en hypocrites, que de nous souiller tous les jours avec les idolâtres dans leurs temples ; car, ne nous flattons pas, ce n'est pas en dire trop, c'est justement et trop réellement là notre portrait. Encore n'est-il pas complet.

Souvenons-nous du titre de jaloux que Dieu prend en sa loi, et nous trouverons notre condamnation dans ce petit mot. Je vois bien que nous dirons : il est aisé de faire de belles réflexions sur les malheurs d'autrui ; il est aisé de raisonner sur le danger du naufrage quand on est dans un bon port ; si on eût été à notre place, on eût fait comme nous. Répondons à la chair ingénieuse à se flatter : Quand il seroit vrai que notre faiblesse eût suivi l'exemple (ne nous vantant de rien de nous-même sinon ce que la grâce y a produit), le mal n'en seroit pas moindre. Le péché ne seroit pas excusable pour avoir de plus nombreux partisans. Mais que ceux qui raisonnent ainsi se souviennent qu'ils manquent de charité en leur jugement et murmurent contre Dieu en cela.

Ils manquent de charité, puisque ayant été témoins des épreuves au milieu desquelles nous les avons assuré que nous étions prêts à tout souffrir plutôt que de nous dédire d'un seul des points que nous leur avions prêché, ils ont vu qu'il n'a pas tenu à nous que nous ne l'ayons effectué. N'étions-nous pas, pour la plupart comme agneaux entre les pattes des loups ? N'avons-nous pas été toujours à la brèche, à toutes les attaques données avant le grand choc ? Pourquoi donc soupçonner que nous eussions tourné le dos à la bataille ? Nous avons été éprouvés les premiers, et quand on nous a trouvés fermes, on nous a laissés aller — Pouvions nous, sans nous noircir du crime de désobéissance à nos supérieurs, refuser de sortir, surtout puisque cette obéissance s'accordoit avec la conservation de nos consciences, de nos familles et de la pureté de notre foi ? Quant au murmure contre Dieu, je dis que la Providence ayant mis au cœur d'un conseil ennemi de nous bannir, il y a murmure de votre part de nous reprocher d'être à notre aise. Nous ne voulons pas dire que sans cela tant de gens n'auroient pas été consolés par des lettres générales et particulières et que ce sera, peut être, pour vous être plutôt rendus que Dieu nous a mis comme dans des réservoirs ; mais souvenez-vous que nous y avons notre soul de dé plaisirs et d'incommodités, eu égard à l'aise où nous eussions pu

vivre là où vous êtes. Non pas que nous nous plaignions, car nous souffrons avec joie pour un tel sujet, et la Providence fait tous les jours une infinité de merveilles sur nous et sur nos frères en ces pays depuis plus de trois ans. Il n'y a personne qui n'ait du pain, il est vrai qu'il est en petite quantité, mais on en peut vivre si l'on veut s'y aider un peu de son côté et ne pas faire comme le sieur Aillaud. Ici, l'homme ne vit pas de pain seulement, mais de la parole, et cette parole de Jésus Christ, du XVIII [de] Luc, est fidèle : (Quiconque aura délaissé champs, maisons, etc... en trouvera autant.)

Nous avons pourtant ici ce malheur que ceux de notre nation qui sont nommés pour nous distribuer notre pain, nous traitent si indignement qu'ils nous obligent au murmure contre leur procédé. On n'en est pas encore venu aux grosses plaintes, de peur de faire punir la nation ; mais je crains que la grande avidité qu'on témoigne à mettre les mains à la pâte et avoir l'administration continue, ne fasse faire un éclat jusqu'aux pieds du Roy, auteur de cette bénédicence, laquelle on prétend nous distiller le plus petitement que l'on pourra, surtout aux ministres. Pour moi, j'en ai été privé depuis le mois de novembre passé, pour avoir été absent et à la campagne, disant que tout avoit été donné. Pour tout secours, on m'a donné aujourd'hui cinq louis d'or. Je ne sais si ce sera tout, mais il est difficile de nourrir longtemps sept personnes avec cela. Mais Dieu y pourvoiera. Encore voudrois-je bien être dans le cas de partager avec ceux que je dirai. Sans doute, nous en trouverions parmi nos amis.

J'espère que vos vendanges seront bonnes ; votre été a été assez beau. Il y a des fleurs qui parfument l'air en arrivant en ville. J'ai ouï parler d'un bouquet cueilli qui a été en odeur de bonne senteur. On en a remercié ceux qui en avoient fourni la nouvelle. Ceux qui sont à la suite du Roy se souviennent de Mademoiselle de Pressac et lui baisent les mains, à M. son frère aussi. Je ne suis pas des derniers à saluer et remercier cette généreuse famille de toutes les bontés qu'elle a eu toujours pour moi en France. Vous me ferez plaisir de le leur faire savoir. Je suis en peine de ne point ouïr parler du Bartas. Une lettre qui venoit à moi s'est perdue, dit-on ; ce qui me donne du chagrin. Vous en aurez d'apprendre que le pauvre Massé et M. Lavignasse, à la suite de M. de Schomberg, sont demeurés malades en un port de mer où est le trajet qui n'est que de six à sept lieues d'Irlande. Il est vrai qu'on prend grand soin d'eux. Je serois bien aise que M. Bigos et sa femme se voulussent souvenir autant de moi que je me souviens d'eux et de leur honnêteté quand je passois dans leur voisinage. J'ai du regret qu'ils s'endorment si profondément quand il faudroit veiller et voir ressusciter les témoins. Je demande ici pardon à tous ceux qui peuvent m'accuser d'ingratitude ou d'oubli de ne se voir point nommer nom par nom. Dieu m'est témoin que je les affectionne tous très cordialement, leur protestant que je mourrai en

ayant pour eux tous les sentiments d'attachement et de reconnaissance dont je serai capable. J'oubliois de vous prier d'avertir nos amis de ne suivre point l'exemple du commun, ni dans leurs habits, ni dans leurs divertissements. Des enfants qui viennent d'ensevelir leur mère n'auroient pas bonne grâce d'avoir le rire aux lèvres et la joie au cœur, encore moins de se parer d'habits ou d'ornements trop affectés.

Nous vous prions donc, nous vous conjurons de ne pas vous conformer au présent siècle, de renoncer à votre conversion précédente, à vos promesses indirectes et illégitimes, à vos signatures infidèles, à vos assemblées profanes, comme disciples du Saint-Esprit que vous étiez autrefois, déniaient les offrandes des idoles et demeuraient les témoins du nom de Dieu blasphémé à l'honneur des créatures. N'oubliez pas ce que vous avez été. Etes-vous tombés? Relevez-vous. Etes-vous malade? Travaillez à faire votre paix avec Dieu avant tout, de peur que la mort ne vous prévienne, et songez à une éternité de peines! Encore s'il y avoit espérance qu'après un temps on cesseroit d'être, qu'on deviendrait cendre ou poussière; mais les flammes, qui dévoront les impénitents ne les achèveront jamais! Ils mourront toujours sans mourir, brûleront sans se consumer aux siècles des siècles. Là les pleurs, les grincements de dents, le désespoir ont un cours continu, sans qu'il y ait personne qui en ait pitié. Les démons en sont les témoins et en rient, tout joyeux d'avoir des compagnons de misère. Si la crainte du monde nous fait trembler, Jésus Christ nous apprend à craindre plutôt celui qui peut tuer l'âme et le corps tout ensemble.

Vous n'avez que trop tremblé. Il est temps que l'accès de votre fièvre se change en chaleur. Reprenez votre zèle, revenez à vous même, comme le fils prodigue de l'Evangile, vous trouverez du pain tant et plus dans la maison de votre père. De quoi vous souciez-vous? De quelques misérables lambeaux de terre ou de maison qui vous coûtent plus cher que le sang de vos veines. Souvenez-vous de la femme de Lot. S'il arrive quelque petit calme à vos orages, comme je l'apprends, profitez de l'occasion. Vos ennemis raillent, mais qui connoîtroit leur cœur verroit qu'ils tremblent de remords. Le méchant fuit sans qu'on le poursuive. Leur salaire est peut-être plus près qu'ils ne le pensent. Dieu est trop juste pour manquer de rendre affliction à ceux qui nous affligent. Souffrons pourtant sans murmure. Qu'ils fleurissent pour un temps, comme un vert laurier. Soyons plus prompts à retourner à Dieu qu'à souhaiter leur ruine. Il y saura travailler. Travaillons seulement à notre salut. Ne laissons point échapper le bon dépôt qui nous a été confié. Faisons-en part à nos enfants, prenons les bois et les champs comme des écoles pour les en instruire. Gardons-les avec nous pour les former à la vraie science du salut, tandis que nous sommes encore avec eux. Savons-nous quand nous les quitterons? Nous l'avons juré devant Dieu, acquittons-nous en tandis que nous en avons le loisir. Nous savons que cette calamité sera la dernière,

mais nous ne savons pas jusqu'à quand elle durera. Nous savons, du moins, que nos péchés durent encore, que tant qu'il y a du bois, il faut que le feu brûle... (*Quelques mots emportés par le cachet*)... Dieu essuiera nos larmes si elles sont sincères. Affligeons-nous et il nous consolera; abattons-nous et il nous relèvera; humilions-nous, il redressera nos défaillances; il rappellera son arche, il nous appellera par notre nom. Ce doux nom d'enfants que nous avons malheureusement perdu en reniant notre père et désavouant notre mère, quand le reprendrons-nous? Au jour, à l'heure, au moment marqué. Hâtons-le par nos prières. Donnez-nous les vôtres, je vous prie, à moi et à ma famille qui vous en supplie. J'embrasse de cœur toute la vôtre qui me sera très chère tout ma vie.

Nous avons souvent des nouvelles de Brandebourg. Tous s'y portent bien. Ma femme vous fait à tous mille amitiés et les enfants qui nous restent. Le pauvre petit Anglois a tremblé la fièvre depuis un an. Ma joie seroit parfaite si je pouvois jamais vous le faire voir. C'est le plus gentil enfant du monde, quoique fort semblable à Jeanneton. Nos baise-mains à tous ceux et celles qui pensent à nous, tant à Mauvezin qu'à Puycaqué, à Mess. Cadeillan, Puchentut,¹ Jaibosc, S^t Orens,² S^t Brès, Mérens; Gimont, Engalin, Lectoure etc. ; mais particulièrement, Mlle Crozailles, Mlle de Lafont; Mlle de Sauxens, Madame de La Pierre, les demoiselles de Vignaux, Mlle d'Espagnet, M. Sabatier et sa femme, M. de S^t Remésy et sa femme, et autres qu'il vous plaira, M. Momin, médecin, Mess. DuHart. Labrunne vous salue, espérant encore à boire un jour du vin blanc de la Plante. Adieu encore une fois.

Je suis tout à vous.

de ROUFFIGNAC.

Si vous écrivez, n'imitiez pas ceux qui le font couvertement. Parlez clair et ne signez rien. Il n'ya ici rien à craindre.

(*Et dans le pli de la lettre*): Monsieur Lagravère, j'ai cette confiance en votre bonté que vous me pardonnerez la liberté que je prends de vous adresser cette lettre pour M. Barjeau du Salpinson. Vous priant de donner vos soins afin qu'elle lui soit rendue. Si, par hasard, vous trouviez l'occasion de voir madame la baronne de Montbartier ou mademoiselle de Montbartier, vous m'obligeriez d'assurer toute cette famille de mes respects. Ceux qui sont de cette maison, à Londres, se portent fort bien et les saluent.

Je suis tout à vous et à votre chère épouse.

de ROUFFIGNAC.

2 sept. 89.

Baise-mains à M. Saint-Faust. Son cousin, le ministre, est mourant.

¹ Noble Jean de Sériac, seigneur de Pouchentut et Muras, donna sa fille, Paule, en mariage à Jacques de Poudamas, sieur de Samadet, union bénie à Mauvezin, le 6 août, 1673.

² Paul d'Astugue d'Angalin, sieur de Saint-Orens, signe, comme neveu, l'acte de décès de Marie du Frère du Barthas, veuve de Bellile, ensevelie à Mauvezin, le 18 juill., 1673.

Amongst the many deeply interesting details published in the Account of the *Quarante deuxième Assemblée Générale de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, held this year at La Rochelle, Mons^r le Pasteur, N. Weiss, the learned Secretary of the Society, furnishes a brief but touching Review of the history and sufferings, during two centuries, of the Professors of the Reformed Faith in this Protestant stronghold. One of the most interesting items in the programme of this year's meeting of the Society, was an excursion from La Rochelle to the neighbouring *Ile de Ré*, a stronghold also of Protestantism in the seventeenth century, and a spot from which many Refugees set sail for England, both before¹ and after the Revocation. In the citadel of *S^t Martin dans l'île de Ré* were imprisoned, at and after the Revocation, many unhappy Protestants, some of whom came from the neighbouring mainland. Mons^r Weiss gives an account of the imprisonment of some forty men and women in the dungeons of the citadel of *S^t Martin*, many of these prisoners being of noble or gentle birth. The ill-treatment which these prisoners underwent was much aggravated from the fact that they had been arrested on board an English ship on the point of departure for England.

Some of these unhappy creatures perished from privation, some, in the end, yielded to the perseverance of their persecutors and abjured, some eight of these women, noble in every sense, remained constant, and, in despair at their obstinacy, were, after two years, viz., in 1688, exiled by their inhuman persecutors, some taking the way of Dieppe (for England, probably), and others, that of Holland. Amongst these eight Exiles were two whose family names are well-known amongst the descendants of the Refugees in England, viz., M^{lle} de Boisragon and M^e de Ruffignac. Whether the latter was related to Jacob de Rouffignac or not it is impossible to say, but there can be no doubt that she was not his wife, for this occurred in 1688, and we know of letters from the Pasteur from England in 1687.

Jacob de Rouffignac was one of the ninety-six French Refugee Pastors who signed, in London, on the 30th March, 1691, the declaration against the doctrines of the Socinians.²

In 1692, on 4th Sept. he preached at the French Church at Dover. 'M^r de Rouffignac prêcha.'³

In 1695 he signed the petition of the French Ministers to

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. v, p. 127.

² See *Proceedings*, Vol. iii, p. 338.

³ See *Proceedings*, Vol. iv, p. 150.

William III, asking for a further grant from the Royal Bounty. 'M^r Rouffignac, 51 ans (should be 55), sa femme, quatre enfans.'¹

His name appears also in the List of French Ministers, and widows and orphans of French Ministers, receiving allowances from the Royal Bounty Fund in 1717. 'Rouffignac, 77, a wife.'²

I have not been able to discover in what way Jacob de Rouffignac succeeded in maintaining himself and his numerous family, nor how he was enabled to give the advantages of an university education to his son Pierre, at Cambridge, and to his son Guy, at Leyden. He must have found good friends somewhere in England, but the bounty of the nation as a whole, and of particular individuals in high places, to the fugitives is sufficiently well established to assure us that his wants and interests would not be neglected.

Through the kindness of M^r Ambrose Kerrill Rouffignac of Newlyn, Cornwall, the present head of the family, I have been able to gather from family papers some interesting facts concerning the Pasteur and his descendants, of whom also I am permitted to subjoin a pedigree. Jacob de Rouffignac, born in 1640, was the son of Thomas de Rouffignac, of La Rochefoucauld³ in Angoumois, and Marie de la Motte. He married, probably at Puylaurens, about 1675, Madeleine de Bonafous, daughter of Pierre de Bonafous and Marie d'Amalvy, and had a numerous family, although, as will be seen later, but four children survived him. I am indebted to Mons^r Charles Pradel of Puylaurens for the following extract from some old notarial minutes from that town relating to the marriage contract of Jacob de Rouffignac.

'... Le 11 Novembre, 1675, par devant M^{re} Vialas, notaire à Puylaurens . . . maistre Jacob de Rouffignac, natif de la ville de la Rochefoucaud, de la province d'Angoumois, Ministre de Puicasqué, en Armagnac . . . épouse . . . Madeleine de Bonafous, fille de feu Pierre Bonafous et de feu Marie d'Amalvy . . . Madeleine Bonafous apporte trois mille livres dues par son frère, Jean Bonafous, avocat, plus six cents livres intérêts de l'année courante . . . Rouffignac aura la jouissance de tous les biens de la future, si elle vient à décéder avant lui . . . Présents à ce contrat: M^{re} Jean Bonafous, avocat, M^{re} Etienne Bonafous, Ministre de Saint Amans,⁴ frère de la future épouse: Jean Barran et M^{re} David d'Amalvy,

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. i, p. 164. ² See *Proceedings*, Vol. i, p. 325.

³ In the title of his Thesis, quoted on p. 257, he calls himself Rupifocaldicensis.

⁴ Formerly of Cuq-Toulza.

Ministre de Réalville, ses oncles : M^{re} Jean Bonafous,¹ Ministre de Puylaurens, son cousin : Noble Philippe de Gineste² beau-frère du d. Jean Bonafous, avocat, &c. . .

The following names of the children of the Pasteur are known, viz., Jean-Henri, the eldest, born at Mauvezin (where the family resided, Puycasquier being but a short distance from Mauvezin) on 4th December, 1676, and baptised on the 30th of the same month, his god-father being the Pasteur, Paul Charles, who himself fled to London before the Revocation, and subsequently took English Orders. Other sons were Pierre, Guy, Jacques, Nathaniel, and Jean; and there were two daughters, Susanne and Marie. Of these children Jean-Henri must have died before the Revocation. Marie died in London, but before 1695. According to family tradition she was buried at St Bride's, Fleet Street, but there is no evidence of this. Jean was born 31st January, 1688, baptized 16th Feb. and buried 17th Feb., 1688, at Meppershall, Bedfordshire, where also was buried Nathaniel on 1st Sept., 1688.³ Nothing is known of Jacques except from mention in his father's Will. It is difficult to imagine what can have induced Jacob de Rouffignac to take up his residence at such a remote village as Meppershall must have been in 1688. The two sons, Pierre and Guy, will be noticed later, as well as the daughter, Susanne.

The Will of Jacob de Rouffignac was dated, London, 3rd August, 1714, and was proved on 20th March, 1721. He died in London on 5th December, 1721, in his eighty-second year, and was buried at Stanford-le-Hope in Essex, of which parish his son Pierre was Rector. Madeleine de Bonafous, his wife, had pre-deceased him in 1718, and she also was buried at Stanford-le-Hope. The following extracts from the Burial Register⁴ of that parish give the dates of burial of both parents, the original entries being in the handwriting of, and signed by their son, Pierre :

¹ Madeleine de Bonafous had therefore amongst her nearest relatives her husband, a brother, a cousin, and an uncle, who were Pasteurs.

² The name of 'Dlle. Anthoinete de Gineste du lieu de Puylaurens en Languedoc, femme de Mons. Anthoine Cougot, Ministre de cette Eglise,' appears several times in the Register of the Southampton Walloon Church; the earliest date being 1691. It would seem probable therefore that Madame de Rouffignac was connected with Madame Cougot, but the name of the Pasteur de Rouffignac does not appear in the Southampton Register.

³ Communication by Mr. Wagner to 'Bulletin,' 1891.

⁴ Kindly furnished by the late Dr. J. E. Sedgwick, formerly Rector of Stanford-le-Hope.

1718. 'Mag^d the wife of Jacob Rouffignac, clerc, was bury'd 31st of Dec., the mother of the present Incumbent.'

1721. 'Jacob Rouffignac of London, clerc, was buried ye 11th of Dec. Affidavit' made by Rachel Sims before J^{no} G^o Sims, London. He was father to the present Incumbent.'

The Will of Jacob de Rouffignac runs as follows, and being a translation from the original French, has suffered accordingly at the hands of the notary or other official who prepared it for probate.

The Will was dated and proved as stated above, probate being granted on 20th March, 1720-1 to John Lacostes-Barjeau, one of the executors.

In the name of God, as death is ordained to all men and its hour being unknown to us it is the duty of a good Christian to be always prepared for it like the Faithful and Vigilant Servant in the Gospel always ready to receive his Master at all times of the night. It is for that and some other reasons that I, Jacob de Rouffignac, son of Thomas de Rouffignac and Mary de la Motte, born in the town of Rochefoucauld¹ in Angoumois in France, called to the Holy Ministry of the Gospel since 1671 in the Reformed Church of Puycasqué and then in that of Mauvezin in the province of Armagnac and being now in England, seventy-four years of age, enjoying all the faculties of my understanding, though infirm in body considering the frailty and shortness of life which like vapours ascends and vanishes and like a shadow inclines continually towards the darkness of the grave, I have thought fitt for the good of my familye as well as for the discharge of my duty in conscience without any prompting nor solliciting to write with my own hand this my last Will and Testament, my desire being that this Testament be executed according to its forms and tenor ordering my Heirs hereafter named to approve it as such after having said with David, Psalm 19., 'Let not my mouth nor my heart think anything but what pleases thee my defender, Saviour and amender of my wicked life.' Imprimis, I, Jacob de Rouffignac, having had the happiness to be born under the Covenant of Grace of Parents professing the Protestant Religion, and having professed and preached till now hoping God will give me grace to dye in it I recommend to God my soul which he has redeemed by the blood of his own Son Jesus

¹ This affidavit had, of course, reference to the burial of the deceased in woollen stuff as required by the Act, 30, Carolus II, c. 3., entitled 'An Act for burying in Woollen,' intended 'for the lessening the importation of linen from beyond the seas, and the encouragement of the woollen and paper manufactures of this kingdom.' Under this Act an affidavit was to be brought within eight days of the burial, under a penalty of £5, that the deceased was not buried in linen. This Act was repealed only in 1814, by the 54 Geo. III, c. 108.

Christ whom I embrace through the Faith as my only Redeemer, beseeching Him to assist me with His good spirit the rest of my days that by a sincere repentance of my passed faults, the weight of which my conscience abhors, I may find forgiveness at the Throne of Grace, to which my Saviour has given me through Faith an access, hoping that my soul at its parting from my mortall body may be received and committed into His hands being washed by the blood of that happy Saviour, giving me the strength to declare to Him at my last moment, 'Into thy hands I surrender my soul.' Secondly, the duty of all good Christians being to do at the end of his (sic) life some acts of charity which are agreeable to the form of all lawfull Testaments, I desire my executors hereafter-named to distribute amongst the poor of the French Church of London in Threadneedle Street for once the sum of Ten Pounds stg. one year after my decease as also to distribute among the poor French families of Mauvezin Twenty Shillings to each family once for all six months after my death, my mind being that the pious Legacies be taken out of the Interest of what I have at the Bank of England; and as to the manner of my Buriall I desire it may be done in the plainest manner my Executors may think fitt. Thirdly, as to the Temporall Estate wherewith God hath been pleased to favour me which consists in Household Goods of all sorts, in Money at Interest in the Bank of England, in some orders upon Ticketts of Two Lotterys in one Annuity, and other effects which will be found in my box or trunk and which are mentioned in a paper Book intituled Book of Accompts begun the 5th March, 1681, my meaning is to dispose of them in manner following. Firstly, I wish that Magdelain de Bonafous, my beloved wife, be put into possession of all the Household Goods and Utensills which are found in the house in Whistler's Court the day of my decease upon condition that she shall give a certain share to Susanna de Rouffignac, my daughter, for her own private use as well in society as apart, and when Providence shall call the said Susanna de Rouffignac to change her condition her mother shall dispose of the same as she thinks fitt and as a good and tender mother towards a submissive and obedient daughter, and if on the other hand it should happen that her alterations should be made without the consent of her mother and brothers I leave in that case to my beloved wife the power to debar her not only of this share of all the goods but also of her third part of the Inheritance and to dispose of it in behalf of whom she pleases of the three sons, and in case it should please God to call Magdalen de Bonafous after the division of the Inheritance, my Will is that those goods which she has enjoyed be parted between the four children with this difference that the three brothers shall give Susanna sufficient to furnish a room with all necessarys, either goods, Bedsted, Coverlet, Pewter or such other Utenaills as they shall think fitt and that by the advice and Counsell of the Executors here-

after-named as to the maintenance of Magdalen de Bonafous my wife, my design is to allow and settle on her the sum of Thirty Pounds stg. per annum during her Life payable as followeth. Firstly, one annuity order of One-Hundred Pounds sterling at nine per cent Interest which annuity I Will she shall be put in actual possession of the day after my decease that she may receive the Interest of it upon condition nevertheless that she shall dispose thereof in favour of Susanna de Rouffignac before her decease that she may enjoy the same after the death of her mother as being part of the portion which may come to her in her share of the Inheritance with her Brothers and to compleat to my said wife the overplus of the said Annuity I Will that she receive it out of the sums which is (sic) in the Bank of England or if she think fitt to receive it from a private hand I Will that he of my sons to whom the greatest part of that fund in the Bank shall devolve by the advice of my Executors in the shareing of it, shall undertake to pay her quarterly and every three months the sum of Five pounds five shillings amounting in the whole to Twenty-one Pounds per annum which being added to the Nine pounds Interest of the annuity makes in the whole exactly Thirty pounds sterling. Secondly, as to my four children, Susanna, Peter, Guy and James de Rouffignac, I advise them to agree peaceably and with a true Brotherly friendship the division that shall be made of the effects which I leave after my decease, paying their mother all the respect and Charitable cares which Nature, Piety, their duty and calling oblidg'd them to, my Will being that each of them have an equall share of the said effects but with this previous condition to be observed and executed touching Peter and James de Rouffignac that neither of them shall receive his share equal to the two others but by deducting what they have borrowed of me and for which they have given me their notes except they shall have discharged them before my death for which they shall produce their Receipts, and as the Affairs between Peter de Rouffignac and me are not settled concerning the Bond I gave for M^r Smith, the said Peter de Rouffignac shall not claim anything above his legall right equal with his other brothers and to their disadvantage under any pretence from my Bond. And I order the same as to James de Rouffignac, viz: that he shall be oblidg'd to refund to the Bulk of the Inheritance or at least to deduct as received, the Funds I shall have lent him since the expiration of his apprenticeship or what I shall have paid for him such as they are mentioned in the settled accompt signed with his own hand the twentieth day of January, 1713, touching which the Receipts and Letters may be found in my Box of Gilt Leather with the Receipts of the said James's creditors or of those that have discharged their Bonds and also what hath been lent to him or paid upon his accompt since the said 20th of January shall be deducted, for which there are memorandums both at the bottom of the said accompt and in my Book which my

Executors shall regulate at their discretion so that the said James shall not pretend to anything about his legall right common and equall to his other Brothers under any pretence to their disadvantage to which must be added the particulars M^r Cabibell shall have paid for him. As to the Books that shall be found in my two closetts my mind is that they be divided between Peter and Guy de Rouffignac with this exception that those that Guy¹ has sent for from Holland and that are in the closet in the room next to mine shall be to the proper use of the said Guy de Rouffignac without being parted, as also I Will that the writings, memorandums and sermons which are in my trunk and in my closetts shall be to the use of Peter de Rouffignac as a minister, and as to the other little household goods as the two watches, some Linnen and other little Rarities which will be found in my boxes that shall be parted between the three Brothers friendly with the advice nevertheless of their Mother and I do not remember that I have signed any Bond of Passive debt for the Benefit of my family in Generall I desire my Executors to examine nicely the demands that may be made thereof upon them or my Heirs after my death and to take notice of the date of them except only some accompts that may be found between M^r Cabibel and me on behalf of James which shall be discounted out of his share. I declare that all that is above written is my last Will enjoining my Heirs to approve it and for the validity of these presents I name Executor M^r Peter Bonafous, Capitaine, nephew to my wife, and M^r John Lacostes-Barjeau, born at Mauvezin in France, to whom I give the power to proceed as well to the Inventory, if necessary, as to sharing the effects desiring them to do it charitably according to their prudence and honesty which is known to me, declaring that this my closed Testament is signed in the presence of three Witnesses at London this 3rd August, 1714, under the reign of George, Prince of Brunswick and Lunebourg, lately proclaimed King of Great Britain and Ireland.

(sd.) Jacob de Rouffignac.

Wee, the under written, do declare that M^r Jacob de Rouffignac, French Minister, hath desired us to be Witnesses to the signing of the above written Act assuring us that it is his Testament. At London the 3rd August, 1714.

John Deguebère, born at Mauvezin,
Daniel De Lessars,
Helie (Elie) Marvault, of Angoumois.

A Codicil dated 3rd March, 1718-19, is annexed to the Pasteur's Will by which the Legacy to the poor of the French Church of London is reduced to five pounds, whilst that to the poor of his Church in France is left in 'its first state,' except as concerning the family of M^r Aiguebère which he recommends to his Executors.

¹ A student at Leyden.

‘As to the nature of the effects mentioned in my Will I think it right to let my Heirs know that with the advice of my friends and for the conveniency of my age I have transferred the orders and classes in the Government (Stock) to the amount of eight hundred and fourscore pounds or thereabouts, as appears by the certificates and Receipts of the Bank, dated 30th November, 1717, Nos. 8116 and 8117. As to the two articles concerning the sums lent to my children upon occasion since their settlement, and separated from those I had willingly employed for their education and for the apprenticing of James, my Will is that those sums shall be charged to each of them as so much the less to be by them received out of my estate in the equall division that I propose shall be made of it between them four afore-named, and in case they have received beyond their contingent share the others shall have power to demand the same but without Interest from the Time they have received it. Upon that article I find that Peter de Rouffignac has received something above Forty-six pounds besides the note of Thirteen Pounds which I hope he will discount himself out of his share, his receipt written in his own hand will be found in my box.’

Then follow some remarks as to the misconduct of his son James, which had resulted in demands on his own purse, in consequence of which he states that he has paid £280 on behalf of this son to M^r Cabibel; and he finds besides that he has lent this son the sum of £106, as shewn by an account—with other smaller sums duly catalogued. In respect of these deduction is to be made as having lessened the share of his brothers and deprived the father of the interest thereon for several years.

‘As to Susanna besides her equall share with her brothers my Will is that with the common consent of her brothers my Executors should give her the furniture of a room, viz., a bedd with curtains and coverlett, a looking-glass and square Table in the Parlour with six cane chairs and an elbow chair and couch which she has herself worked.’

This to be disposed of by her brothers if dying unmarried. The Pasteur's expenses for cleaning and repairing his houses at Croydon

‘Are to be paid by him that shall have them to his profit of the two others. As to the purchase of the two houses at Croydon I acknowledge my indebtedness to M^r Middleton for £30 stg., which he advanced me towards the two last purchases, to Guy de Rouffignac for Ten Guineas he lent me on the rent of the houses until they reckon'd, and because Guy has not only taken a great

deal of pains in the last purchase and laid out a good deal of his own (money) in severall Law Suits I advise my other children to consent that the houses and gardens at Croydon should be allowed to Guy and be accounted for in his share at the purchase price which with the charge amounts to £240 stg., as being but Justice.'

(sd.) Jacob de Rouffignac, aged 79 years.

Witnesses: 3rd March, 1718, Daniel De Lassars, J. Daiguebère, Elie Marvault.

On the 24th Dec., 1720, a second Codicil was signed by Jacob de Rouffignac, by which :

'In consideration of the fatigues she has undergone during the sickness of her deceased mother, and the pains she takes of her father I think in conscience I may fairly allow my daughter Susanna not only the property of the furniture of a room but of all the goods which may be found after my decease on condition that she shall dispose of them only in favour of one or both her brothers in default of her own issue.'

On 3rd March, 1721-2, appeared personally Peter Rouffignac, Rector of Stanford-le-Hope, in the county of Essex, Master of Arts, and Peter Cabibel, of the parish of S^t Stephens, Walbrook, merchant, who, having been duly sworn depose that they severally knew and were well acquainted with Jacob de Rouffignac, late of the parish of S^t Swithin, Master of Arts, for several years before his death which happened on or about the fifth day of December last, and they depose as to knowledge of his handwriting and further as to their belief in the genuine character of the Codicils. At the death of Jacob de Rouffignac we find therefore that only four of his children had survived. These were Susanne, Pierre, Guy, and James.

From his Will we learn also that Jacob de Rouffignac resided in Whistler's Court,¹ in the parish of S^t Swithin,²

¹ Whistler's Court has disappeared from the Directory, but there are still some remains of it. One house, which might from its appearance date from the last century, still remains; there is also a small court-yard, but it is a *cul de sac*. The property now belongs to the Salters' Company. The Court is situated to the north-west of the Church and small Churchyard.

² The Parish Church of the united parishes of St. Swithin and St. Mary, Bothaw. Bothaw—Boat Haw, a yard or enclosure where boats were brought for repair. The Church of St. Mary Bothaw, was not rebuilt after the fire of 1666, but the Churchyard existed until the erection of Cannon Street Railway Station, some thirty years since, when the burial ground was acquired and the remains removed. In 1693 Mrs. Henry Whistler rebuilt the parsonage house of St. Swithin, which had been left in ruins since the Great Fire, and presented a forty years' lease of the parsonage to the Churchwardens and parish. The family to which this Benefactress belonged presumably gave their name to Whistler's Court. See Newcourt's Repertorium.

London Stone, Cannon Street. We cannot be far wrong in supposing that, as a walk of but ten or twelve minutes would bring him to the French Church in Threadneedle Street, and as, further, we gather that he never took Anglican Orders, he attended the French Church.

Of the four children who survived, the first three were born in France, at Mauvezin probably, where the Pasteur resided.

Pierre de Rouffignac, the eldest surviving son, was born in France in 1682, and therefore, but an infant at the Revocation. At the age of 20 years he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his degree of B.A. in 1705 and that of M.A. in 1709. On the 12th February, 1711, at Fulham Palace, 'Petrus Rouffignac, Clericus, in Artibus Magister,' William Hall, Notary, being present, was instituted by the Bishop of London, on the presentation of Sir Henry Fetherstone, Bart., the true and undoubted Patron, to the Living of Stanford-le-Hope, in Essex.¹ He, no doubt, led the ordinary quiet and uneventful life of a country Rector of those days. He died in London on 30th Dec., 1746, probably at the house of his brother, Dr Guy de Rouffignac, in Gough Square, Fleet Street, and was buried at St. Bride's on 4th January, 1746-7. In the Register of Stanford-le-Hope appears the following reference to his death:

'The Rev^d Mr Rouffignac, Rector of this Parish, died at London on the 30th Dec., 1746, and was buried there the following Sunday.'

There is no evidence from the Registers of the Parish that he was married, or if so, that he left issue. I have been unable to trace any Will or Administration of Pierre de Rouffignac.

Guy de Rouffignac, the second surviving son, born also in France, about 1683, appears to have been sent to Holland, probably to Leyden, to study medicine. Reference to his being in Holland in 1714 is made in the Pasteur's Will. After obtaining his Diploma he returned to England and appears as early as 1718 to have settled as a Physician at Croydon, in Surrey, of which county he became a Justice of the Peace. It may also be gathered from his father's Will that he had some real property at Croydon. He married about 1722, Alice, daughter of Thomas Kerrill,² Esq., of

¹ Bishop of London's Institution Registers.

² John Kerrill, his son, was Deputy Master of the Horse to Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of George III.

Hadlow, Kent, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Maximilian Dalyson, Esq., of Hamptons, Halling, Kent.

The family of Kerrill was of great antiquity in Kent. The name is spelt in various ways, such as Keriell, Kerioll, Kirriell, Criol.¹

In his 'Survey of London,' Stow mentions that 'Sir Thomas Kirrioll, of Kent, after he had been long prisoner in France, married Elizabeth, one of the daughters' of John Chicheley, Chamberlain of London, nephew to Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443, their London residence being the house now known as Baker's Hall, in Harp Lane, Lower Thames Street.

The Rouffignac family papers mention that a contemporary student of Guy de Rouffignac at Leyden was the Duke of Dorset. This must have been Lionel Cranfield, Lord Sackville,² born in 1688, afterwards Earl and first Duke of Dorset, whose Kentish seat was at Knole Park, near Seven Oaks.

From the manner in which reference is made in the family papers to the fact that these two young men were at Leyden together, it might be inferred that they were friends, and if so, it would account, in a measure, for the alliance which was subsequently made between Guy de Rouffignac and Alice Kerrill, for, at the date of the marriage, the Kerrill family was settled at or near Seven Oaks.

An elder sister of Alice Kerrill, viz., Elizabeth, married about 1713 or 1714 Jeffery Amherst, a Benchler of Gray's Inn, and, by him, became the mother, amongst other children, of Jeffery, afterwards, Field Marshal Lord Amherst.³

¹ Criol, (Kent.) Arms : Ar. a Chev. debruised of a bend and a canton gu. also Per fess (another per chev.) or and gu., three annulets counterchanged. *Vide* Burke's General Armory. The name of Criol occurs also at Albary, Hertford, and Crioll, Keriell, and Kerioll occur in Leicestershire.

² Son of Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the firm and faithful supporter of William III, and one of the Regents of the Kingdom in 1695-6-7-8, during the absence in Holland of William III.

³ The Amherst family of Montreal Park, Seven Oaks, was descended from the Reverend Geoffrey Amherst, Rector, in the time of the Commonwealth, of Horamonden, near Goudhurst, Kent. On Nov. 27th, 1637, John Amherst, son of Geoffrey, of Horsmonden, clerk, was admitted a student at Gray's Inn, as were also, on 1st June, 1666, Jeffery, son and heir of John Amherst, of that Inn, Esq., and on 3rd May, 1692, Geoffrey Amherst, son and heir of Geoffrey Amherst, of Gray's Inn, Esq. This last was the husband, later, of Elizabeth Kerrill and the father of the first Lord Amherst. In 1742, on 30th June, 'Sackville Amherst, son and heir of Jeffery Amherst, now Treasurer of this Inn, (admitted to Inner Temple, Nov. 25th, 1730, by certificate of M. Thurston, Treasurer),' was admitted to Gray's Inn. On 20th May, 1814, 'William Kerrill Amherst, only son of William Amherst, late of Moydepore,

D^r Guy de Rouffignac and Alice Kerrill had a numerous family, consisting of five sons and four daughters, all, with the exception of two children, having been born during the period of their residence at Croydon. In 1731 the family removed to London, where, at Gough Square, Fleet Street, D^r de Rouffignac resided until his death in 1747. In the year 1731 his name first appears in the rate books of S^t Bride's, Fleet Street. His house must have been on either the north or west side of the Square, for the other sides of Gough Square are not in the parish of S^t Bride. On the west side, as most people know, still stands the house, now No. 17 (quite possibly D^r de Rouffignac's house), in the garret of which lived from 1749 (two years after D^r de Rouffignac's death) to 1759, Samuel Johnson, and where he compiled his Dictionary.

In 1732 D^r Guy de Rouffignac was elected Lecturer or Reader in Anatomy at Barber¹ Surgeons Hall. Through the courtesy of the Master of the Barbers' Company, Sidney Young, Esq., F.S.A., I am enabled to give the following extracts from the Minutes of the Barbers' Company, relating to this appointment, and to the Doctor's subsequent resignation of the same, on account of the increase in his practice.

East Indies, Esq., deceased,' was admitted to Gray's Inn. On the 10th May, 1753, Jeffery Amherst, of Seven Oaks, Kent, the future Peer, was married to Jane Dalyson, of Wrotham, Kent. Extracts from Gray's Inn Registers, edited by Joseph Foster.

Jeffery Amherst, the future Peer and Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, just mentioned, was born in 1717, and in 1731, though only 14 years of age, obtained, through the Duke of Dorset, the neighbour of the family at Knole Park, and the contemporary, as we have seen, of Guy de Rouffignac at Leyden, an Ensigny in the Guards. He must very early have shewn his military qualities for he was selected together with Wolfe, by the elder Pitt, for a command in the Army operating against the French in North America and Canada, during the Seven Years' War, 1756-1763. One of General Amherst's great exploits was the reduction of Ticonderoga, and in 1760, in command of one wing of the English Army he assisted in the capture of Montreal. Following on this he was appointed Governor General of North America, and 1761 he was created a K.B., and appointed Governor of Guernsey. In 1776 he was created a Peer, and rose subsequently to the rank of Field Marshal and Commander-in-Chief; the latter office he held at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War with France. He died in 1797, at the age of eighty. His Peerage was re-created on 6th Sept., 1788, with remainder to his nephew, William Pitt Amherst, the son of his brother, General William Amherst, who died in 1781. William Pitt Amherst, the second Peer, became Earl Amherst, the well-known and distinguished Governor General of India, who died as lately as 1857, just on the eve of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny.

It was his grandson, William Kerrill Amherst, son of William, who was admitted at Gray's Inn on 20th May, 1814.

¹ The Royal College of Surgeons was not founded till 1745.

'17 Aug., 1732. The Court proceeded to the Election of a fitt and able Physician to perform the Muscular Lecture for the Remainder of the Four Years in the Room of Doctor Goldsmith deceased, and Doctor Nesbitt and Doctor Ruffigniac being severally putt in Nomination for the said Office, the said Doctor Nesbitt was thereunto duly Elected for the Remainder of the said Four Years for which the said Doctor Goldsmith was chosen and which are now to come and unexpired. To hold and perform the same according to the Usage of the Company in that Behalf.'

'Then the Court proceeded to the Election of a fitt and able Physician to perform the Osteology Lecture for the Remainder of the four Years in the Room of the said Doctor Nesbitt, and Doctor Ruffiniac and Doctor — being severally putt in Nomination for the said Office the said Doctor Ruffiniac was thereunto duly elected for the Remainder of the said Four Years for which the said Doctor Nesbitt was chosen and which are now to come and unexpired. To hold and perform the same according to the Usage of the Company in that behalf.

'17 July, 1735. A Letter from D^r Guy Ruffigniac acquainting the Court That he being prevented by the Increase of his Business from attending the Office of one of the Readers of Anatomy of the Company did desire to be Excused from the further Discharge of the Office of Osteology Reader and from being a Reader of any other of the Publick Lectures, and Expressing his Thanks for the Respect shewn him by this Court during his being a Lecturer being read, The Court accepted of the said Doctor Ruffigniac's Resignation.¹

Alice Rouffignac, who survived her husband many years, died at Seven Oaks, where she lies buried in the Amherst vault.

The following is a copy of the names and god-parents of his children, extracted from the original out of a Quarto Bible belonging to D^r Guy de Rouffignac.

'July 16th, 1723. John de Rouffignac was born the Sixteenth of July, 1723, at half an hour after ten in the morning. His God-fathers were Sir John Elwill, Bart., of Langley in Kent, his cousin, and John Kerrill, Esq., of Seven Oakes, in Kent, his uncle; and his Godmother was M^{rs} Mary Kerrill, of Seven Oakes, his grandmother.'

¹ The election of Dr. de Rouffignac to the Readership of Anatomy at Barber Surgeons' Hall is thus noticed in the London Press of the day.

'The Weekly Register or Universal Journal, London, Saturday, August 19th, 1732.' 'Friday, August 18th. Preferments. Yesterday, Dr. Guy Rouffignac, a physician in Gough Square, Fleet Street, was unanimously chosen Lecturer of Anatomy at Surgeons' Hall, in the room of Dr. Goldsmith, decens'd.'

'The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal' of the same date, makes a similar announcement.

'July 20th, 1724. Elizabeth was born the 20th July, 1724, at eleven in the morning. Her Godfather was the Rev. Peter Rouffignac, her uncle; her Godmothers were M^{rs} Amherst of Riverhead, her aunt, and M^{rs} Pochin, her cousin.'

'Sept. 13th, 1725. Charlotte was born 13th Sept., 1725. Her Godfather was Thomas Dalyson, Esq., of Plaxtol, in Kent, her cousin; her Godmothers were the Right Honb^{le} Lady Lovelace and M^{rs} Simons.

'Sept. 2nd, 1726. Mary was born Sept. 2nd, 1726. Her Godfather was W^m Moore, Esq., of Fetcham, in Surrey; her Godmothers were M^{rs} Lake, of Goudhurst, and M^{rs} Amherst, of Riverhead, her aunt.'

'13th Nov., 1727. Francis, born 13th Nov., 1727, died Sept. 8th, 1730.'

'20th July, 1729. William, born 20th July, 1729. His Godfathers were the Right Honb^{le} William, Lord Vane, Viscount Duncannon, and Jeffery Amherst, Esq., of Riverhead, in Kent, his uncle; his Godmother was M^{rs} Dalyson, of Hamptons.'

'21st Dec., 1730. Henry, born 21st Dec., 1730. His Godfathers were Henry Bartelot, Jun^r Esq., spouse to Lady E. Elwill, and Jos. Wright, Esq.; his Godmother was M^{rs} Kerrill, Jun^r of Seven Oakes, in Kent, his aunt.'

'23rd July, 1732. Penelope, born July 23rd, 1732. Her Godfather was M^r Johnson, Woollen Draper; her Godmothers were M^{rs} Penelope Tipingham² and M^{rs} Hayes, her cousin.'

'22nd Dec., 1733. Theophila¹ was born Dec. 22nd, 1733. Her Godfather was Francis Austin, Esq., of Seven Oakes, in Kent; her Godmothers were M^{rs} Moore, of Fetcham, and M^{rs} Kerrill, Sen^r, of Seven Oakes, in Kent, her grandmother.'

FINIS.

It may, I think, be fairly assumed that Guy de Rouffignac met with considerable success in his profession. We may, also, without undue presumption, imagine that from his professional standing and the situation of his residence, he had a personal acquaintance with many of the leading artistic, literary, and other notables of eighteenth century London life, such as Hogarth, Young, Goldsmith, Samuel Johnson, and Richardson, the printer and novelist, whose successive places

¹ The last two children were born in London. In the Parish Register of St. Bride's, Fleet Street, occurs the entry on 1st Jan., 1733-4 of the baptism of 'Theophilus, son of Guy Ruffinack and Alice, his wife, Gough Square.' The extract from Dr. de Rouffignac's Bible, may, however, be taken as correct, looking to the assignment of Godparents.

² I learn from a note kindly furnished by Mrs. Dalison of Hamptons, Tonbridge, that this name should be *Tussingham*.

of business were close by in Fleet Street, Salisbury Court (now Square), and Blue Ball Court, now Bell's Buildings, and who, like D^r de Rouffignac, was one day¹ to be laid to rest beneath S^t Bride's. Roubilliac, the sculptor, and De Moivre, the mathematician, Refugees also, were not improbably amongst his acquaintances, if not his friends.

Guy de Rouffignac did not long survive his brother Peter, for following the latter to the grave within a year, he died at Gough Square in Nov., 1747, and was buried at S^t Bride's on 29th Nov., 1747. His age is given as 65, which would make him the same age as his brother, but they may have been born within twelve months of each other.

The two brothers lie in the south-west vault. Their ages fall far short of that of their father, Jacob de Rouffignac, who, as we have seen, was in his eighty-second year at the date of his death in 1721.

I have been unable to find any Will or Administration of Guy de Rouffignac also. Considering the position in life occupied by these two brothers, one a country Rector in the enjoyment of a good living, a bachelor, and the other a London Physician in extensive practice, this absence of Will or Administration is somewhat remarkable, especially in connection with the possession by D^r de Rouffignac of real property at Croydon. It is, of course, quite possible that the Croydon property might have been sold before his death.

Susanne de Rouffignac, the only surviving daughter of the Pasteur, remained unmarried and died but two years only after her brother, Guy. She was buried at S^t Thomas the Apostle,² in the City of London (but a short distance from her old home in Whistler's Court), on 22nd April, 1749.

Of the sons born to Guy and Alice de Rouffignac but one, according to the family history, left posterity. This was William, born 20th July, 1729, during the period of his parents' residence at Croydon, and, as far as I can trace, all the present day descendants of the Pasteur trace their descent through him.

William de Rouffignac, of whom a portrait in his uniform as a Midshipman of the Royal Navy, is in the possession of his descendant, M^{rs} Penelope³ Kidd (*née* Rouffignac), of

¹ 1761.

² Harleian Society's Registers.

³ A favourite family Christian name, as will be seen from the Pedigree. Through the kindness of Mrs. Kidd I am enabled to present to the Society an admirable photograph of this portrait coloured in oils. The portrait shews the dark eyes and complexion of the south-west of France.

Liverpool, entered the Navy in 1743, under the patronage of Lord Henry Beauclerk, who, if I mistake not, became later one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

Be this as it may, like many youths of good family in those days, he entered the Naval Service, not with the direct appointment or rank of Midshipman, but (as holding some situation or post in the gift of the Captain) as servant to Captain Richard Edwards of *H.M.S. Torrington*, on 30th April, 1743,¹ being then aged 13 years and 9 months.

On the 31st October, 1743, he was discharged from the *Torrington*, but on the 31st January following, he appears to have re-joined this ship and to have been borne on her books as A.B., and this at the age of not quite 14½ years. On the 28th Jan., 1744-5, he joined *H.M.S. Princess Mary*, of which vessel Captain John Amherst became Commander, no doubt a relative of his aunt, Elizabeth Kerrill, who had married, as shewn above,² Jeffery Amherst, of Riverhead, Seven Oaks. On the 27th Dec., 1746, he first appears as Midshipman of the *Princess Mary* and from her was discharged into the *Preston* on 29th Aug., 1747, joining her the next day, Captain John Amherst having taken over the command of this last-mentioned ship. On the 13th Aug., 1748, he was discharged into the *Harwich*, and on 13th Sept., 1750, he joined the *Amazon*, leaving the service finally on 25th Nov., 1751. By this date his father, his uncle, and his aunt, Susanne, had all passed away. His age was then but 22 years, and no information exists as to how he employed himself immediately on leaving the Navy, but later he appears to have entered into commerce, first at Hertford and, subsequently, in London.

As regards commercial undertakings in London, he received by Licence from the Chamberlain of the City of London, dated 16th November, 1773, permission to trade in the City. The following is a copy of the Licence.

‘No. 1013. Whereas in and by an Act of Parliament made in the Third Year of the Reign of His present Majesty King *George the Third*, intituled ‘an Act to enable such Officers, Mariners, and Soldiers, as have been in the Land or Sea Service, or in the Marines since the Twenty-second Year of His late Majesty King *George the Second*, to exercise Trades,’ it is enacted, That all such Officers, Mariners, Soldiers, and Marines who have been at any Time employed in the Service of his late Majesty, or of his present

¹ Admiralty Muster Books, Public Record Office.

² See p. 276.

Majesty, since the Twenty-ninth day of *November*, in the year of Our Lord, One-thousand Seven-hundred and Forty-eight, and have not since deserted the said Service, and also the Wives and Children of such Officers, Mariners, Soldiers, or Marines, may set up and exercise such Trades as they are apt and able for, in any Town or Place within the Kingdom of *Great Britian and Ireland*, without any Lett, Suit, or Molestation of any Person or Persons whatsoever, for or by reason of the using such Trades. Also, whereas it appears to me, by certificate under the Hand of Richard Horne, Esq., a principal Clerk in His Majesty's Navy Office, That William Rouffignac hath served the King's Majesty within the time aforesaid as a Midshipman on board His Majesty's Ships the *Princess Mary, Preston, Harwich, and Amazon*, wherby it appears to me, that the said William Rouffignac is duly intituled to the Benefit of the said Act. These are therefore to will and require all and singular the Serjeants of the Chamber and all other Persons whatsoever, not to molest or hinder the said William Rouffignac in exercising such his Trade within this City, or the Liberties thereof, according to the said Act. *Given under my Hand, and sealed with the Seal of the Office of Chamberlain of the said City of London this Sixteenth Day of November, in the year of Our Lord 1773.*

(sd.) Steph. Theod. Janssen,
Chamberlain.

William Rouffignac married Elizabeth, daughter of John Miscally, of Stranraer, Scotland, somewhere about 1761 or 1762.

They had issue, Francis, William, John, Mary, and Elizabeth.

I imagine that business cannot have been prosperous with William Rouffignac, for about 1775 he appears to have moved to Newlyn, near Penzance.

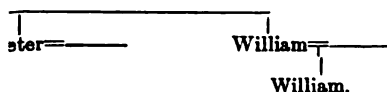
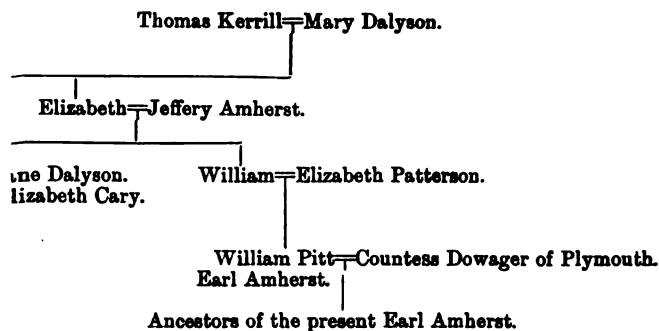
He died at Liphook,¹ and was buried in the Churchyard of the village of Bramshott, Hants, on the 13th Oct., 1791. He is described in the Burial Register as 'a stranger, aged 63,' but this 'stranger' was first cousin to Field-Marshal, Lord Amherst, the Commander-in-Chief of the English Army, then living. Elizabeth Rouffignac, his widow, was buried at Paul Parish, Mousehole, Cornwall, on 13th May, 1812, aged 72 years.

Francis, the eldest son of William Rouffignac and Elizabeth Miscally, was born in London on 3rd July, 1763, and was admitted as a scholar at St Paul's School,² London, in 1771,

¹ Liphook lies on the direct road from London to Portsmouth. Was he going to visit, or returning from visiting, Portsmouth, a place familiar to him in his young days in the Navy?

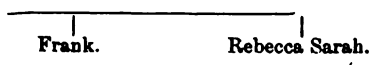
² Comm. of Mr. Henry Wagner. Bulletin, Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. Fr., 1891.

agree.



ah Tonkin.

=Mary Ann Wright.
vivens.



nac, 1671-1685, fled to England at the Revocation, died in London,

ford le Hope.

16, unmarried, died in London 30th December, 1746, buried at

cturer in Anatomy at Barber Surgeon's Hall, 1732-1735. J.P. for
bride's, 23rd November, 1747. Aged 65 years.

id Mary, daughter of Maximillian Dalyson, of Hamptons, Halling,

Hertford and London, died at Liphook, buried at Bramshott,

being then described as 'son of William Rouffignac, of Hertford, calico printer.' Francis Rouffignac no doubt accompanied his parents to Newlyn, but no information is forthcoming as to his calling in life.

Elizabeth, daughter of William and Elizabeth Rouffignac, was baptized at Paul Parish Church on 16th Aug., 1775.

Francis Rouffignac appears also to have resided at Newlyn. He married, in 1795, Margaret, daughter of Captain Edward James, of Cornwall, by whom he had four daughters, Elizabeth, Phillis, Penelope, and Jane, two sons, Ambrose Kerrill and Francis. William, another son of William and Elizabeth Rouffignac, married in 1796 (the name of his wife unknown), and died in 1836. He left four sons, John, Philip, Peter, and William. Philip left issue, William Amherst, John a son of the same name, and William also a son of the same name.

Ambrose Kerrill, son of Francis Rouffignac and Margaret James, married Jane Tonkin, and Francis Rouffignac, their other son, who married in March, 1827, Sarah Tonkin, was drowned but a few months after his marriage.

Ambrose Kerrill Rouffignac had issue, amongst others, a son, the present M^r Ambrose Kerrill Rouffignac, of Newlyn, and Penelope, the wife of M^r W. H. Kidd; and Francis Rouffignac had issue amongst others, a son, Francis, who married Mary Anne Wright in 1852 and deceased in February, 1882, leaving issue, Francis Henry, Joshua, Clement, Frank, and Rebecca Sarah, now living.

It has been a tradition in the family that Jacob de Rouffignac, the Pasteur, when required to expatriate himself at the Revocation, left property both real and personal behind him.

With regard to personalty there is this to be said, that the dower which Madeleine de Bonafous brought to him at their marriage—3000 livres¹ and 600 livres of interest—was, as appears from their marriage contract, in the hands of her brother, Jean Bonafous, *avocat*, at Puylaurens. It is quite clear from the Pasteur's letters that he had experienced much difficulty in obtaining a settlement with his brother-in-law, but it is equally clear that in his Will he does not make any mention whatever of property, either real or personal, left behind in France.

With regard to realty, the tradition has been that the family name having been originally Bevan, Bevin or Bevain,

¹ Assuming a livre to be worth 10d., this would represent £125 of English money at that date, worth considerably more at the present day.

some lands, bearing the name of Rouffignac, had passed into the family and, hence, the Pasteur's assumption of this name, whilst at the Revocation the estate was lost.

On this I may, with advantage, quote a memorandum kindly furnished me by Monsieur Charles Pradel, in which he says:

'A propos des noms patronymiques, les familles finissaient très souvent par les négliger et ne conservaient que des noms de terres. Je trouve à ce sujet, que les Daiguebère, réfugiés en Angleterre (dont il était question dans les lettres de Rouffignac), s'appelaient *Dessus*, nom d'une grande famille du Toulousain. L'un d'eux, Jean Dessus, sieur d'Aiguebère, était lieutenant-colonel au régiment de Noailles, en France en 1656.' Mons^r Pradel says also that 'Rouffignac est très probablement un nom de lieu, point le nom patronymique du pasteur. . . Mais je n'en ai aucune preuve. Il n'y a pas de localité appelée Rouffignac dans ce qui composait l'ancienne province de Languedoc, tandis que ce nom est assez répandu dans l'Ouest de la France.'

There can be little doubt that the family had borne the name of Rouffignac² for some generations prior to the birth of the Pasteur.

The family papers bear a coat-of-arms in the shape of what, I believe, is called in Heraldry, a canting shield, which displays a fig-tree on a rock, representing *rupes*, a rock, and *figus*, a fig-tree, thus making the equivalent of *Rouffignac*. The legend is *Providentiâ et Patientiâ*, and, as is common enough with French armorial bearings, the shield is not surmounted by a crest.³

The name of Rouffignac or Roffignac occurs in several places in D'Hozier.⁴

There is a 'Raimond de Roffignac, prieur de Magoutière,' mentioned in 1275, and Madeleine de Roffignac is mentioned in 1596. Again Suzanne de Roffignac is mentioned in 1708,⁵ as the wife of 'Jacques de Douhet, Ecuyer, Seigneur de Puismolinier, Lieut^t Criminel en la Senéchaussé et Siège Presidial de Limoges,' and Gui de Rouffignac is mentioned in 1496, in connection with his marriage to Françoise Chauvet.⁶

¹ 'Israel Daiguebère de la Ville de Mauvezin en Guienne,' made his *reconnaissance* at Leicester Fields Church on 18th May, 1699.

² The termination *ac*, sometimes *ak* or *iak* is Celtic, and is the equivalent of the English *Ham*, signifying possession, occupation, &c., and of the Latin *Villa* (Comm. of Mons^r Chas. Pradel).

³ I propose presenting the Society with a copy of the shield.

⁴ Armorial de France.

⁵ D'Hozier. article, Jacques de Pagnat, Ecuyer, Seigneur de Périgères, &c.

⁶ Article, de Chamborant.

There was also a 'Seigneurie de Rouffiac¹ en Angoumois, érigée en Comté, par lettres du 23 Janvier, 1654, enregistrées au Parlement de Paris, le 23 Dec., 1666, en faveur de René de Voyer, Seigneur d'Argenson.'

The crest and coat-of-arms of the Marquis de Rouffignac or Rouffignac, Limousin, Nivernais, is given by Rietstap² as follows: 'D'or au lion de gueules, supports, deux lions, ou deux licornes.

Devises. 1° Premier Chrétien du Limousin.
2° 'Leo rugiens circuit quem devorat.
3° Vincit leo de Tribu Juda.'

With a view to obtain restitution of the landed property in France, which the grandson and great-grandson of the Pasteur, no doubt, believed had been forcibly taken away from their ancestor, the Refugee, claims were presented, firstly by William Rouffignac, after the enactment, by the Constituent Assembly of France, of the law of 15th Dec., 1790, and later by his son Francis, after the peace of 1815. Of the claim of William Rouffignac, only a mutilated copy exists. In this he states that he is 'the grandson and only surviving heir of the late Rev^d Jacob Rouffignac, a French Protestant Divine of the Kingdom of France, born in Armagnac, capital of the Vicomté of fezansaquet.'⁴ He states also that he is living 'in Newlyn, in the parish of Paul, in the county of Cornwall.' He mentions also that 'there is in France a general officer of the name and title of Count de Rouffignac, which he could obtain in no other way than having this estate bestowed on his ancestors at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.'

The law under which this claim was made was, as stated just now, that of 15th Dec., 1790, and as William Rouffignac died in Oct., 1791, the date of his claim lies somewhere in the few months between these dates. The copy of the statement of claim made by his son, Francis, is in a better state of preservation. This mentions the original family name of Bevan, probably Bevin or Bevain, and states explicitly that 'before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV, anno, 1685,' his great-grandfather, Jacob de Rouffignac,

¹ Dict. de la Noblesse Française. De La Chenaye des Bois, Paris, Edit., 1872.

² Armorial Général, J. B. Rietstap, Gouda, 1884.

³ It is, of course, the purest accident, but compare the Pasteur's letter of 8th Oct., 1687, from Hitchin. 'Le lion a rugi, qui ne tremblera?'

⁴ This, of course, is not correct, because the Pasteur, himself, says, in his Will, that he was born in the town of Rochefoucauld in Angoumois.

'held an estate by devise or otherwise in the province of Languedoc, and on taking possession of the said estate his original name of Bevan was changed to that of Rouffignac (the supposed name of the estate), and it is highly probable that the former possessor bore the same name, as the land was rocky and its produce chiefly figs; and in allusion, the name (sic) he bore on taking possession of the estate was a fig-tree on a rock, which was probably borne by the family from whom he had that possession of property. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the above estate with all its effects were seized and taken from him, and himself and family, which consisted of his wife, two sons and one daughter, made their escape with other Protestants (to avoid that terrible persecution) to England. At his coming he received great favours from the Archbishop of Canterbury or (Bishop) of London, and by that interest obtained the cure of the French Protestant Church of Threadneedle Street,¹ in London, and some time after was instituted to the Lectureship in the French language at Sion College,² the benefits arising from these donations enabled him to provide for his family in a decent manner.'

An extract is given from some Minutes, but by whom does not appear, on the claim of Francis Rouffignac, as well as a copy of the reply of the Commissioners for British claims at Paris after the close of the long war with France.

'We have ascertained that the Decree respecting emigrants in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes does really exist, but that the time prescribed for giving a claim was limited to five years, unless the parties should have been prevented from so doing by the circumstance of war. F. Rouffignac, residing in England, was prevented by the war from making any claim.'

So would also his father, William Rouffignac, had he lived, so far as the prosecution of his claim was concerned, for the war with France broke out in 1793.

Office of the Commissioners for British claims,
Paris, 4th March, 1816.

Sir,

I am directed by the Commissioners to acknowledge the receipt of your statement of the 19th January, the enclosures of which are herewith returned, and to inform you that the powers of

¹ I have not been able to confirm this statement. He was certainly not one of the Ministers assigned to that church.

² I am afraid that this is not quite correct. There were no Lectureships in language at Sion College, and, preaching Lectureships at City Churches, which conferred the fellowship of the College, were necessarily restricted to clergymen of the Church of England.

this Board are confined to sequestrations which have taken place since January, 1793, without any reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(sd) John Bailie,
Secy.

F. de Rouffignac,
Penzance, Cornwall.

The claim of Francis de Rouffignac had evidently gone to the wrong quarter, and the French Government, not the Commissioners for British claims should have been addressed. Nevertheless, looking to the complete and absolute silence of the Will of Jacob de Rouffignac on this subject, I cannot believe that he left any real estate behind him in France. The absence also of any Testament, or of reference to this, on the part of both Pierre and Guy de Rouffignac, is much to the point. No doubt, the idea originated in the mind of his grandson as an outcome of the territorial surname which he had inherited, the almost certain origin of which Monsieur Charles Pradel has however pointed out.¹

But apart from all this, the restitution to the descendants of the original Refugees of property abandoned by their ancestors and confiscated or alienated by the State, even if the former consented to take the oath of citizenship and allegiance under the law of 15th Dec., 1790, was surrounded with almost insurmountable obstacles.

But little modification, really, had been introduced into the Proscription laws against fugitive Protestants, by the Edict of Tolerance of 1787, but by the decree of 23rd August, 1789, a great advance was made, the Constituent Assembly declaring complete religious equality for all citizens. The crowning point was now not far off. Under Louis XIV, the Protestant Refugees had been deprived of all civil rights, their property had been confiscated, and they had been declared aliens, but by the famous law of 15th Dec., 1790, already referred to, all persons, though alien born, who could prove their descent, paternally or maternally, from French Refugees, who had fled from their country on account of religion, were declared natives of France, and entitled, on return to France, with the intention of residing there, and on taking the oath of citizenship and allegiance, to all the privileges of citizenship. In

¹ See p. 284

the matter of the restoration of property, however, this generous and righteous legislation could not do very much, although it provided that all property belonging to Refugees, which still remained in the hands of the Government, should be returned to the families of their descendants, on proof of original ownership.

Property, however, which had been sold into private hands could not be disturbed.

Gifts and concessions of the property of Protestants made to others than the relatives of the Refugees were cancelled, 'no appeal to prescriptive right being admitted, either from the givers or the receivers. But the successors of the latter were permitted to oppose prescription to the claims of the legitimate heirs, if they could prove an uninterrupted possession for a period of thirty years.'¹

In this legislation, a Protestant Pasteur of commanding intellect took a great and leading part. I refer to Jean Paul Rabaut, better known as Rabaut St Etienne, a courageous *Pasteur du désert*, who represented in the Constituent Assembly the district of Toulouse, and who, like his father, Paul Rabaut, *l'apôtre du désert*, had encountered peril of every kind, at the hands of Bishops, Priests, and agents of the Government, throughout a long series of anxious years. Rabaut St Etienne, himself, had, on the 15th March, 1791, been proclaimed President of the Constituent Assembly, but he was destined in a short time to fall, with other Girondins, a victim to the fury of the Jacobins.

He paid the penalty of his life for his devotion to civil as well as religious liberty, on 5th Dec., 1793, dying by the guillotine.

Even, therefore, if Jacob de Rouffignac left property behind him in his hurried flight to England, it would be no wonder, if his grandson and great-grandson failed to make good their title to the possessions of their ancestor.

In conclusion, I wish to say that Monsieur Jean Philip de Barjeau of Auch, who believes himself to be descended from the same family as Jean Lacostes-Barjeau, the executor, to whom probate of Jacob de Rouffignac's Will was granted, is anxious to know whether any members of the family still exist in England. I shall be glad to receive any communications on this subject and to transmit the same to Monsieur de Barjeau.

¹ See Charles Weiss: French Prot. Exiles.

Notes and Queries.

I.

ALIENS AT GREAT YARMOUTH IN 1571.

In continuation of the returns of the names of aliens compiled by order of the Privy Council, in 1571,¹ we now print that for Great Yarmouth.² It will be observed that, as was the case in all other foreign settlements in England during the reign of Elizabeth, the majority of the strangers at this port were natives of the Low Countries. The greater number were from the province of Zealand, about half as many were Scotchmen, and about half their number Frenchmen. Then followed so-called Dutchmen—probably Germans for the most part, natives of the province of Holland, two of Iceland, one of Dantzic, and two Easterlings. It will also be noticed that by far the greater part of these aliens are described as fishermen or mariners, and some few as coopers—probably engaged in making barrels for packing fish, and that apart from those employed in making clothing almost all the others were engaged in some occupation more or less connected with maritime affairs. It is perhaps this which accounts for the fact that but seven of them are described as denizens.

Burn, in alluding to this foreign community, quotes a petition³ preferred to Queen Elizabeth in 1568 by 'diverse strangers of Holland, Zealand, and other parts of the Low Countries of the dominions of the King of Spain' asking for permission to continue to reside in the town and carry on their trade of fishing for 'herrings, codd, mackrell, and other fish . . . after the manner of their country,' and states that the licence sought for was granted on June 8, 1570, to 'thirty persons with their servants and families (ten persons to each family).' Apparently they were refugees from Alva's persecutions in the Netherlands for the licence refers to them as 'being of late years upon lamentable occasion come into this our realm of England.'

In a short time, Burn says,⁴ their numbers had so increased that on February 6, 1574, orders were drawn up by the town for their regulation. One of these orders limited them to ten

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. iii, p. 110 *et seq.*, for the reasons which led to these returns.

² *Domestic State Papers*, Elizabeth, Vol. 78, No. 10.

³ *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, p. 216.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

'pinks' only for fishing and they were to have three Englishmen to each pink.

Now the reformation had dealt a severe blow at this trade as is witnessed by Queen Elizabeth's ordinances providing for the eating of fish on certain days, not from motives of religion, but solely in order to encourage the fisheries, then as always the great nurseries for furnishing seamen for our navy. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find that in a port which has been noted continuously from the middle ages to the present time for its pre-eminence in the fishing industry that there was room for so large a number of aliens to settle and take part in the same business.

It should also be remarked that these strangers evidently considered that 'the manner of their country' in fishing was preferable to that of their English competitors, and the town authorities would appear to have been of the same opinion as shown by their insisting on three Englishmen forming part of the crew of each vessel. One would certainly have thought that Englishmen and especially the inhabitants of Yarmouth had nothing to learn respecting an industry so peculiarly their own, and yet that this was not the case, even near the close of the next century, is proved by a petition presented to the King and Council on May 8, 1685, by Samuel Heron, Peter Martell, and William Miles, merchants of London.¹ The prayer of this document is as follows:

'Your Pet^r having purchased five of the Doggers belonging to y^e Comp^y of y^e Roy^l fishery, which they design to employ in the fishing Trade, and considering that the same cannot well be done either to the advantage of themselves or y^e Publick without employing some Dutch-Men on board every Vessell, who may teach the English their way of fishing and ordering their fish, especially ffresh Codd & Herrings, And whereas by the Act of Navigation the Vessells and fish would become lyable to Confiscation if they should take such a Number of fforeigners as will be absolutely necessary at the first for Manning the said Doggers and instructing the English fishers as abovesaid:

'Your Pet^r most humbly pray that for y^e better carrying on and improving of their said intended fishery your Ma^{ty} would be graciously pleased to give them leave to invite & bring over about 40 ffamilies of Dutch ffishers to settle here, And that, for their Encouragement & Security ag^t the said Act, they may by your Ma^{ty} Royall Grace & favor be made free Denizens of this Kingdom *gratis* in like Manner as the distressed french Protestants haue been made.'

¹ *Domestic State Papers, James II., Bundle 5.*

GREAT } NORF'
YERMOUTH.

A briefe declaration and certificat of all Strangers and Aliens which are dwellinge within the burghes and libertie of Greate Yermouth in the countye of Norff' made the xijth daye of Maye, *anno domini* 1571, in the thirtene yere of the reigne of our most gracious soueraigne Ladye, Quene Elizabeth, &c.

House- holders.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Servantes.	Faculte.	Nation.	TYME of abod.
1	John Williamson	Jane his wif	two		a cowper	Zealande	two yeres
2	John Torkey	Maute his wif	fower		a mason	Zealand	thre yeres <i>di.</i>
3	Peter Barylmeuwe	Aryen his wif			a cowper	Zealand	one yere
4	Lyon Marshe	Loyen his wif	thre		a ffisherman	Zealand	one yere <i>di.</i>
5	Buskard Williams	Bardele his daughter			a ffisherman	Zealand	one yere <i>di.</i>
6	John Cornelys	Janken his wif	one		a ffisherman	Zealand	two yeres
7	Jacob Levenson	Leisbat his wif	fyve		a fisherman	Zealande	thre yeres
8	John Franson	Katherine his wif	two	Arnold, mariner	a taylor	Zealande	fower yeres
9	Robert Lewkyes		thre		a fisherman	France	twelve yeres
10	John Richardes	Lysborne his wif	thre		a skolemasther	Zealande	one yere
11	Adrian Jonson	Mawken his wif	two		a shipwright	Zealand	one yere <i>di.</i>
12	Hendryk Henrikson	Jane his wif	thre		a fisherman	Zealande	two yeres
13	Levian Levinson	Loyen his wif			a cowper	Zealande	thre yeres
14		Mayes Jarkins, widow	fower			Zealande	two yeres
15	William Fysker	Loynkey his wif			a fisherman	Zealande	one quarter
16	William Janson	Magdalere his wif	two	two maydser- vantes	a merchante	Zealande	fower yeres
17	Nicholas Jonson	Jane his wif	three		a cowper	Zealande	fower yeres
18	John Vanperden	Tankey his wif	seven	one manser- uant, one maid- servant	a merchante	Zealand	fower yeres

19 Leonard Cornelizon	Maulky his wife	fower	a fisherman	Zealand	one yere
20 John Fauendon	Mary his wif	two	a mason	Zealand	fower yeres
21 Martyne Rossa	Katherine his wif	fower	a fisherman	Zealande	one yere
22 Adam Jonson	Marye his wif	fyve	a ropemaker	Zealande	two yeres <i>di.</i>
23 Tobias Antonens	Anna his wif	one	bakers	Zealande	fower yeres
24 Lyon Stoffe	Apeleyne his wif	two	fishermen	Zealande	three yeres
25 Jacob Ryers	Leynkyn his wif	three	shoemaker	Zealande	one yere
26 William Denfish	Mawt his wif	fower	fisherman	Zealande	one monethe
27 Jacob Levens	Classe his wif	two	fisherman	Zealande	two yeres
28 Joise Kessier	Townkey his wif	one	cowper	Zealand	two yeres
29 Barnard Yanson	Margaret his wif	three	taylor	Zealand	fower yeres
30	Katherine Jose, widow			Holland	two yeres
31 Lyon Inglison	Nelkey his wif	fower	fisherman	Zealand	three yeres
32 Name Aertson	Rachell his wif	one	shipmaster	Zealand	one yere
33 Nelthe Andreas	Nelky his wif	fower	mason	Zealand	three yeres
34 Peter Waters	Adrian his wif	two	ropemaker	Hollande	fyftene yeres
35 Adam Serves	Jane his wife	fower	fisherman	Sealand	two yeres
36 Anthony Cornelis	Adrian his wif	two	fisherman	Zealand	two yeres
37 Thomas De Mount	Elizabeth his wif	fower	fisherman	Zealand	two yeres
38 Adrian Knappe			fisherman	Zelande	three yeres
39 Daniel Franson	Katherine his wif		fisherman	Zealand	half a yere
40 Joise Jonson	Margaret his wif	two	carpenter	Zeland	three yeres
Cornelis Cornelizon	Elizabeth his wif	two	fisherman	Zeland	three yeres
41 Phillipp Peterson	Mary his wif	100'	one maid servante	Zeland	two yeres

¹The total of the numbers of the children so far appearing in this column.

42 Joise Jonson	Marye his wif	fyve	carpenter	Zelande	thre yeres
43 Peter Jonson	Marye his wif	one	fisherman	Hollande	one yere
44 Martyn Willmson	Jane his wif	two	fisherman	Zealande	nynemonethes
45 Man' Jacobes	Elizabeth his wif	two	fisherman	Zealande	one yere j quarter
46 Anthony Clase	Tankey his wif		fisherman	Zealand	one yere
47 Hans van Lever	Nelky his wif	one	fisherman	Zeland	one yere
48 Nicholas Clase	Margret his wif		fisherman	Zeland	one monethe
49 Nicholas Smyth	Tankey his wif	two	smythe	Zeland	one yere
50 Joyse Janson	Marye his wif		cowper	Zealande	two yeres
51 Co . . . per	Nelkye his wif	thre	fisherman	Zealande	one yere
52 Powle Cornellizon	Cornelion his wif		mason	Zealande	fower yeres
53 Cornelis Clase	Katherine his wif	thre	merchante	Zealande	two yeres
54 Joise Jonson	Nelky his wif	one	shomaker	Zealand	thre yeres
55 Lyones Jonson	Mary his wif	fower	fisherman	Zealande	two yeres
56 Cornelis Cowper	Ledwise, widow	one	cowper	Zealand	one yere
57	Malcky his wif	two	merchante	Zealande	half a yere
58 Clase Tewse		two		Zealande	one yere
59 Lambert Jonson	Marye his wif	two	cowper	Zealand	one yere <i>di.</i>
60 Gerard Arnoldson	Nelkye his wif		sayle sower	Zealand	one yere
61 John Clase	Nelky his wif	thre	fisherman	Zealande	thre yeres
62 James Cornellizon	Tankey his wif	two	baker	Hollande	thre yeres
63	Mayon Willmson	fower		Hollande	two yeres
64 Gelian Janson	Katherine his wif	two	preacher	Zealand	thre yeres
65 Adrian Janson	Marye his wif		taylor	Zealande	fower yeres
66 Cornelis Langson	Mault his wif	thre	fisherman	Zealande	fower yeres
67 William Braye	Jone his wif	fyve	cowper	Holland	fyftene yeres

68	Deryk Claseng	Tankey his wif	one	one man ser- vant	cowpers	Zealand	two yeres
69	Garard Poole	his wif Englishhe	fower		joyner		fyve yeres
70	Garard Brewer	his wif English			shomaker		ten yeres
71	Henryk Busman			one man ser- vant	maryners	Esterlinges	thre yeres
72	William Foffar				surcion	Fraunce	one yere
73	Simon Cornewell	his wif English			maryner	Fraunce	xxx yeres
74	Olyuer Lucas	his wif English			maryner	Fraunce	ten yeres
75	Michael Jarret	his wif English			maryner	Fraunce	l yeres
76	John Clerk	his wif English			dromplater	Fraunce	ten yeres
77	John Allen	his wif English			mariner	France	sixtene yeres
78	William Calles	his wif English	thre		taylor	France	ten yeres
79	denizen John Glaser	no wife	fyve		a hatter	Fraunce	seven yeres
80	Nicholas Hetche	his wif English			mariner	Fraunce	twenty yeres
81	John Martens	his wif English	two		mariner	Fraunce	ten yeres
82	denizen William Torkey	his wif English			mariner	Fraunce	thirty yeres
83	Maklin Katerson	his wif English	thre		mariner	Fraunce	twenty yeres
84	denizen Robert Herring	his wif English	thre		mariner	Fraunce	fourty yeres
85	denizen Olyuer Metcalf	his wif English	one		mariner	Duchman	
86	Joise Tepon	Mary his wif			mariner	Zealande	fower yeres
87	denizen Nicholas Paterson	his wif English	two		cowper	Scotland	xxxij yeres
88	John Hille	his wif English	one		salle sower	Scotland	xxx yeres
89	Thomas Roderforth	Margeret his wif			mariner	Scotland	vij yeres
90	William Flowker	his wif English			mariner	Scotland	ten yeres
91	James Dous	his wif English			mariner	Scotland	nyne yeres
92	denizen Alexander Graye				shomaker	Scotland	fower yeres
93	Robert More						
94	William Tompson					Scotland	fower yeres

95 Alexander Mot	his wif English	one	mariner	Scotland	xxij yerres
96 William Prengle	Jane his wif	thre	goldsmithe	Scotland	seven yerres
97 Robert Davison	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	ten yerres
98 James Vensent	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	twelve yerres
99 Robert Tompson	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	twenty yerres
100 William Daynkell	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	sixtene yerres
101 Michael Robertson	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	xxv yerres
102 deane Walter Kyle	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	seven yerres
103 George Browning	his wif English		shomaker	Scotland	twenty yerres
104 John Emondes	his wif English		shomaker	Duchman	
		91	totalis 176	24	the totall of men, women, chyldern, & servants
		99			390 ¹

¹ These totals of the four columns and their sum are in a different handwriting to the rest of the document.

Here men and women, beinge seruantes with sondrye inhabitantes of this towne, and others not beinge householders

1 John Frisell	Scotes men	servantes with Robert Palmer	mariners
2 Andrew Joseye	Scotes man	servant with William Peteys	tapster
3 Robert Smythe	Scotes man	servant with Edmond Cowper	blaksmith
4 Partryk Ramsey	Scotes man	servant with John Harforth	shomaker
5 Partryk Doe	Scotes man	servant with Robert Leman	cowper
6 Powle Jacobson	Zelander		

7	Samuell Gabrell	Dansker	servant with William Turner	mariner
8	Mathew Desquan	Scotes	journeyman	carpenter
9	William Lowtinge	Scotes man	with John Coxe	mariner
10	Robert Blacke	Scotes men	servantes with John Gostling	berebrewers
11	William Wood	Scotes man	servant with William Stepinge	mariner
12	Davyd Haye	Scotes man	servant with Thomas Tompson	ropemaker
13	William Jonson	Frenchman	servant with him	ropemaker
14	Mathew Deser	Scotes man	servant with Robert Daniell	berebrewer
15	William Welles	Scotes man	servant with Richard Cooke	shomaker
16	Peter Dixon	Yselondman	servant with Robert Dobler	mariner
17	Powle Peterson	Scotes man	servant with John Garton	mariner
18	James Strange	Iselondman	servant with Thomas Harris	mariner
19	William Keth	Scotes man	servant with John Belle	taylor
20	Davye Perye	Scotes	servant with M ^r Betes	mariner
21	Willms Rose	Duchman	servant with Thomas Monyman	mariner
22	William Flenyng	Frenchman	servant with John Howes	mariner
23	Jacob Bolman	Duchman	servan[tes] with William Gros	maryners
24	Thomas Deny	Duchman		marin[er]
25	John Jonson	Duchman		marin[er]
26	Danyell Devogtle	Scotyahman		mariner
27	Henrye Hugon	Scotes man		
28	William Morys			

[Addressed.] To the righte honorable the Lordes of ye Quenes most honorable Prevyie C.....

[Endorred.] Certificat of Gr.t. Yermouth, touchyng strangers resydeng there.

II.

THE LETTERS PATENT ISSUED BY JAMES II. FOR THE FOUNDATION OF THE FRENCH CHURCH IN JEWIN STREET, LONDON, WITH REMARKS UPON SIMILAR LICENCES ISSUED BY HIM.

The terms of the licences to found churches issued to French Protestants by James II. well exemplify the increasing weakness of his hold upon the throne towards the close of his short reign. In those issued immediately after his accession he insisted upon the refugees conforming to the ritual of the Established Church, while in the later licences they were allowed to conduct their services in their own fashion.

Altogether four of these grants are now known to us. The earliest, dated July 30th, 1685, in the first year of his reign, was a warrant authorising the erection of the Fourth Foreign Church of Dover. Though the preceding foreign church at that port had been nonconformist, Mr. Minet has told us¹ that the members of this new congregation were only permitted to assemble on condition of their making 'use of the service of the Church of England according to the rubrick' as was done at the Savoy Church in London. In case of this injunction not being observed, the authorities of the town were 'to shut up the church dores, and suffer them to meet no more.' However the matter appears to have been considered of little moment, for the licence ended with the simple warrant, and did not pass through the various subsequent documents culminating in letters patent usual with grants of importance.

The next licence of the kind was of much more consequence and did reach the final stage of letters patent. It was issued on June 16th, 1686², in the second year of the King's reign, and authorised Peter Allix, clerk, and such others as from time to time should associate themselves with him, to build a church in or near the city of London for the use of French Protestant refugees who, in the mean time, were permitted to assemble for worship in a 'tabernacle or house' in Jewin Street, without Aldersgate, or in any other convenient place. Here, too, the French version of the Church of England liturgy was to be followed in the services, but the words directing its use are not couched in the peremptory tone of the Dover warrant. It followed therefore that the French pastors would

¹ *Proceedings* Vol. iv, p. 96.

² *Patent Roll*, 2 James II., Part 7, No. 3. BURN, in his *Foreign Protestant Refugees*, p. 153, says July 16th, 1686, but this is an error.

have to seek ordination as at Dover, but to place this beyond doubt the licence specifically declares that none but priests and deacons of the Church of England licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury were to officiate. The control of the congregation was also committed to the Archbishop's charge, and this is worthy of note, for the Bishop of London had been appointed 'Superintendent' of the places of worship of foreigners in the preceding century, and as the draft of the grant originally stood the control of this new congregation would eventually have lapsed to him. It is not generally known that the document, technically styled the warrant¹, with which this grant originated, and which, after it had passed through other stages, led to the issue of the letters patent, is said to have been drafted by Archbishop Sancroft himself. From Sancroft, this draft passed to some official, probably one of the law officers of the Crown, who corrected and put it into proper legal phraseology, and with the exception of the few emendations he made, the phrases of Sancroft form the operative part of the letters patent into which they were embodied. The final clause, however, of the draft, relating to a proposed revised edition of the French version of the Prayer Book, was omitted from the grant though not struck out of the draft.

Both warrant and letters patent are printed below.

The third licence of this nature was that issued in the third year of the reign, in August², 1687, permitting the authorities of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London, to establish the chapel-of-ease known as L'Hôpital in Long Hedge Field, Spitalfields. The King's policy would now seem to have changed. At any rate for the first time he permits the ministers to conduct 'the service of God after

¹ *Domestic State Papers*, James II., Bundle 3.

² In *Proceedings*, Vol. ii, pp. 479-481, we printed a Warrant, dated in July, 1687, for the preparation of a Bill to pass under the Privy Seal for the issue of this licence, and an entry relating to the licence taken from the Signet Office Docquet Book, of which the date, August, 1687, was accidentally omitted. BURN (p. 178) says that Letters Patent were issued and that they were dated August 11th, 1687. He does not, however, state if he had seen them or had merely noticed a reference to them in one of the numerous documents he had occasion to examine while acting as secretary to the Royal Commission for collecting non-parochial Registers; anyhow they are not enrolled on the Patent Roll. In their absence the full terms of the licence can be obtained from the Bill of Privy Seal (preserved amongst the Home Office Signet Bills), which will contain the exact words of the letters patent, except that the final clause 'Given &c.' would be replaced in the latter by the clause 'In witness &c.' with the date. The date of the Bill is August 6th, and it was sent to the next office which had to deal with the grant on August 8th.

their usual manner' and no longer insists upon conformity to the rites of the Established Church. It may be that this concession was due to a desire to conciliate owing to the growing insecurity of his position. On the other hand it may simply be a careless acquiescence with the plea put forward in the petition for the licence—that the new church was merely destined for the relief of the overcrowded congregation attending the long established nonconformist Church of Threadneedle Street. It is scarcely conceivable, however, that so transparent a plea could have deceived the King. The overcrowding naturally arose from the constantly increasing number of refugees arriving in the metropolis, and the grant was tantamount to licensing these new-comers to erect a church in which they could hold their services in their own way. Had James now deemed it prudent to enforce conformity he would either have appointed the church to be an 'annexe' of that of the Savoy, or have established it as an independent congregation.

The fourth and last of these licences is contained in the well-known letters patent issued on September 5th, 1688, in the fourth and concluding year of the King's reign.¹ By this Benjamin Daillon and other French Protestant Ministers were formed into a body corporate with power to build one or more churches in the city of London or its suburbs, wherein they might 'exercise the functions of their ministry according to the manner used [in] France, conformable to their confession of faith, liturgy, and discipline.'

This grant is much longer than any of its predecessors and gave the members of the new corporation powers of every kind that they could possibly desire; while the whole tone of it is in marked contrast to that of the earlier grants. Indeed one would have supposed that the recipients were in special favour with the King, stating, as he does, that he makes it for their 'more and greater ease, comfort, and encouragement.' As a matter of fact the converse must have been the case, for

¹ *Patent Roll*, 4 James II., Part 6, No. 3, BURN (pp. 24, 134, 145, 149, 168) refers to these letters patent as being dated September 4th, 1689. The day of the month he gives is certainly not that of the enrolment, while as regards the year he is obviously in error, for William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen on February 13th, 1689. The grant being made in the fourth year of the King's reign he no doubt arrived at the date by the deceptive process of adding 4 to 1685, the year of James's accession. He also says (p. 145) that a copy, in black letter, apparently meaning the engrossing hand of the time, exists amongst the records of the French Chapel of Le Quarré. Possibly the version of the grant which he prints (pp. 269-272) is taken from this, as it commences with the words 'A true copy of the letters patent.'

the refugees were popularly regarded by our own countrymen as affording examples of what their own fate might be should James be as successful in his aims as Louis XIV. had been in France, while the King was well aware that his son-in-law, William of Orange, was enrolling regiments composed entirely of Huguenot military exiles in the army collected for the purpose of driving him from his throne.

Draft of a Warrant, said to be in Archbishop Sancroft's handwriting, for the issue of Letters Patent for the foundation of the French Church in Jewin Street, London.

[The words in italics are struck out in the manuscript. Those on the line formed part of Sancroft's draft and are intended to be replaced by the official amendments, here indicated by the interlineations, in one of which, relating to Allix, a few words are also struck out.]

Whereas some families & several other French p'testants in & about o^r City of London (who have lately taken Refuge here & who' We have receiv'd into o^r gracious protection) have by y^r humble petition rep'sented unto Us y^r firm Resolution to live in entire Conformity & orderly Submission to o^r Governm^t, both in Church & State, & also their Intention to purchase to themselves (by & wth o^r p'mission) a fitting place in or about o^r s'd Citie, & thereupon to build a Church wherein they may solemnly assemble & perform divine Service so soon as it shall please God to enable them for so expensive a Work, And in y^e mean time do humbly pray That We would assign them a place convenient where they may meet together fro' time to time, & p'form y^e publick Service of God, and administer y^e holy Sacram^{ts} & other Rites & Offices of y^e Church in y^e French Tongue, but in all th'gs else exactly accord'g to y^e Use of y^e Church of Engl'd, We ^{being} ^Λ being¹ willing to gratify them in this y^r humble Request, do in y^e first place, graciously accept & well approve y^r good Intention

¹ Sic.

of build'g (as soon as they may) & dedicating to God's holy Worship & Service such a decent Church as is intended, And in y^e mean while, till that can be erected, furnished, & consecrated, We do hereby p^rmitt & give Leave, & o^r Will & Pleasure is that accord'g^y you p^rpare a Bill for o^r Roial Signature, to pass o^r great Seal, importing & containing o^r p^rmission, Leave, & Licence to y^e s^d ^{Peter Allix,} clerke, ^{Clarke, a priest} (^{P of the Church of England,} & such others as shall fro^m time to time join themselves to them ^{him,} (being in like Manner qualified for o^r Favor as y^e petitioners ^{are as is above s^d)} to assemble & meet together in a certain Tabernacle or House situate in Jewin-street wthout Aldersgate (w^{ch} as we are inform'd they have for this purpose hired of y^e Owners or ^{or any other convenient place,} Proprietor thereof) [^] & there to p^rform y^e daily Offices, & administer y^e holy Sacram^{ts} & other Rites of y^e Church in y^e French Tongue, but still accord'g to y^e Liturgy & Usage of y^e Church of Engl^d, Provided y^t y^e s^d House or Tabernacle, before it be publickly made use of to y^e purposes afores^d, shall be so decently fitted & accommodated, so furnish'd & adorn'd, as y^e m. R. F. in G. W^m, L^d Archb^p of Cant., shall direct and appoint, And y^t such & so many Priests & Deacons of y^e Church of Engl^d (& no other) shall be p^rmitted & authorized to officiate there, as y^e s^d ^{congregation,} petitioners, or those y^t shall have power to act in y^e Name as their Deputies & Trustees, shall nominate & p^rsent to him, y^e s^d Archb^p, & w^{ch} he shall under his Hand & Seal think fitt to approve & Licence to y^t purpose, accord'g to y^e Rules & Practice of y^e Church of Engl^d, For to his Care & Inspection alone (out of o^r entire Confidence in his Integrity & Zeal for o^r & y^e publick Service) We do think fitt to recom^dend & com^{itt} the first Establishm^t & p^rsent Regulation of y^e s^d French

¹ Word illegible. Some months later, on January 5th, 1688, letters of denization were issued to Peter Allix, clerk, Margaret, his wife, and John, James, and Peter their Children. *Patent Roll*, 3 James II., Part 10, No. 6.

Congregation, to be left afterwards to y^e Ordinary Jurisd^con of y^e place, as y^e Laws & Canons of y^e Ch. require, And lastly, whereas We are inform'd That y^e French Translatioⁿ of y^e English Liturgy, us'd hitherto in y^e French Church at y^e Savoye, is not so exactly done as it ought to be, & in many p^ticular Offices differs very much fro^m y^e English Book of Common Prayer as it stands now by Law & by o^r Order Established, O^r Will and Pleasure is That y^e Whole be forthwth, (as soon as conveniently may be), revis'd, corrected, & supply'd, & then by & with y^e Approbation & Licence of y^e s^d Archb^p (& not otherwise) reprinted for y^e Use of y^e s^d French Congregation & all others of y^e like Nature and Condition wthin o^r K^gdom of Engl^d & y^e Isles adjacent, And untill y^t be done, they are hereby p^mitted & allowed, in all y^e Celebrations of divine Offices, to use publicly y^e p^sent French Translation as it hath been formerly & is now used in y^e said Church of y^e Savoy.

[Endorsed.]

Draught for Warr^t about the new french church.
Rec^d from My L^d of Canterbury, May 27th, 86.
To write to the Duke of Somerset.

Letters Patent for the foundation of the same Church.

James the Second, by the Grace of God &c., To all to whome these presents shall come Greeting, Whereas some families and severall other french Protestants in and about our Citty of London, who have lately taken refuge here, and whome we have received into our Gracious proteccⁿ, have by their humble peticⁿ represented to vs theire firme resolucⁿ to live in entire conformity & orderly submission to our Government both in Church and State, and alsoe theire intencⁿ to purchase to themselves (by and with our p^micⁿ) a fitting place in or about our said Citty, and therevpon to build a Church wherein they may solemnly Assemble and performe Divine service soe soone as it shall please God to enable them for soe expensive a worke, and in the meane time¹ that we would assigne them a place convenient where they may meet together from time to time and performe the publick service of God and Administer the Holy Sacraments and other Rights and Offices of the Church in the french tongue, but in all things else exactly

¹ The words 'do humbly pray' occur here in the draft of the Warrant.

according to the vse of the Church of England, Know yee therefore that we, being willing to gratifie them in this their humble Request, of our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meer moc'on, Have given and granted, and by these presence for vs, our heires, and Successors, doe give and grant vnto Peter Allix, Clerke, and such others as shall from time to time ioynе themselves to him, pemic'on (*sic*), leave, and lycence to Assemble and meet together in a Certaine Tabernacle or House scituate in Jewin Street without Aldersgate (which as we are informed they have for this purpose hired of the Owners or proprietors thereof) or any other Convenient place, and there to performe the dayly Offices and Administer the Holy Sacraments or other Rightes of the Church in the ffrench tongue, but still according to the liturgy and vsage of the Church of England, Provided alwaies, and our expresse will and pleasure is that the said House or Tabernacle, before itt be publickly made vse of to the purposes aforesaid, shall be soe decently fitted and accomodated, soe furnished and adorned, as the most Reverend father in God William, lord Archbishopp of Canterbury, shall direct and appoynt, and that such and soe many Preists and Deacons of the Church of England (and noe other) shall be permitted and authorized to Officiate there as the said Congregac'on, or those that shall have power to Act in their name as their Deputies and Trustees, shall nominate and present to him, the said Archbishopp, and which he shall, vnder his hand and Seale, thinke fitt to appoynt and lycence to that purpose, according to the Rules and practice of the Church of England, for to his care and inspec'ion alone (out of our entire Confidence in his Integrity and zeale) we doe thinke fitt to recom'end and com'itt the establishment and Regulac'on of the said ffrench Congregac'on. In witnesse &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the sixteenth day of June.

By Writ of privy Seale.

III.

MISCELLANEA.

Elias Rebotier.—In the recently issued *Proceedings* of the Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society, vol. xl., is a very interesting Autobiography, edited by Mr E. A. Fry, of the Rev. Elias Rebotier, sometime Rector of Axbridge, Somerset. Mr. Fry informs us that the original MS. is no longer to be found, having disappeared since 1846, in which year it was in the possession of the Rev. T. Fry, then of Westgate Street, Bath, and the work now printed by the Somerset Society is therefore taken from a "true copy" of it.

Elias Rebotier was born in 1678 or 1679 at St. Jean de Gardonnenque in the Cévennes and, though of Protestant parents, was educated, from prudential motives, at a Jesuit College at Nismes, the training he there received having, however, no effect in making him deviate from the still earlier imbibed tenets of the reformed religion. At the end of three years Rebotier determined to quit the College and betake himself to Geneva, and he gives a most interesting account of his escape and journey, during which he underwent many perils and hardships. Having spent a few days only at Geneva, he proceeded to Germany and from thence, through Holland, to London, where he remained some time in hopes of finding means to enable him to go through the necessary course of study for holy orders. At length he received the offer of an appointment as tutor in Barbadoes and arrived there at the end of 1701 after a passage rendered eventful by encounters with storms and pirates. His health failing in the climate of Barbadoes, Rebotier was compelled to return to England in 1702, and in 1706 was ordained by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. After holding several cures in that diocese, he finally became Rector of Axbridge, where he remained till his death in 1765.

The account of Rebotier's life forms one of the most remarkable narratives that have come down to us of the many trials and vicissitudes through which the refugees had to pass, and we are much indebted to Mr. Fry and the Somerset Archæological Society for its preservation in that Society's *Proceedings*.

French Protestant refugees at Rye.—Though we had an excellent Paper on the foreign settlements at Rye read at one of our Meetings¹ nothing appears in it to show the occupations followed by the later refugees who took up their abode there. A royal warrant,² however, supplies this deficiency with regard to those who arrived in the town during the disturbed period immediately preceding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and not only informs us that they were fishermen, and obtained special assistance in finding a market for their fish, but that they were ordered to settle at Rye owing to the calling they followed. Who the Daniel Brulon named in this warrant, which is printed below, was, and why he was so privileged we

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. ii, pp. 406, 567.

² *State Papers, Domestic Entry Books*, Vol. 66, p. 100.

have nothing to show. His name does not occur in the extracts from the parish registers of Rye printed in the appendix to the Paper, but being described as the King's 'loving subject' it is possible that he hereafter may be identified when the letters of denization for the period have been printed.

Daniel Brulon to
haue liberty to
Convey fish to
London.

Whereas Our Comm^{rs} for disposing Our Charity to the Distressed French Protestants haue appointed seuerall of them (being Fishermen by Trade) to Settle in Our Towne of Rye, in Our County of Sussex, And whereas Our Loving Subject Daniel Brulon for their better encouragem^t & for the service of Our Cittyes of London and Westminster hath undertaken to Convey all such fish as they shall take to the Markets of Our said Cittyes, and Our Mayor and Court of Aldermen hauing granted him the freedome of Our said City of London, Now for the said Brulons further encouragement in his so publike an undertaking we declare Our Will and pleasure to be that Our Sheriff of Our County of Kent, and Our Justices of the Peace, and all other Our Inferior Officers of the same County, by all wayes & meanes Warrantable, prevent all Letts and hindrances that, within the same County, may be any way by any of Our Subjects offered the person or persons that shall by the said Brulon be appointed and employed to Convey such fish as aforesayd to Our sayd Cittyes of London & Westminster, and be ayding and Assisting to them for prevention of all hindrances, trouble, or molestation. Giuen at Our Court at Whitehall, the 29th June, 1682.

To Our Sheriff, and Justices, and all other Our Inferior Officers of Our County of Kent.

The like Warrant, *mutatis Mutandis*, to the Sheriff, Justices, and all other Inferior Officers of the County of Sussex.

The like to the Sheriffs (*sic*), Justices, and all other Inferior Officers of the County of Surrey.

A complaint against foreigners residing at Spitalfields.—The credit of having introduced many vegetables into England, or having at least popularized their cultivation here, has sometimes been assigned to aliens. Whether this be justifiable or not it would at any rate appear that those resident in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields caused great offence by their manner of disposing of their vegetable refuse, giving rise to the inference that vegetables entered into their dietary to a larger extent than was customary with natives at the time. Possibly their being more addicted to soups than the English would partly account for this; indeed one of their earliest

charitable foundations was itself known under the title of *the Soup*.

As is well-known the outskirts of the city of London were formerly a net-work of open sewers and small streams running into the Thames and now covered in, and it was into one of these that the strangers of Spitalfields were wont to throw their garbage. This practice came to the notice of the Commissioners of Sewers for Middlesex and is referred to in the following passage taken from an account of their proceedings which is enclosed in a letter dated January 27, 1686, written by Sir William Smyth, a member of the Commission, to Lord Dartmouth.¹

The Commissioners first sat at Hicks Hall to consider Turnmill Brook Sewer, stopped by much filth thrown into it. They next kept sessions in Whitechapel, where they considered the sewer coming from Spitalfields, which runs almost four miles before it gets into the Thames, through Stepney town and close to the churchway which leads to Stepney Church, and almost all the way open, and brings down a very noisome water, the Walloons and strangers there living much upon cabbage and roots, to the great offence of the inhabitants as to health and otherways. To remedy this great nuisance all parties had concurred with the Commissioners that a sewer should be made to carry the water the shortest way to the Thames, and be made close to prevent the stink, and so wide and so deep as to serve a great many houses that were then building. Difficulties about this had afterwards been raised about the cost of this new sewer (*sic*), but Sir William Smyth, his tenants and friends, had no concern any way in it, and could reap no benefit.

Foreign prisoners of war.—On several occasions we have referred to the treatment experienced by French Protestants brought as prisoners of war to this country. The following passage from the minutes of a meeting of the Privy Council held on August 19, 1576,² though not relating to Huguenot prisoners is nevertheless worthy of note. It is a case of the authorities compelling the alien communities of Kent, then largely composed of refugees from the Low Countries, to contribute to the maintenance of Flemish prisoners.

It is to be remarked that only Sandwich, Canterbury, and Maidstone—the three largest of these settlements in that county are specially named, and that no mention is made of the foreign

¹ *MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth, Eleventh Report of the Hist. MSS. Com., Appx., Part v, p. 129.*

² *Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, Vol. ix, p. 191.*

community of Dover, and yet it is in this very year 1576 that we have the earliest reference we possess to the Dutch Church¹, the first of the four consecutive foreign congregations there. This would suggest that, like the later churches, it was insignificant as regards membership, though their geographical situation rendered all these four churches most important owing to the facilities they possessed for offering 'first aid' to newly arriving refugees.

A letter to the Lord Cobham² that wheare diverse Flussingers being lately brought in and committed to prison, some to Dover, some to Sandwich, whose charges in susteyning them wilbe more chargeable than those two townes wilbe able to beare, he is required to send some of the said prisoners to the gaole of Caunterburie, and to take some order that the straingers resident in Sandwiche, Caunterburye, and Maidstone, and in other places within his Lordship's charge, may be contributaries towards the relief of the said prisoners till further order be taken with them.

The French Hospital, London, A.D. 1668.—In an account of the collector of the hearth-tax for four wards of the city of London, dated April 22, 1668, there occurs an assessment in respect of the French Hospital.³ What was this institution? It was situated in 'S^t Buttolphs Wthout, East Side,' in Bishops-gate Ward. Evidently it was a very small building and not in affluent circumstances for it was charged for two hearths only and even on these the assessment for eighteen months, amounting to but six shillings, was then in arrear, the excuse alleged being that it was 'poore.'

The French Protestant Hospital of London, now in Victoria Park, was not established until a much later date. James de Gastigny left a legacy towards its erection in 1708, but it was not until 1718 that letters patent for its incorporation were issued.

In Maitland's account of the churches and charitable foundations maintained by foreigners in London, published in 1739, he refers to two other institutions of the same character.⁴ One was the 'French Alms-house' in Black Eagle Street, Spitalfields, when founded he does not say, but he mentions its being in existence in 1728. The other was the 'French House of Charity' called 'the Soup,' which he states, 'was erected about forty-five years ago,' Forty-five years prior to 1739, the date

¹ *Proceedings*, Vol. iii, p. 121.

² *Lay Subsidy Rolls*, 147-617, p. 63.

³ Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

⁴ *Proceedings*, Vol. iii, pp. 572, 573.

of the publication of Maitland's work, would carry us back to 1694 only, and even allowing for possible error, owing to the time so large a work must have taken to print, if Maitland be correct, the date of the foundation of this charity was long subsequent to the date of the hearth-tax account. By whom then was this earlier French Hospital founded? Can it have been established by the 'Company of Merchants of London trading into France' who were incorporated by letters patent on July 12, 1611?¹

A hitherto unknown French Church at Exeter.—Very little attention has yet been paid to the history of the foreign colonies in the west of England. Next to that at Bristol, of which some account has been given in our *Proceedings*,² perhaps the French settlement at Exeter was the most important, and yet even here it seems we have been wrong in our estimate of the numbers it comprised. It has always been supposed hitherto that there were so few Huguenot refugees in that city that they formed but one congregation, which assembled at one time in the parish church of St. Olave where so many traces of the exiles still remain in the shape of monumental inscriptions. It appears, however, that in the reign of William III. they had at least two separate churches. This is proved by the signature of a minister of one of the congregations appended amongst the names of other inhabitants of the city to one of the Association Oath Rolls³ which were signed so numerously there as elsewhere throughout the country after the discovery of the project for assassinating the King in the spring of 1686. The signature is—'L.J. (or I.) Violet, Ministre d'une des Eglises françoises d'Exon.'

Families of Lacoste and Duluc.—It is strange that though this Society has now been in existence over ten years so far only two narratives of the personal experiences of Huguenot refugees have been contributed to our *Proceedings*, those of Isaac Minet and John Perigal. Yet very few such narratives have been printed elsewhere, the memoirs of Dumont de Bostaquet being perhaps those best known. This is somewhat surprising, for the details of the persecutions suffered by the original refugees, the varied stratagems by which they effected their escape, and their many adventures and wanderings

¹ *Patent Roll*, 9 James I., Part 35, No. 9.

² Vol. iii, p. 357.

³ *Association Oath Rolls*, (*Petty Bag Office*), No. 72.

before finally settling down amongst the people of this country, would necessarily be of the highest interest to all of Huguenot descent. Should, therefore, any Fellow of the Society be possessed of such narratives or of documents from which such relations could be compiled, the Honorary Secretary would be very grateful to him if he would communicate them in the form of a Paper to the Society.

A curious compilation of this kind, apparently, however, not concerned with incidents of any particularly exciting nature, is referred to in the last issued part of the splendid catalogue of manuscripts preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, now in course of publication under the able editorship of the Rev. W. D. Macray. This is a quarto paper book, of ninety-four folios, containing an account of the Lacoste family and its connections by marriage,¹ of which Mr. Macray gives the following description.

[fo. 1.] 'Genealogie de moy Benjamin Lacoste et de Louise Duluc, ma femme, 1677,'

A full family and personal history, ending with the writer's settlement as a Protestant minister at Meilan on 24 Sept., 1664, immediately after his marriage, and with a description of his wife, her beauty and character. At p. 3 the writer says: 'J'ay resolu de tirer ici non seulement ma genealogie et celle de ma femme, mais même d'y faire nôtre portrait et celuy de nos peres et meres, et de nos autres ancêtres autant qu'ils me seront cōnus, et j'exhorte ceux qui viendront apres moy, si Dieu conserve les deux enfans qu'il m'a donnees, de continuer ce que j'auray dê-jà commencé.' He was born at Montauban, 16 July, 1630.

[fo. 86.] Similar autobiography by the son of the preceding writer, headed, 'Detail de mes etudes, voyages, campagnes et aventures qui me sont arrivées pendant le cours de 52 annees,' written in 1730 at the age of 64.

The writer says that, his sister having sent him his father's journal, he begins this continuation in accordance with the wish there expressed. His father died in 1680 at the age of 49; the son quitted France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came to England in the fleet of William of Orange in 1688, served in his army in Ireland and in Flanders in 1693-7, and afterwards in that of the earl of Galway in Spain; married in Ireland, in 1700, the daughter of the steward of the duke of Ormonde, who died in 1706; is made captain in 1707; married in 1715 the widow of a captain of infantry, who was

¹ *Rawlinson MSS.*, D. 452.

daughter of a rich merchant at Dieppe. At the end is a short continuation, containing the death of his second wife on 26 Feb., 1731, with the characters of his two wives and himself.

French Protestants at Windsor.—To another entry in the same catalogue we are indebted for the following notice of a small colony of Huguenots at Windsor,¹ which has hitherto escaped attention.

‘Memorial to Bp. Compton,² signed by twenty-one French Protestants settled in Windsor, praying for the establishment of a pastor and reader amongst them, and recommending M. Brevet and Jaques Taumur; not dated.’

¹ *Ravolinson MSS.* D. 984. fol. 258. No. 116,

² Henry Compton was consecrated Bishop of Oxford in December, 1674, was translated to the see of London in December, 1675, and died at Fulham on July 7, 1713.

APPENDIX.

Loudun sous la Croix.

BY IDA H. LAYARD.



LOUDUN, le souvrin chambre do Re" was the verdict on this isolated town in the days of its prosperity.¹

But Rabelais, who knew well the character of its inhabitants in the 16th and 17th centuries, writes "that the Devil, when showing the Son of God all the kingdoms of the world, reserved Châtellerault, Chinon, Domfront and, above all, Loudun for his own domain."

As the Kings of that epoch had a good deal of the devil in them, both proverbs may hold good.

In September, under a turquoise blue sky, flecked only at evening with rosy fleeting wind clouds—with vines and geraniums brilliant as if a due amount of rain had fallen, instead of there having been months of drought—Loudun conveys to one the very opposite idea of evil and hatred and war.

Its streets are clean; many of its houses, even in the tortuous alleys, bear the stamp of former wealth: the little inner courts and the gardens in front are a mass of gorgeous flowers.

Poverty most certainly must exist; dirt and disgrace hide still in its corners; but the general air of the town is a bright pleasantness, a graceful cordiality, with, it must be confessed, a great deal of local gossip and concern in other people's affairs.

The little city stands on a hill not of any great altitude, sufficient however to make it a conspicuous object from the undulating plain around.

¹ Loudun, a town of 4500 inhabitants, in the department of Vienne, province of Poitou, on the high road from Paris to La Rochelle, and nearly in the middle of a triangle, with Saumur, Tours and Poitiers at the salient angles.

The salient points—its “Square Tower” (Tour Carrée) and the spire of the parish Church, rise up solitary from a clipped row of trees planted on the site of the old Castle, which stood on the steep western ridge.

Originally the Castle constituted the entire city and was called “the white town,” or the “Château blanc des longs guérets”—“guérets” signifying cultivated fields running up to the foot of the ramparts.

The town sprang up on the eastern side of the Castle which watched over it and kept it in order—in turn terrifying and protecting the inhabitants.

It formed an irregular semi-circle round the fortress, ending in a long narrow tail westward with the Porte du Martray at the end.

The Castle was surrounded with high and strong walls, and twenty round towers of which only three remain, and these are ruined. There were two gates and a postern. It had its own Church and keep and great Tower, and a royal palace of such beauty that it gave rise to that proverb “the King’s royal chamber.”

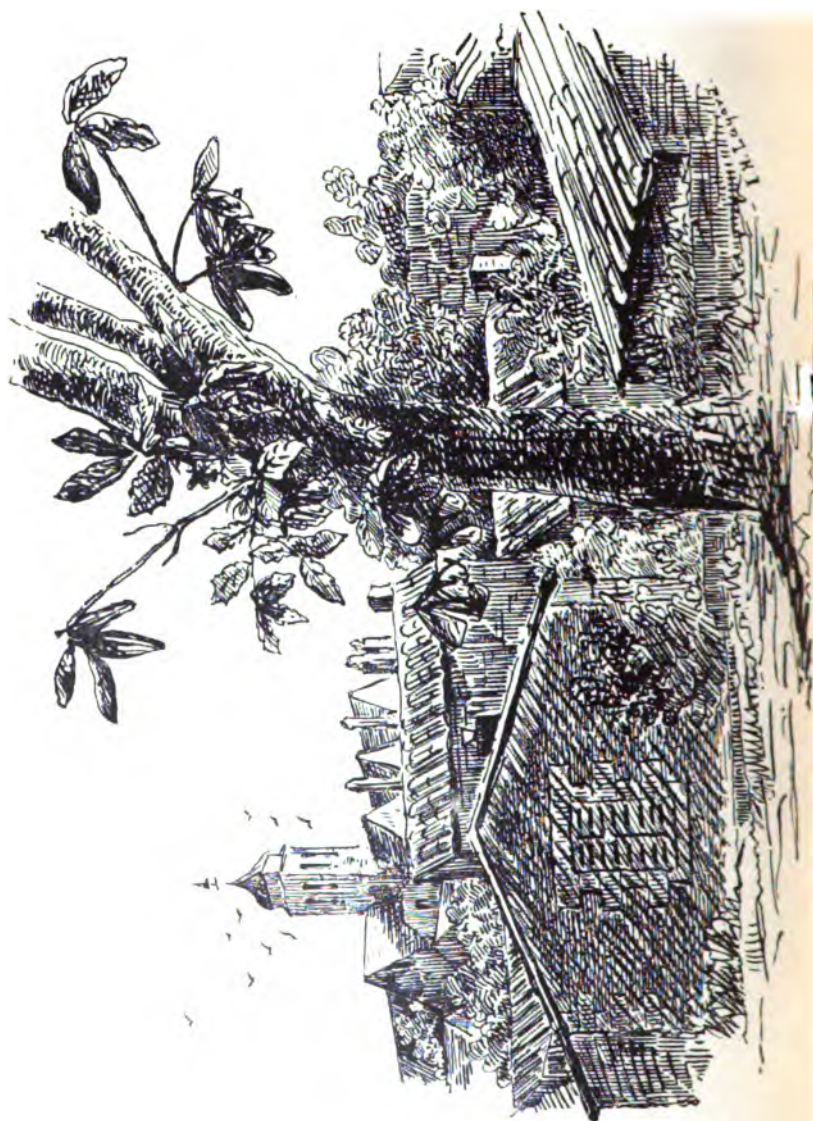
Catherine de’ Medici considered it so remarkable that she had copies made of the fireplaces and windows, to carry away a remembrance of them and have them reproduced.

The Church was called St. Peter’s; and there was also a Chapel to “Our Lady” with a priory attached.

Everything must have been closely built together, or on a small scale, for the summit of the hill on which all these buildings were situated is not of very great extent.

Later, in the 13th century, the city was surrounded with its own ring of walls pierced with four gates, Porte St. Nicholas to the north; Porte de Chinon, east; Porte Mirebeau, south; Porte du Martray, west; and there seem to have been two lesser entrances, that of the “Portail chaussé” and “Pasquin,”—the former on the road to Saumur and the latter on the Thouars highway. These fortifications took in on the western side the long tail-like piece of land, which formed the great cemetery.

With this conspicuous situation, as a regular watch-tower over the surrounding country, strong within and without, surrounded by moats both wide and deep, and with an impregnable fort as a kernel within its walls, we can understand “why the protestants were so anxious to retain this military post which was for them a place of safety; and also why, on the other hand, the court, disturbed and suspicious,



determined (in 1630) to entirely destroy such a fortress."

Cardinal Richelieu thoroughly accomplished his work. The Castle precincts contain nought but the great square Tower which is shorn of its crenelated parapet, and remains as an empty shell. Great stone walls, enclosing vineyards, cut the ground up into a sort of maze of lanes, and on the steep side is a plantation of elms enclosing a bandstand and a bicycle course.

Loudun seems to have been well known in the time of Julius Cæsar, and is supposed to have been named after him "Juliodunum." Its history began in the religious wars, and through the 16th and 17th centuries it was alternately the centre of the power and influence of the Huguenots and the scene of bitter persecution and retaliation.

When the kingdom of Peace is preached by the sword, and Truth at the dagger's point, neither party comes out innocent. Yet it appears that there cannot have been many instances of personal cruelty on the part of the Huguenots, or the Archives would not have failed to make much of the matter. The only instances recorded are the murder of six monks—"cordeliers" and that of a priest by a man named "Richard." This man tied the priest to his horse's tail, and dragging him across the town, threw him into a dirty ditch near the postern "du Pasquin," "where," naively concludes the chronicler, "we imagine he perished." The Huguenots also burnt down the fine church of Sainte Croix on the market place (1568) a romanesque building with nave and transepts. But modern catholics are not much in advance of them, for they have rebuilt their church and turned it into the city Market, and leave it in the dirtiest condition. Haberdashery of a mean sort, and vegetables and melons, strew the pavement on the very spot where day by day the Feast of Remembrance was celebrated.

In the same year of trouble 1568, the Huguenots put fire to the Carmelite Convent as is recorded on an inscription cut in the first pillar in the nave of the Église des Carmes, erroneously called S. Pierre du Martray.

LE . XX . IOVR . DE . NOVEBRE . 2

MILLE . V^e SOIXANTE HVICT

FVT . CE CÖVET MIS . EN . CEDRES

PAR LES HVGVENOTZ deStEVICTS.

On the same day they burnt the chapel of the "Dreux" in the Cemetery opposite the church.

This was not to be wondered at, although one deploras the loss of fine buildings. For the life of the Huguenots was, during two centuries, one of continual, harassing, petty and great persecutions.

Though, at times, the dominant power was in their hands, and the Castle in their possession, yet they never knew from month to month what piece of injustice might deprive them of liberty or life.

To the eternal praise of its Governor, Loudun escaped the horrors of the Night of St. Bartholomew. The Governor's name is buried in oblivion, but his brave refusal to execute the king's orders should be recorded in golden letters in French history. It is also possible that the Huguenots had the upper hand in Loudun about that time.

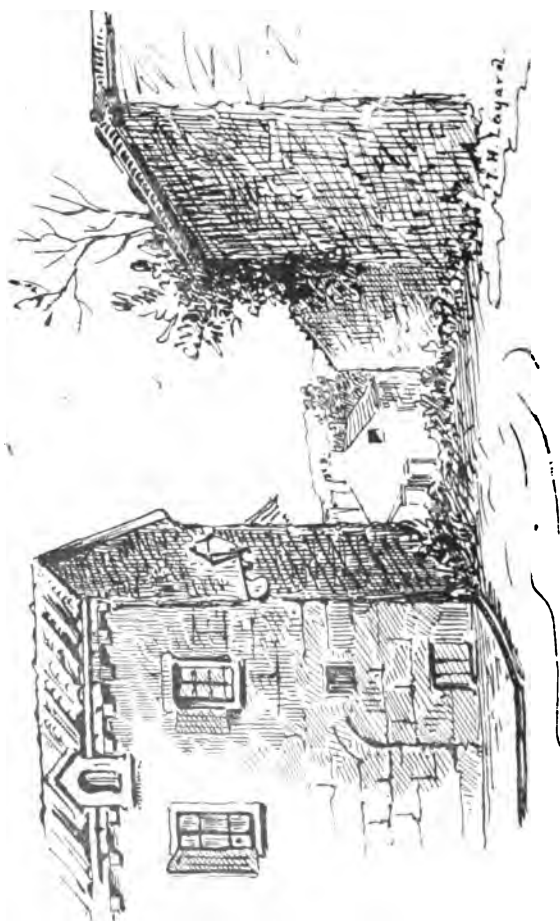
Their periods of peace were of short duration, the usual story is one of daily persecution.

At first they had no house of worship, nor were they even permitted to assemble in any particular spot. They crept out at night through the narrow, windowless lanes and alleys to the curious caves, which honeycomb the chalk cliffs beneath the castle walls on the western side of the town. Much of the city is built over these caves, which form catacombs under the houses, and are now used by the inhabitants as cellars. They are all of natural formation, and must have afforded shelter many a time to fugitives in the hour of peril. Two, beneath the Cemetery field, are accessible to passers-by and are roomy and fairly high. They are scarcely six feet below the soil which, in that part is composed of a confused mass of bones and portions of skulls with teeth still gleaming in the jaws.

The caves under the Castle rock are the strangest: they form quite a little row of dwellings, and the peasants have put doors to the entrances, and pierced windows and chimneys.

Only from the year 1523 did the Huguenots dare show themselves in public. In 1562 they were at last allowed public exercise of their religion, but only without the walls. The little village of Beaussay or Beauçay was assigned to them as their meeting place.

This would practically have debarred them from Divine worship had the Huguenots not been more eager church-goers than the men of the present day. Beaussay is more than three and a half miles distant from Loudun, on the road to



SITE OF HUGUENOT TEMPLE IN THE RUE VILLECOURT.

Thouars, a long dusty white track winding interminably over the country. There are trees all along it now, but they give very little shade, and probably there were none in 1562. The road passes the little village of La Bâti on the left, where the noble family of Sanglier, Seigneurs de Boisrogue, had their little property in the midst of chestnut groves. Further on is the Château de Beaussay, on the right, lying back from the road at the end of a long avenue of very tall poplars. The house is defended by a moat filled with water, and is reached by a bridge. It is a charming spot, hidden amongst thick trees, and could have been easily defended from attack.

The author of "Documents sur l'histoire de Loudun" in the "Journal de l'arrondissement de Loudun," 1844, 1 Nov., No. cxxiv, describes a building he saw at Beaussay which he felt sure was the old Temple. It had been turned into a wine-press, and the vault broken through to permit of the grapes being poured into the vats from above. He describes it as built with hewn stones "de moyen appareil" and vaulted with a round ceiling. It stood east and west, with a western entrance. There is no sign of this building at the Château, or on the adjoining farm. It may have been amongst the few scattered houses of the actual village, which lies about three-quarters of a mile beyond the Château.

It it asserted by the Protestants—and they should know better than Roman Catholic historians—that their first Temple in Loudun was built in 1565. Arnault Poirier, the author above cited, cannot find anything to prove their assertion.

The Temple which stood in the Rue de Villecourt was built in 1576, and demolished the following year. It was evidently rebuilt, for we find the Huguenots assembling in a house on the same spot in 1677.

The Rue Villecourt is a little road, grass grown, leading steeply down between high stone garden walls and little cottages, from the Rue de la Croix Bruneau to the Rue Porte Saint Nicolas.

The Rue de la Croix Bruneau runs below the north side of the Castle and continues as far as the Porte du Martray. Exactly in front of the Rue Villecourt, a steep ramp planted with trees leads up to the Castle plateau, close to the "Tour Carrée."

In Arnault Poirier's time (1844) there was a garden occupying the corner of the Rue Villecourt where it joins the Rue de la Croix Bruneau. It belonged to a Madame Bazille, and in the garden wall there was a walled-up arched entrance with

egg ornaments and little palms badly carved on the archivolt. He considered this to be undoubtedly the door of the Temple. The site is determined by the fact that the Royal Hospital was built in the Rue Villecourt, exactly behind this angle of the street. The Huguenots strongly opposed its construction in an appeal dated 28 April, 1677, on the plea that they would be troubled in the exercise of their religion thereby. In fact, they were regularly hemmed in by the "Union Chrétienne," the "Visitation" and the Hospital, which was built in spite of their complaints.

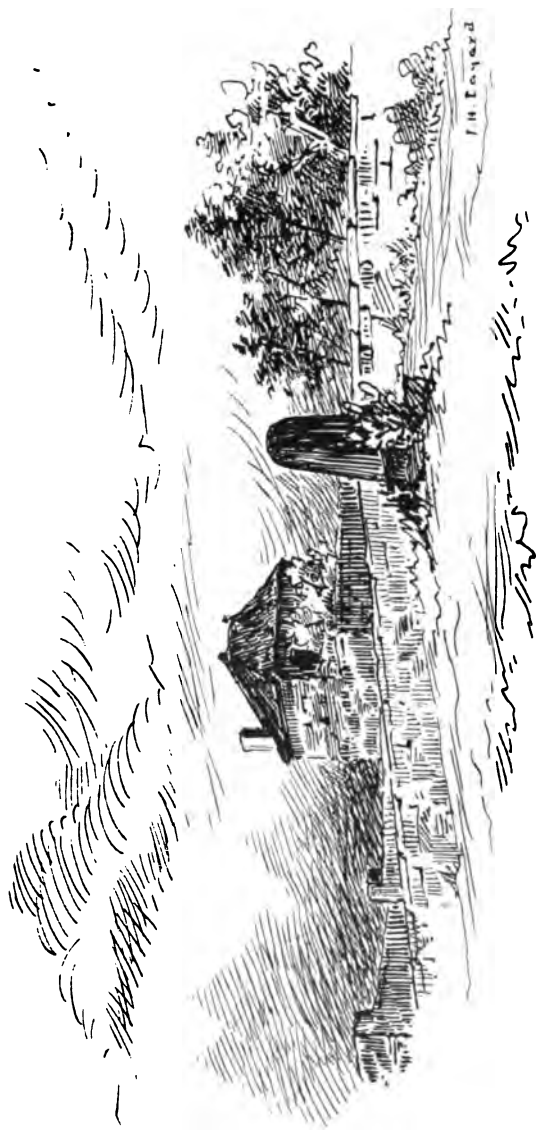
The Temple must have been in a perilous condition with such neighbours, and in 1685 we find a company of dragoons beginning their work of persecution by demolishing it entirely. Madame Bazille's garden has been partly built over; but whether the garden wall was incorporated into the little house cannot be proved. It is remarkable however that a walled-up door with a round arch still exists at the angle of these streets.

Continuing along the Rue de la Croix Bruneau, almost as far as the Church of the Carmelites (*alias* S. Pierre du Martray) there is, on the left hand of the dusty white street, a picturesque archway spanning a little walled lane. This lane winds steeply up to the Castle through the wooded ramparts. Through the Gothic arch is seen at a few yards distance, before the lane turns abruptly to the left, another archway with a rickety old wooden door, on which is splashed in chalk a white cross. Behind these walls extends the great deserted field, once the Cemetery of the town. The name was originally "Cimetière des Martyrs," from its having been the burial place of the early Christian martyrs. It was corrupted into "Marcrois" by the country people, and then into "Martray," which name it still bears. It lay originally outside the walls.

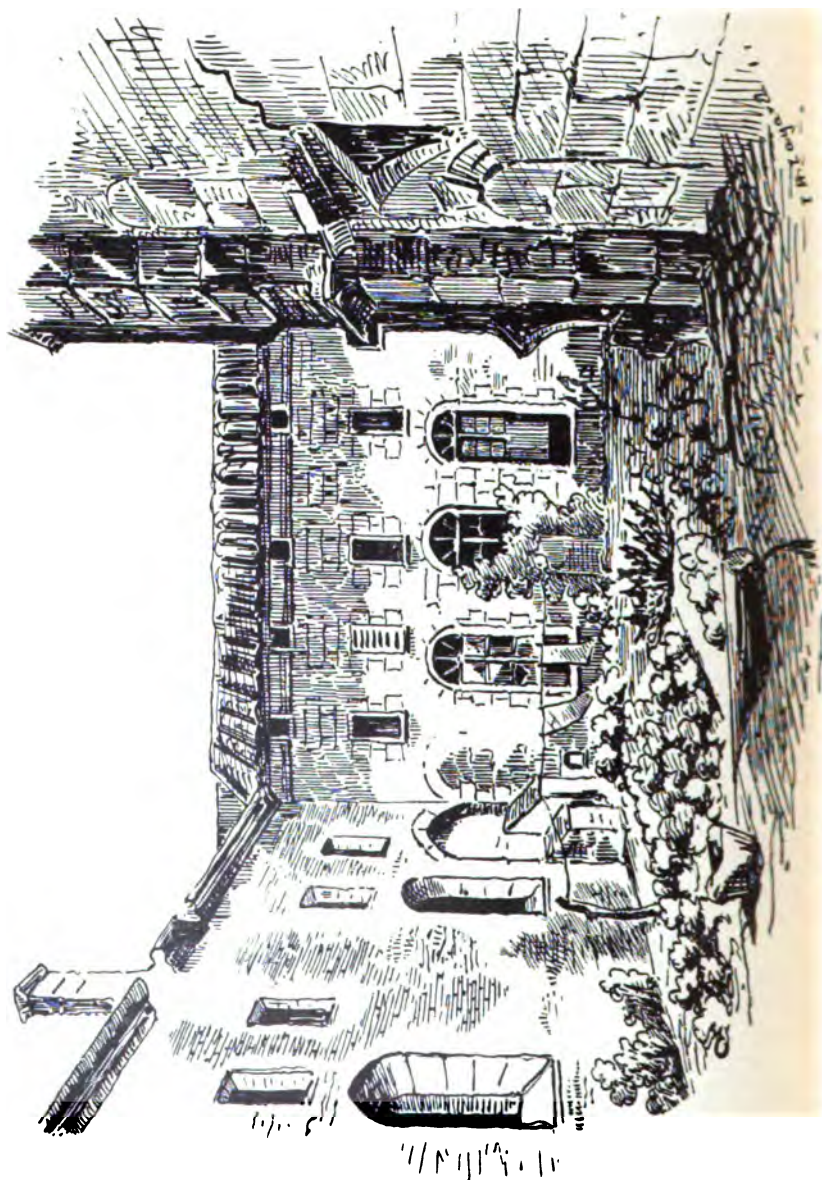
Up to 1633 the Protestants received a grudging Permission from Rochefort, confirmed by Mangot and Douville to bury their dead in the upper portion of this field.

On the 27th November of that year, a decree was passed forbidding them the use of it, and ordering Jean Martin Laubardemont, councillor of State, to make over to them (at the Huguenots' expense!) two gardens in the angle formed by the Rue de la Croix Bruneau and "du Portail Chaussé."

The old Cemetery is on a height and overlooks the surrounding country and the sunset. It is a sad, lonely spot, covered with short grass. The broken base of a great



SITE OF THE HUGUENOT CEMETERY.



Calvary (Calvaire) stands in the centre of the ground. In the Huguenot end of the field, there is a pyramid to the memory of Chauvet, and near the Calvary are a few broken tombstones. Till these disappear from decay or surreptitious thefts, the Cemetery cannot be molested.

The Gardens, which the Huguenots acquired by enforced purchase on the 25th Jan., 1634, were situated close to the moat in the lower part of the town, just within the walls, and were not very extensive, but they were then, as now, charmingly wooded with chestnut trees. The gardens were wedge-shaped, and the broader end was scarcely a stone's throw from the door of the Protestant college in the Rue des Veaux, now Rue de l'Abreuvoir.

The gracious permission of their enemies was not of long duration.

The next year, 1635, the Dames Ursulines took possession of the Cemetery, after having been comfortably installed by Jean Martin Laubardemont of evil repute, in the roomy and desirable quarters of the Huguenot college.

From that time, persecuted and down-trodden, insulted even in death, the Huguenots took to burying their dead in their own houses under the stone floors and in their gardens.

The College at Loudun was founded about the 30th August, 1615, by right of an edict which granted the Protestants liberty to keep little private schools where the young might learn Greek and Latin.

The building, as it now stands, is not imposing. The Rue de l'Abreuvoir is very narrow, with a good many old houses on either side of the steep street. The old Cemetery was on the left hand at the foot, the College on the right a little way up the road, that is, looking downwards from the present Place du Palais. There is a very similar building opposite the College, which does not appear to have had any connection with it.

The house is built of great grey stones, and has on the inside a small courtyard, of which the western wing is ruined. The staircase has been pulled down for fire-wood, and two of the doors walled up.

A large covered entrance admits one into the courtyard, which is now a vegetable garden. The entrance is dilapidated and the room above it in ruins.

Formerly the building was much larger, extending on both sides of the "porte cochère." One part contained, it is said, the chapel. The right-hand wing is now an entirely new

house. On the ground floor of the east wing is a large hall lighted by three lofty arched windows on either side. A similar hall must have run on the north side, but it is cut up into dirty little rooms. Over these halls, to judge by the many slits of windows, ran a dormitory.

The Huguenots were not long in quiet possession of their seat of learning. Jacques Denian, "procureur du roi," (crown prosecutor) in the miserable affair of Urbain Grandier, and the "possedeés de Loudun," represented to Jean Laubardemont on the 18th Jan., 1635, that the Huguenot college was far more suited to the Dames Ursulines than the house they then inhabited.

Laubardemont, after examining both houses, entirely agreed with him, and after a great pretence of formalities, to which the Protestants offered strenuous objections, the sentence of expulsion was passed on the 29th of the same month.

The Huguenots, as may be expected, did not take the matter calmly. Upon which the provost of Thouars came to Loudun with a company of archers to enforce their eviction. A conflict was only averted by Laubardemont making the matter a legal one. His proceedings were approved at Paris, and on the 5th Dec. of the same year (1635) the Ursulines were put in possession of the college, without any compensation being made to the Huguenots. To the credit of Louis XIV, be it said, he made a tardy reparation of this so-called official eviction, as late as the year 1652.

Being on a visit to the town with the Queen Mother he persuaded her to make over to the Huguenots the sum of 2000 livres as a slight indemnity for the loss of their college. (*Histoire des diables de Loudun*, 1716, p. 259).

Loudun was a great place for Synods. There was one in 1595, when the deputies of all the churches came to Loudun to hand in their reports.

There was another in 1610 beginning on the 22nd April.

Again in 1619, one which lasted six months.

Another was convened in 1623, and began on the 13th July.

Again another, in 1631, on the 7th August, in order to discuss the persecutions which were increasing so greatly, but nothing could be done except to submit and suffer in patience.

In 1647, Dec. 12th, it was decided that a third pastor should be elected, showing that the original two were not sufficient for the care of the flock in such evil times.

There are not many pastors' names given in the Loudunois

annals. They were not considered of much account. The "*Histoire des Protestants et des Eglises Réformées du Poitou*" (Page 293, Vol. III), by M. Auguste Lièvre gives a complete list.

Puinisson in 1555. Simon Brossier in 1559. Claude Soumein, sieur de Claireville, and Loys Bontemps between 1566 and 1608. Jean Fleury 1591 to 1593. Abel Bede, sieur de la Gourmandière, 1599. Nicolas D'Espinay, sieur du Parde-Nerville, who abjured protestantism at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Daniel Couppé 1626-1637. Jacques de Brissac and Jean de Brissac, sieurs des Loges, the former 1637 and 1667; the latter 1668 and 1671. Jacques Girand 1668-1679. Claude Fautras 1671-1673. Daniel de Superville 1683-1685. Marchand 1685, who abjured later."

Clairville signs the registers from 1566 to 1567, and was still at Loudun in 1593, for we find him in that year somewhat in disfavour with his own sect.

Henry IV's abjuration at Paris filled the Protestants at Loudun with dismay and disapproval. Clairville, who was an intimate friend of the monarch, took a more political view of the subject and tried to calm their discontent, but with no other result than to excite their suspicion as to his own integrity. In order to annoy him, they attempted to have him put on the tax-roll, from which pastors, as well as priests were exempt. This having reached the King's ears, Henry wrote back a letter to his "dear and honored friend" and discharged him from all taxation.

A continuous series of Protestant registers does not exist at Loudun, and many of those which are in the Town Hall are simply, as they state, "extracts from a copy of Protestant registers found in the house of the late M. Dumoustier, avocat du roi, from 1566 to 1608" in which a note, affixed to the end of the year 1567, indicates that all are made and signed by M. de Clairville, minister of the church "pretendue réformée" at Loudun.

There is another volume containing "extracts from a Protestant register for baptisms and marriages held at Baussay, and in the keeping of Madame l'avocat du roi, begun November 15, 1578. Also another, "Extracts of baptismal registers found in the house of M. l'avocat du roi of which seven years are missing, the which (extracts) are in the keeping of his widow, 1600 to 1608."

Besides these, there is a volume "Extract of registers, marriages of the reformed Protestants at Loudun from 1608

to 1644." The registers from 1644 to 1668 not being found at the "greffe" the rest of the registers placed at the "greffe" are introduced into the registers of the "Martray" of the year 1693.

Finally there are 47 sheets of paper containing registers of deaths of Protestants in the town and neighbourhood of Loudun from 1736 to 1788.

Jacques La Roche Crozé, pastor at Civray, and author of many polemical writings, was born at Loudun about 1575; but his birth register was not to be found. Nothing more is known of him after 1613, but his son (or grandson) is found in Holland as a navy captain, and with a family of one son and two daughters.

The elder daughter married a Refugee, Major Pierre Raymond de Layarde, great-great-great grandfather of the writer of the present paper.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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The Relief of the poor members of the French Churches in England.

AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE PRACTICE OF THE WALLOON OR FRENCH CHURCH
AT SANDWICH (1568-72).

By W. J. C. MOENS, F.S.A., V.P.

ON the occasion of the visit of the Huguenot Society to Sandwich in 1887, the late Mr. Thomas Dorman, town clerk, gave us much information from the year books of the Corporation concerning the first coming of the Stranger Refugees to that town. On the 29th June, 1561, it was ordered that John Tysar and John Gilbert, Jurats of Sandwich, should confer with Mr. Roger Manwood, Baron of the Exchequer, a native of Sandwich, to obtain authority for certain Strangers to inhabit Sandwich on certain terms. This was granted by letters patent of the Crown, dated 6 July, 1561, the Strangers to the number of twenty or twenty-five householders from those then resident in London, being bound to exercise the faculty of making Bays and Says.

These Strangers, to the number of twenty-five heads of families, arrived there before the 22nd December of the above year, their names being given in the return of the Archbishop, dated 28th November. Amongst these, chiefly of Flemish origin, is Willielmus 'Hornenaghel,' incorrectly copied by an English scribe for 'Houuenagle,' a name so often found in the accounts of the Walloon congregation at Sandwich and later in the registers of that of Canterbury.

The total number of men, women, and children was 408, so it is clear that full advantage was taken of the indefinite term "family" on this occasion. The new comers must soon have divided into two congregations, the one using the Flemish language, namely the Dutch congregation, and the other French, and termed according to the then practice, the Walloon congregation. On 12 May, 1564, the town authorities received a precept and letter from the Privy Council inquiring how many

French, taken prisoners, were within the town and their number there since the last war.

On 8 August, 1567, are mentioned "John Dobrys, Joysyna Peter[s] Slowton, Aston Vanderade, Royall de Boyes, and Cornelius de Busse, Flemings; and for that they are not of the Dutch congregation," and on 29 December following, John Awdley, Jacob Platt, John de Kyesar, Jacob van Heuchen and Edward Bayarde, "estranger" confessed that they were not of the Dutch congregation, and being known to be common "dronkers" were banished from the town. It therefore appears that at first it was thought advisable that there should be but one congregation for religious purposes at Sandwich. That this was not so afterwards is certain, as shown by the original Deacon's account book for the poor of the Walloon or French Church at Sandwich, which commences in about October, 1568, and ends in February, 1572. It appears certain that many of the Walloon Strangers at Sandwich migrated to Canterbury, where a strong and numerous Church of their tongue had been established. It was considered in 1576 which were "to be passed from her Majestie and which may passe by order from their Lordships" of the Privy Council.

This very important MS., the only surviving source of information of the Sandwich Walloon Church, giving apparently all the names of the members, was presented to the Trustees of the French Hospital by Dr. Burn, the son of the late John Southerden Burn, author of that most useful work entitled "The History of the Foreign Refugees."

The Strangers at Sandwich had to enter into due bonds, the conditions being that none of them shall depart the town without licence from the mayor or his deputy. These bonds give the number of the Consistory of their Church on 11 February, 1568.

The Walloons.

The Consistory for the 8 Masters in	...	...	£5
The 8 Masters for the Consistory in	...	...	£5
The 8 Masters for each of their several households in	...	...	£2
The Consistory for the poor in	...	...	£2

The names of the Elders appear in the Deacons' account book in October, 1868, to have been Jan des Bonetz, Josse des Champs and Pierre Tourseel—Deacons, Mahieu Houueghele, Jacques Lernoult, Jan de la Haie, François Gunemart [?]

Guillaume Quoyne [Coene] and Pierre Van Ackre [Acker]. One of these probably soon died, as Solomon Six appears also as a Deacon in this year,—one additional person apparently having been added to the Consistory in his room without entering into bonds.

The Articles agreed to by the corporation authorities and the Strangers, when authority was given by the Privy Council for them to inhabit the various towns, were no doubt similar in their object. We know that at Norwich the Aliens had to pay the parish church dues, viz., of every shilling assessment of their houses for the year, one penny, and to pay watch money, and by a decree of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1612, reference being then made to the Orders agreed to in 1571 "as the strangers by former Articles at their first entrance stand charged with Church duties to the Minister, so we think fit that they shall according to the laws and statutes made since that time, stand chargeable to reasonable taxation in the parish where they dwell, within the said city, for the poor in respect only of the houses where they dwell, leaving their estates and values otherwise to their own congregations." Besides these local charges, the Strangers were responsible for the entire maintenance of the poor of their own congregations, which was most carefully provided for by the discipline of their Church—and by the Queen's letter of May, 1568, to the Archbishop that he and all Bishops in his province "where any settlement of the Strangers were, should take particular cognizance what and who they were" and that an inquisition should be made in every parish of what country, condition, etc. they were, the time of their continuance here and to what churches they resorted.

The Elders of the Walloon churches were ordered by their discipline to divide their town into quarters and each Elder was to have charge of a quarter and to take down in writing the names of all the Strangers of his denomination in his quarter. They also went round with and superintended the Deacons with regard to their visits to the poor in their respective quarters, and kept an eye on the sick to see that the Deacons did their duty.

The poor of the congregation were especially under the charge of the Deacons, as also those who required occasional relief. They kept the accounts connected with these duties and met together at least once a week to provide ways and means, so that nothing was left to the discretion of one Deacon, with the exception that in cases of urgent necessity, a Deacon

could give relief, but to the extent of one shilling only. One of the Pastors presided at their meetings, and, in their absence, one of their own body. Two of the Deacons kept the receipt and pay-book, and collected and paid the poor money for one month and the others did so in rotation. The collections were made from house to house; these appeared to be at the rate of one penny on each piece of "Bays" made, the names of the householders being regularly entered each month. Collections were also made in the plate at the close of each service in the Church, which were about three times a week, that on the Sacrament day, once in three months, being by far the largest. One Deacon kept the purse for the poor and made the payments. They kept their own counsel and told nothing of their work except to the Ministers and the Elders. The poor were relieved weekly at their houses, when their circumstances were carefully inquired into. Once every three months, one half of the Deacons, accompanied by one of the Ministers, went the round of all the poor to find out whether any required increased or diminished aid.

One third of the number of the Deacons were elected annually, so that their charge was not permanent as in the Dutch congregations. With regard to the visitation of the sick, it was the duty of the family afflicted to give notice to the Elder or Deacon of their district who gave them admonition and consolation, "sick persons often thinking more of curing their bodies than their souls," and instructions were given to the Ministers to visit them at a convenient time. Those who died were to be decently interred, not less than twelve, or more than twenty-four hours after death, in the burial ground of the parish in which they lived, without any superstitious practices.

Such being the general rule of the foreign congregations, let us see how it was carried out by the Walloon congregation at Sandwich in the middle of the second half of the 16th century—

The Deacons for the several years, 1569-1572, were as follows:—

1569.

JACQUES LERNOULT.
GUILLAUME COENE.
JEAN DE LA HAIE.
SALOMON SIX.
MAHIEU HOUENAGLE.
PIERRE VAN ACKER.
PIERRE DE LA PORTE.
JACQUES LE PER.
JACQUES TEVELIN.

1570.

JACQUES THEUCLIN.
JEAN DE LA HAYE.
MATHIEU HOUENAGLE.
PIERRE LA PORTE.
THOMAS GERARDE.
JACQUES LE PER.

1571.

JEAN DE LA HAYE.
 JEAN LANSEL.
 GUILLAUME COENE.
 PIERRE VAN ACKER.
 MATHIEU HOUENAGLE.
 PIERRE DE SALOMEZ.

1572.

FRANÇOIS — (Ill.)
 JEAN — "
 GUILLAUME — "
 LOUIS DE CALONNE.

Each month they rendered their accounts and paid over or were paid the balances.

These accounts for the relief of the poor commenced in the last week of October, 1568, at which time evident confusion had arisen from the want of systematic collections from the members of the Church, or perhaps more probably, from a division of the Church of the Strangers at Sandwich into separate ones of the Flemish and French languages.

The year 1568 was a period of very great trouble in the Netherlands. The Duke of Alva and his Spanish troops arrived there in the beginning of the previous year. The arrest and execution of the Counts Egmont and Horne had caused general disquiet. In the four first days of October, 1568, a letter of Morillon, quoted by Kervyn de Lettenhove (II, 150), speaks of these troubles and mentions the number of those banished and summoned to appear before the so-called Courts of Justice. These are stated to be 4,200 persons, all of whom had no doubt fled for refuge to England and elsewhere; many, no doubt, took shelter at Sandwich, suffering from the greatest distress, "*Sur des sola*" some of them being described to be when relieved. These refugees must have largely increased both the numbers of the congregation at Sandwich and its liabilities, the town having welcomed the first comers, when work to support all of them was no doubt easily provided, and but few poor existed to be supported by the better-off members.

The necessities of those who were Walloons were relieved in 1568, as appears by the first entry in the account book, by loans for the especial purpose from the Elders and Deacons. The former were Jan des Bonetz, Josse des Champs, and Pierre Tourseel, the amount borrowed being £4 9s. 4d., for the necessities of what appears to be the month of October, a very large increase from the debits, owing to Jacques l'Hernoult 11s., and Mahieu Houuenagle 17s. 4d., for the previous month.

The sums owing for what had been given to the poor at the end of November had increased to £11 12s 3d., the names of those who had advanced the money being duly given, which

no doubt are those of the more important members of the Walloon congregation. By the end of July, 1570, however, a credit balance of £9 1s. 2d. was in hand, the accounts by that time having been placed on a better footing. Monthly collections were made in October, 1568, from the members, which in the first entry of this nature are stated to be "*les Receptes des baies d'un pe[nny] à la baie don'e au pouvera.*"

The name of Laurent des Bouveries, the immediate ancestor of the present Lord Radnor, appears in the first list, and also in all the succeeding ones. He went, probably, with most of the Sandwich Walloons to Canterbury to join the Walloon or French Church of that city after 1572, when the accounts cease for the Walloon Church of Sandwich, probably about the year 1575. Pierre de la Porte, Simon de Beaume, Mathieu Houenagle, Jacques Lernoult, Pierre Van Acker and Guillaume Coene were amongst the more important of the members.

The collections made in the plate at the close of each service in the church were small, except when the Sacrament was administered once every three months—on 30 October, 1s. 1d., on November 1, the amount was 11d., 20th, 3d., on the 25th, 4d., on the 28th, 8d., on the 30th, 1s. 1d. In December, on Sacrament day, 7s. 2d. was collected, the cost of the bread and wine being 2s. 4d. In January, 1569, thirteen persons contributed to the collection on Sacrament day of that month, the amount being 5s. 2d. in sums from 2d. to 1s. In June, 1569, 11s. 4d. was received, in March, 1570, in the plate for the whole month in sixteen collections, 6s. 8½d; in December of that year £1 4s. 5d; in April, 1571, £1 0s. 3d.; in June, same year, £1 8s. 2d.; in January, 1572, 7s. 4d.; and in February, 1572, including at the Sacrament, 18s. 4d.

Collections were also made from house to house of the members; if not paid punctually, payment was enforced afterwards. Those for November were from forty-one persons, contributing from 4d. to 2s. each, to the amount of £1 10s. 1d, Maitre Bastien, their Minister, giving, no doubt according to his means, the sum of 6d. This number increased gradually to 61 giving £1 12s. 7d. in March, 1571, and to 78 householders in February, 1572, who gave £1 16s. 9d. Special gifts and receipts from sale of articles given for the poor increased the monthly receipts as here shown for each year with the corresponding payments, the more interesting items being later related.

Oct.-Dec., 1568, mixed up with loans.

1569	Receipts	£43	5	4	Payments	£38	8	4
1570	"	36	8	0½	"	36	19	2
1571	"	52	18	10	"	47	11	3
1572 Jan. & Feb.	"	5	11	6	"	5	3	10

Amongst the other receipts are subventions from the more wealthy sister Walloon congregations as follows: In December, 1568, the Southampton church, which had only been founded in the previous year, sent the sum of £2; in March, 1569, there came from London through the hands of their minister, £1 16s. 4d., and also £2 3s.; goods were sold in April, 1569, coming from London for the poor, to the amount of £2 19s. 1d.; in November of the same year is the gift again of the French church of Southampton, £1 10s., and from the French church of Norwich, £5 8s. 1d.; in March, 1571, from the French church of London, through Laurence des Bouveries, £2 10s., and a second sum of £3; in August, 1570, on the death of her husband, Philippe Pipelart, Marie Pennequin gave £4, and she contributed monthly the sum of 1s., and the widow of Jacques le Per £3, her husband having given 9d. monthly up to his death in June or July, 1570. In July, 1570, appears the devout offering of 6d. from two young girls at the house of widow Costreel. Soldiers taking refuge at Sandwich did what they could; in April, 1571, a Captain gave eight dollars which at that time had an estimated value in English money, and were credited in the accounts for the sum of £1 14s.; at the same time a soldier gave one dollar,—this was the result of a journey by Baltazar Ernoult and one of the ministers to Dover, to plead the necessities of the poor of the Sandwich church to "the Captains of war," the cost of the hire of two horses for the occasion being 2s. 4d. Maître Charles (*query* one of the ministers), repaid in November, 1569, 4s. on account of some of the poor money that Mathieu Houvenagle had lent him for his journey to Flanders, and he also gave 8d., being some money that he had found after some skirmish there. This Maître Charles, from this date to March in the following year, contributed the sum of 4d. monthly. In November, 1570, Maître Chrestien, their minister, gave a spoon for aid of the poor, for which was received from Nicolas Rogier, a goldsmith, the sum of 2s.; this goldsmith contributed 6d. in November, 1570. The means of this minister must have been small, for in the July of 1570 relief was given to his sister at the rate of 6d. a week, and in October following, 2s. was given to his niece, 1s. having been paid to the person who brought her to Sandwich.

The spoon therefore was probably given to free the mind of the poor minister, whose monthly contributions of 4d. ceased after March of this year. Maître Roland appears from time to time from March, 1570, to February, 1571, contributing 2d., and earlier from November, 1569, Maître Antoine Lescaillet is named as giving now and then 6d.; In March, 1571, the latter and a Maître Martin were paid 3s. 7d. for the journey made by them to Canterbury on account of the poor members. A Maître Roland de Mol, no doubt the above, is named as giving 2d. in April, 1570; he was one of the ministers for a short time only.

Those members who incurred fines in the Drapery Hall paid them to the purse of the poor, the Deacon Mathieu Houvenagle so paying 1s. 8d. in September, 1571, and Baltazar Ernoul in the preceding July the same amount. These would appear to have been for not duly marking the "bays," as in November, 1571, 1s. 8d. was received in the same way from Gilles Facon for his mark of his drapery. In July also, Jean des Bonnetz paid 3d. for not having obeyed the consistory, and in February, 1572, Louis de Calonne the same amount for not having attended his duties at the consistory. A table-cloth and a napkin were sold for 1s. 4d., and in February, 1571, the effects of the widow of Jean Becque, who had been relieved, were sold for the sum of £1 2s. 11d.

Bibles were given and sold for the benefit of the poor; in September, 1569, one realized 2s.; in March, 1570, a New Testament was sold for 1s., and in September, 1571, the sum of 6s. 8d. was received for a Testament given for the poor.

Three "ostilles de passement" (*query* lace pillows and bobbins), the effects of the late Jean des Camps, who had received relief, realized 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. each, two being bought by deacons.

In July, 1570, is the receipt of £3 14s. 6d. for the value of a [piece of] "bays" given by Jacques le Per, "à son trespas" (this must have been one of a serious nature), six of the leading members being sureties for respective portions of this amount. 2d. for each piece of "bays" sold in the town of Sandwich, were collected by Baltazar Ernoul, the "Receiver Clerk," for the poor, £1 10s. being paid over by him in January, 1571, and in the next February Josse Babelare paid 1s. 8d. on account of ten "bays." At this time there appears to have been a demand for cloth in Sandwich, for in the next month the clerk paid 7s. more on this account, Marie Pipelart and her son Isembart 3s. 4d., Joos des Camps 1s. 5d., and Mathieu

Houvenagle 1s. 6d.; in May, Mary Blanchart 6s., Jacques Tevelin 1s. 4d., M. Houvenagle 1s. 6d., and Jean des Bonnets 8d., and in July, Marie Pennequin, widow of Philippe Pipelart, for the pence "ordonnez" for the poor on the sale of eight "bays" 1s. 4d., and in December following Laurent des Bouveries, "bays" sold by him at 2 pence each, £1. This was besides the poor rate of one penny each piece of "bays" made by the members.

With regard to the payments and other relief for the necessities of the poor, which had been ascertained by the weekly visiting of districts, these were on a most generous scale, exceeding in many cases those of the modern Guardians of the Poor for outdoor relief, even taking present money to be of the same value as at that period.

The first payments recorded in the accounts are on the 27th October, 1568, these being to eight persons, five men and three women, to the amount of 7s. 6d. On the 29th October, payments were made to ten other paupers, and on 2nd November, one other was paid relief, Michiel Ortivit receiving on each pay day the amount of 5s. and the wife of Andrieu des Pont also to the amount of 2s. 7d. These were exceptional payments.

In the next month the distress appeared to increase, a greater number being relieved to the amount as a rule of 1s. each pay-day, a few receiving 1s. 6d. and some only 6d. After the 10th December the payments were made daily for a time. Some of the widows seemed to be somewhat importunate. On Dec. 3 one shilling was given to the widow of Jan Leuren, the succeeding entries being a "ladite encore three pence," a "ladite encoire four pence" and the second entry after this "à la femme Jan Leuren 1s. 10d."; the total payments for this month amounting to £6 2s. 11d., as a rule more than double the payments in succeeding years for a like time.

The Deacons soon learnt the art of passing certain persons on to seek their fortunes elsewhere. On the 12th November of this year the sum of 1s. 6d. was given to "Mestre Jan, mestre descole d'ardre pour aler plus oultre."

In January, 1569, more regularity was observed in the relief given, payments being entered as given weekly. Endeavouring to make the resources of the congregation go as far as possible, wheat was bought in order to make bread for distribution to the poor, the details of which give perhaps the earliest recorded account of the profit derived by baking bread in this country.

This most interesting experience runs as follows:—

Purchased by Jan de la Haie and Solomon Six in the month of February, 1569, before Easter, 12 bushels of wheat to distribute to the poor—

		s.	d.
3 bushels at 22 pence a bushel	=	5	6
9 " at 23 " "	=	17	3
		£1	2 9

		s.	d.
Paid to the Miller for grinding the same		9	
Paid to the Baker for baking the 12 bushels	3 0	3	9
		£1	6 6

Having received in bread from the said 12 bushels,			
80 loaves of good bread worth 3 pence each	=	1	0 0
besides			
59 loaves of "Putare" bread worth 2 pence each	=	9	10
		£1	9 10

"By which it results that the said Jan de la Haie and Solomon Six have gained by baking the 12 bushels of wheat the sum of 3s. 4d." Farther investigations of the mysteries of baking will reveal the weight of loaves of bread at this period and comparison with the present price of bread; the then price also of wheat will be very instructive.

It was in the second week of this month that many of the poor members received bread and a reduced sum in money. These details were continued to the fourth week so that it appears as if this most interesting experiment was made week by week until the flour was exhausted. In the succeeding month of March details are not given, but there is an entry in the receipts of profit on the bread, 7s. 11d., so that over twenty-four bushels or three quarters more wheat were used in this month. There is also an item of five pence expended "Pour gis [? yis—yeast] pour cuire le pain"—which appears as if the baker had now refused his aid, considering that his trade profits were being interfered with. Difficulties certainly cropped up, for in April only four and one half bushels of wheat were bought at 21 pence, 3s. 8d. was paid for grinding and baking and there was only 2s. 10d. profit. In May, seven bushels were bought at 24 pence and 2s. 4d. to the miller and baker, the profit on baking was 2s. 11d. from 46 loaves worth 3 pence each and 47 of inferior quality worth 2 pence. In June, after paying 2s. 2d.

to the miller and baker there was 1s. 1d. profit. As no more entries occur regarding bread, difficulties with the guild of bakers must have cropped up. The result of this baking by the Strangers was no doubt followed largely, as is shown by the entry in the new red book, fol. 37, in the Sandwich Corporation Archives. 22 Jan., 1569. Ordered that certain Strangers named should "neyther yet do bake any bredd to sell other than their swete bredd" and fol. 41, 24 Feb., 1569, it was ordered amongst other things as regards the Strangers 6.—"That no Stranger, as a baker, shall bake any kynde of bredd as comon bredd to be soulded at any rate, but only a kynde of bredd not heretofore amongst us used, otherwyse then to occupie themselves in bakinge any Stranger's bredd by pecke or bushell for their money, so yf they do bake bredd and sell the same at any rate other than aforesaide, th' offender to be fyned by the Maior and Juratts, th'one half to the town, th'other halfe to the p'senter uppon prooffe."

In November, 1569, three payments were made of thirteen pence each for "demi quartre" of fagots. In the 2nd week of February, 1571, one bushel of wheat was given to the widow Polrus with money to the value in all of 3s. 11d., and in June following 1s. 4d. was paid to Jean de Roubay for wheat for the poor, but this is the last of relief given in kind.

Rule No. 20 in the old book of Orders for the Strangers at Norwich is that no Stranger baker shall bake any white bread but only of "wheat from the mill" on pain of 4d. for every loaf, but "they that will eat white bread," to buy the same at the English baker. No interference with native industries was allowed in those days.

It would be difficult in the allotted time for a paper to give a detailed account of many cases illustrating the tender care of the distressed Strangers, but that of the widow Porru [*sic*], will show how well the Deacons did their duty. Her husband, Poru du Bois, appears amongst the earliest relieved; he must have been able to earn the greater part of what was necessary for the support of his wife and children, as he received only two payments of 6d. each in November, 1568; three sums of 6d. each and two of 1s. in December; nothing in January, 1569; in the second week of February 6d. and bread, the same the two following weeks; in March he received 2s. 8d.; in April 2s. 6d.; nothing in May or afterwards; but an entry of the third week of October, 1569, shows his death, 1s. being paid to the grave-digger for his burial, and 4d. to Nicolas Seuary for helping the widow, Porru du Bois.

In the 2nd week of November she was paid 1s. 2d., the next week 1s., and the next 6d.; in December three payments of 1s. each. After this her troubles increased. Her name appears weekly for 1s. and larger sums for various reasons such as lodging and other things, 2s., in the third week of January, 1570. Her rent appears to have been paid after this, for in the last week of March is the entry of 2s. including her rent, which is stated to be 1s. for the succeeding month. About this time she must have fallen ill, for she was paid in July of this year two sums a week, sometimes 6d. and sometimes 1s. extra. In the fourth week she received a third sum of 6d. for water, and another payment of 2s. was made for nursing the widow Poru for fifteen days, and another for nursing her for nine days, 2s. 3d., so that she must have been in a serious state from the 7th July. In August, 10s. 10d. is paid to her directly, for her rent 7s. 2d., for nursing her 3s., and a second sum of 5s. to Antoinette for having been looking after her for twenty days. Her daughter was also down with illness, 6s. being paid for medicine for her, so that the complaint was probably of a contagious nature. In September she received 6s. 10d. and wood to the value of 4d. was also given.

In September, 9s. 10d. was given to her, and she appears to have become more helpless, as in the third week the wife of Gilles Brabant was paid 1s. 6d. for helping her, and in the fourth week 1s. was paid to the daughter of Pierre du Pir, who was also on the poor list, for nursing her. The poor widow grew worse in November, as in the first week she received 5s. 6d. in money, for nursing her eight days 2s., for washing for three months to the 8th September, she no doubt worrying about the overdue payment, 1s. 1d. and 8d. for firewood. In the second week 5s. 6d., the Minister having visited her and given 6d., which was repaid to him, nursing for seven days 1s. 9d. and 10d. for firewood. In the third week 4s. in money and nursing 2s. She being apparently better in the fourth week, received 3s. 6d. in money and nursing for three days 9d. In December she received 14s. 6d. in small sums, for firewood 1s. 6d., and 5s. 8d. was paid for nursing her. In January, 1571, she was paid 19s. 2d., including cost of firewood, a bushel of wheat, and materials for making medicine; 13s. 11d. in money and a bushel of wheat, wages of a nurse for the month of January 7s. 4d., and rent of her house for three months to the 1st February 7s. In the beginning of March, 1571, the end of the troubles of this poor widow, so carefully looked

after, arrived. Sums of 3s. 10d. were given in money, and wood, in February, when there is an entry of 1s. to the grave-digger for the burial of "ladite vefue." Louis Gogeon was paid for his services, and for the nurse 3s. 4d., but Louis evidently thought he was underpaid, for three entries later is a sum of 9d. to him for nursing the widow Porrus. Maître Jean Monnart [*query* the Doctor], claimed the sum of 11d., arrears which the widow owed him; this sum was duly paid by the deacons from the poor money. The expenses of this poor family had not by any means ceased, for in the second week of this month we find a payment of 3s. 4d. to Gogeon for taking care of, nursing and food, for the orphan children left by the widow Porru, for one week, which continued afterwards weekly at the rate of 3s. The Deacons soon had their eyes on the effects of the deceased widow, who evidently to the last did what she could for herself; a pound of *fille de sayette* [*query* spun flax] was sold for 2s. 11d. for the profit of the poor. The sale of the furniture found in her house realized 15s. 5d., Louis Gogeon paying 1s. 6d. of this in three payments. In the next month he was called on for 2s. for rings bought by him at the sale of her effects. Gilles de Brabant, whose wife had helped her, paid 2s. 1d. for furniture he had then bought, but only when called on to do so by the Deacon, Jean de la Haie. Another Deacon, Pierre Salomes, collected 2s. 2d. from Jean des Ruelles for things purchased by him. Thus £1 4s. 7d. was recovered in money for the purse of the poor. The Deacons also reserved from the sale a bedstead, mattress, a pillow and coverlet, which was duly entered in the list of such things belonging to the poor of the church. The poor widow evidently had been in better circumstances and clung to her little all to the very last. Her name is variously given as spelt in the MS.

In April, 1571, two pairs of socks were purchased for the orphan children at a cost of 6d., and one pair of shoes for 4d., and 6d. was paid for a [?] "lune," for the daughter of Polrus who lived with the widow Cotterel, and a stool for the child was purchased for 1d. Trouble seems to have arisen with Gogeon; in the beginning of May 14s. was lent him out of the poor purse to pay overdue rent of his house, and the sum of 6s. 6d. was given to him to help him on his journey to Norwich, and an advance was made for the charge etc. of the two children Porru, amounting to 11s. 8d. for one months' food and nursing, from the 16th May. In the 2nd week of June, one of the children died, when 1s. was paid for its burial, and in the following week 5s. was paid for the food and nursing of the

surviving infant orphan of the late Porus du Bois, for the one month, which sum was again paid to Jean Brel in July for its keep until the 18th August. At the end of August, 5s. was paid to the widow of Jean Cotterel for the keep of the daughter of the late Porrus du Bois for three months to the 5th of the preceding June, and this was continued every three months, so that the girl must have been able to give some services to the woman who had charge of her. A payment was also made of 4s. for four collars and four "*coemvrechies de nuicts*" including the making of them for the children. In August, a Fleming named Noé took charge of this infant, receiving the same monthly amount, which continued to be paid in succeeding accounts, and Jean Lansel, the Deacon, bought $2\frac{1}{2}$ ells of linen for 2s. 6d. which were given to the Fleming to make two little bed sheets for the use of the child.

In September, Jean Brel was given the charge again, at the same rate of 5s. a month. Jean Brel had also the charge of another child in November of this year, at the same rate of 5s. monthly. The last account in the MS. shows that this child of Porus still lived, as a payment of 2s. 2d. was made for two shirts for it.

The nursing, food and clothes of orphans and other poor children can be followed weekly or monthly, so we see that the system of boarding out pauper children, now so much advocated, was in full play amongst the Strangers in England in the 16th century. Amongst those relieved were some of good birth, who lost their all in the troubles they had gone through, having had to abandon their country and property on account of religion.

In February, 1570, Monsieur du Gaz was relieved to the extent of 4s., and in the following month Mr. Michel Francö 2s. As a rule 6d. to 1s. was given weekly as relief to those needing it, but larger sums were paid for their house rent and other necessities, which were repaid in all or in part when better times came.

At the end of the account book is a list of beds, mattresses, etc., in charge of the Deacons, and the names of those to whom they were lent from time to time. The price of mattresses for the poor was 5s. 4d. each, three being bought in London in August, 1570, at this rate. The price of cloaks for the poor was 3s. 3d., of mantles, 1s. 2d.; linen was bought in quantities for the poor, $41\frac{1}{2}$ ells being purchased at $9\frac{1}{2}$ d. an ell in March, 1570, and a cheaper quality at $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. for children's shirts, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ells being bought at that price in January, 1571, cost 2s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.

and 4½d. for making two of these garments. A man's shirt cost 2s. 1d., children's shoes cost 6d. and 8d., and men's ditto 1s. 6d.

Doctors did not give their attendance gratuitously for the poor, 6s. 6d. being paid for services to the widow of Jean Leuren in April 1569; 6s. for Willem Houhou in March of the same year; 1s. 1d. for medicine and pills for Jean le Roux in September, 1570; draughts were bought of the apothecary at the rate of 8d. each. Guillaume du Pré, a pauper, suffered from a boil, no doubt one of a serious character, as 6s. was paid to Maître George in December, 1571, "for the care and cure made by him" of this. This same doctor was paid 8d. for twice bleeding the wife of Francois des Pres in November, 1569. In the previous June, Nicolas Gerart must have been bled four times, 1s. 4d. having been paid.

Some of those refugees passing the town were put up at the inns at Sandwich, the bills being paid by the Deacons. A charge at the "Black Horse of Lille" was 3s. for one man, in November, 1570. At the "White Bear" 11s. in May, 1571, for lodging Romain Feret, of Norwich, and Martin le Clert and Gerard du Chasteau, both of Valenciennes; Feret returned to the same inn in the following June, 5s. being lent him for his expenses there and for his return to Norwich. In January, 1571, 7s. was paid to the landlord of the "Black Eagle" for lodging of Pierre Loenst, of Tournay, and his family, 5s. being given to Loenst to help him to London; he lingered on, however, as we find 4s. more given him in February for the same purpose. In September, 1570, the price paid for the lodging of a woman was 5d. a week, and as we have seen 7s. was paid in February, 1571, for house rent for three months for the widow Porrus du Bois.

Liberal help was given to those passing to go to London or Norwich. In some cases money was only lent, the repayment of which was duly made when circumstances permitted it; the sums varied from 1s. to 6s. 8d. It is noted in one case in June, 1569, as follows: "To a woman demented to go to London, 1s." The "passants" also received relief for food and lodging during their stay in Sandwich; these frequently had their wives and children with them, parties of six would travel together and children were sent up under charge of adults going. Those coming destitute from London or Norwich were also relieved, in most cases their names being given. Numerous entries occur monthly concerning these passants, who were a great charge on the resources of the church.

It is interesting to find what those escaping from the Netherlands or France paid for their passage across to England. In April, 1569, the Deacons paid 8s. 3d. both for the captain's charge, and bread, for the wife of Carlemaine and the wife of Henry Baileu, these two men being both chargeable to the congregation. In July of the same year 2s. was paid to a Fleming for the pink (a small vessel), "de Nicolas," and 1s. to Nicolas Gerart for the same in August following. In October 1s. was paid to a "batelier" for the son of Mosquart. In September, 1570, seven shillings were paid to Pierre Posceau for the amount charged for the sea passage and his expenses, and in the same month 2s. 5d. for the expenses and passage of a man. Some of these refugees were in great distress, 2s. being given in December, 1568, to a companion of Tournai, "sur des sola," 1s. to a brother of Valenciennes, and 10d. to a companion coming from Arras. In September, 1569, 6d. was given to a woman coming to Sandwich in the vessel called "De Dolhain." The return passage to the Continent was apparently cheaper, 1s. 6d. being paid in October, 1570, to a sick "Tournaisien" to go to France. The voyage to Southampton cost more, 3s. being paid for this journey for the wife of Gilles le Plu, of Armentières, in June, 1571.

Relief was also given to those of other countries. In June, 1571, an Italian afflicted with sickness, was given money and change of linen and helped on his way to London at a cost of 4s. 2d. Distressed sailors were given money to assist them on their voyage to France.

In the first week of September, 1571, the plague appeared at Sandwich, Ernoult Godon and others being attacked by it. A wooden isolation hut was at once erected, the sufferers contributing four shillings towards the expenses "quil a convenu faire." A thatcher was paid 2s. 5d. for roofing the hut in the 2nd week of this month, the rafters having cost 3 pence. Several "rix" of wood 6s. 6d., 8 poles of wood 1s. 2d. Denis du Buis, carpenter, was paid one shilling for building the hut, and food to the value of 1s. 4d. for those at work, and again in October for nails and beer 1s. Jean des Camps died of the plague at the end of the first week, 1s. 6d. being paid for his needs before death and 4s. for his interment, four times the usual charge. His wife soon followed him, 2s. 6d. being paid in the next week to the bearers, this sum including the pay of the gravedigger, Michiel Ortivit, who, having received relief from 1568, was made nurse in the hut in the second week of this month, but he evidently required persuasion, 1s. 3d. being expended for a fowl and a shoulder of

mutton for his consumption, while 6½d. is spent for beer and "zeppe" for those sick of the "peste." He still required coaxing, for in the next week 10s. 6d. was spent for drinks, meat, and other necessities, including a load of fagots, and another sum of 1s. 5½d. for butter, bread, meat, and other necessities for his use. His wife received in the 4th week 5s. for their wages and salaries, she evidently assisting him in his anxious work. Those afflicted required but little, the only item up to the 4th week, excepting the beer and zeppe, being 7 pence for their necessities. In the 4th week those ill required more, as 3s. 3d. was paid for necessities, and a second sum of 2s. 6d. for wine, verjus, bread, meat, and "many other things." Food to the value of 7 pence was also given to Ortivit in the next week, no doubt for those ill, and more assistance was required, 12s. being paid according to agreement with a Flemish woman who had care of those sick from the commencement of the scourge. Jean Priem gave up his house as a hospital, which was occupied by the afflicted, 5s. being paid at the end of September as rent. Michiel Ortivit received 27s. 4d. in October for his expenses, including those of the orphan children still left with him, whilst having charge of those ill of the plague. In the beginning of November he handed over to the Deacons 2 dollars, valued at 8s., which he had received from the son of the late Jean des Champs, whose effects were also sold, the charge of his three children (one of them being ill of the plague) falling on the congregation, M^{re} Victor Boude being paid £1 for his solicitous care and cure of the same. Michiel Ortivit and his wife were evidently still occupied with those sick, £1 7s. 9d. being paid for their food, necessities "et aultrement" in November. Poor Ortivit however died at the end of this month, soon after paying over the 2 dollars, the first entry of December being 3s. 8d. to the gravedigger (including the bearers) for his burial, the next entry being 5d. to his widow "pour bois," whether this is for wood or drink is uncertain, as the scribe spelt phonetically. This poor woman had had enough of such nursing and went at once to London, 2s. being paid to help her on her way. The Doctor, M^{re} Victor Boude, received £1 for "la sollicitude et cure" of Michiel Ortivit when sick with the plague. With the death, however, of him as nurse, the malady apparently ceased, there being no more entries concerning it.

Ringling the bells for church service was a charge on the poor purse, the salary of Pierre de Baillouel being only one shilling for each three months. Carriage hire on account of the poor was not expensive in those days, 1s. 4d. being paid to

Jerôme Couvreur for a chariot in April, 1569, and the same to Jean le Rou in the June following. The charge for the carriage of a letter appears to have been two pence as a rule, but three pence was paid on one occasion. The benevolence of the Deacons extended to tipping the police, a sergeant of the town being paid 3d. for his salary in "adjourning" one named Gilles in May, 1571. This was probably Gilles Ente for whom a payment was made of 5s. 8d. for arrears for "cauche" [*i.e.* ? cash], due to the town.

The town cess made in 1572 (fol. 110, new red book), gives amongst the Strangers:—

5th Ward, Lawnse Long, Baker.

8th „ Gabriel Apart, „

9th „ Charles Firmyn, „

The Mayor and Jurats were not unmindful of the needs of the Strangers. They gave, June 1st, 1573 (fol. 130), to the minister and certain elders of the "Walche" church to be distributed to the poor Frenchmen which have of late come out of France for their consciences' sake, the sum of 50s. received from John Cooke, minister, by the hands of Thomas Andrews, Mayor of Dover. By 1575, harsher treatment was meted out, it being ordered, December 8th (fol. 178), that the denizens be cessed at Christmas next by the discretion of the Mayor and Jurats, and so from henceforth quarterly.

The details of the tender care of the sick nurses, suitable food, medicine and doctors being provided for them, the charge of the children, with the provision of their clothing, the relief of the destitute and aged poor, provision for vagrants of food, lodging, and money to help them on their way to London and elsewhere, and the careful way that all capable to do so were looked up and made to contribute funds for the above purpose, afford a lesson to all those whose duties embrace those of Guardians of the Poor at the present day, and one which may well be followed by them. At the time under review this solicitous care must have astonished the native inhabitants of the towns and cities where the Strangers had licence to inhabit, and probably had a great influence on those in authority, who soon after had a hand in passing the poor law of the year 1601, which is still in force and is the ground-work of the present relief of the poor in this country. The relief of their poor was ever a source of pride to the French and Dutch Churches of this land, and no doubt aided much in the continuance of their privileges, and it is still kept up by the mother churches in London to the admiration of all who know the good work done by them.

Appendix.

List of names and amounts collected from house to house at Sandwich, from the members of the Walloon Church, in November, 1568, from the account book of the Deacons, p. 3, many of which will doubtless be found amongst the names of the members of the Walloon Church of Canterbury.

Sensuit le pourcas fait au mois de Novembre tant pour les maisons come au temple.

Premier reçu de Jan des Bonets	...	1s.	4d.
Jan de la Haie	... ..	1s.	
Pierre Tourseel	... ..		4d.
De Mettre Bastien, mistre [? ministre]	...		6d.
Josse des Camps	... ..		6d.
Jacques Teuelin	... ..	1s.	
Matieu Bra'me	... ..	1s.	
Pierre Reubin	... ..	[blank]	
Bartasar Ernoult	... ..	2s.	
Regnault le Roy	... ..		4d.
Leuren des Boueries	... ..	2s.	
Valentine des boueries	... ..		3d.
Bastien Bernard	... ..		4d.
Jan des Pretz	... ..		6d.
Mahieu Houenagle [sic]	... ..	2s.	
Michielle Clarisse	... ..	1s.	
Wuillamme G'alet	... ..		6d.
Michiel Creton	... ..	1s.	
Jaeques Lernoult	... ..		8d.
Wuillame Coene	... ..		6d.
Jan Seneschal	... ..		4d.
Jan Rotart	... ..		4d.
Nicolas Rogier	... ..		6d.
Jacques le Keux	... ..		6d.
Jan Watelier	... ..		8d.
Jan Moscar	... ..		3d.
Marie Quastegue	... ..		2d.
Cicille de Beaume	... ..	1s.	8d.
Simon Oudart	... ..		8d.

Pierre de la Porte	...	...	1s.	
Salomon Six	...	...		8d.
Anthone Behagle	...	...		4d.
Michieu Vinchant	...	...	1s.	6d.
Mahieu Belchierre	...	...		4d.
Jacob le Peccke [? Perck]	...	...		8d.
Jan Chuio [?]	...	...		1d.
Pierre van Ackre	...	...		3d.
Gille Brisse	...	...		4d.
Alard Lainiel	...	...		6d.
Bettremeulz Caulier	...	...		2d.
Jan des Biens	...	...		2d.
Item au platelet le 20 de Novembre	...	...		3d.
Josse des Camps a luy donne	...	...		1d.
Item au platelet le 25 jour	...	...		4d.
Item au platelet le 28 jour	...	...		8d.
Item au platelet le dernier jour de Novembre	...	...	1s.	1d.
Recu de Mat. [sic]	...	...		
			30s.	1d.

A similar list for February, 1572, from the same account book, page 163.

Du Mois de Feurier.

Recepte faicte par Guill'e et Louis de Calonne [ill.]

De Baltasar Ernoult	...	...	1s.	
De Jan Nancel [? Lancel]	...	...	1s.	
De Pierre de Labe	...	...		4d.
Andrieu Broucq	...	...		4d.
Anthoine Caulie	...	...		6d.
De Gilles Facon	...	...		4d.
Ricourt Tonnel	...	...		3d.
De Pierre de la Porte	...	...	4s.	4d.
Jan Desbonnes	...	...	1s.	
De Jan Despres	...	...		6d.
De Bastien Bernart	...	...		6d.
De Fedric Butin	...	...		3d.
De Pierre van Ackre	...	...		4d.
De Jan de la Haye	...	...	1s.	
De Jacques Theuelin	...	...	1s.	
Jacques de la Porte	...	...		6d.
Gregoire le Thomar	...	...		3d.
Josse des Champs	...	...		6d.

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De Pierre de Breusle ...	...	...	6d.
Andrieu Mo'snier ...	...	...	4d.
Jan le Merre ...	...	...	4d.
Marc Blanchart ...	...	...	6d.
Jacques Lernoult ...	...	...	6d.
De Jan Desbouueries ...	...	...	8d.
De Jan Ph'l'e ...	...	...	4d.
Louis de Calo'ne ...	...	...	6d.
Jan Rotar ...	...	...	6d.
Nicola Rosier ...	...	...	6d.
Michielle Clarisse ...	...	...	6d.
Pierre Pipelart ...	...	...	1s.
Pierre Salome ...	...	...	8d.
Mah. du Houenagle ...	...	...	1s.
Jan le Sage ...	...	...	[blank.]
Jenne Hoccede ...	...	...	2d.
Brisse Gille ...	...	...	1s.
Michie de Bray ...	...	...	6d.
Jacques le Keux ...	...	...	1s.
Rolant de Mol ...	...	...	3d.
Simon Oudart et Cicille ...	...	...	8d.
Catherinne Voisin ...	...	...	2d.
Jacques le Clerc ...	...	...	6d.
Pasquier Vernelour ...	...	...	6d.
[Fo. 165.]			
Jacques Caulie ...	...	...	4d.
Gilles de Castel ...	...	...	3d.
De Christofle Ernoult ...	...	...	1s.
De Nicola Bayart ...	...	...	3d.
De Francois de Vos ...	...	...	4d.
De Jacques Fournier ...	...	...	2d.
Francois Mileschamps ...	...	...	2d.
Nicola de la Tour ...	...	...	6d.
Jan Boullen ...	...	...	3d.
Anthoine Winsberghe ...	...	...	[blank.]
Lyon Beufke ...	...	...	4d.
Gilbert Pia ...	...	...	6d.
Pierre du Castel ...	...	...	6d.
Nicola le Feure ...	...	...	3d.
Anthoine de le Waulle ...	...	...	[blank.]
Nicaise le Laurens ...	...	...	3d.
Jacques le Mor ...	...	...	2d.
Pierre le Clerc ...	...	...	2d.
Jan Bouchery ...	...	...	1d.

Jacques le Roy ...	...	...	3d.
Laurens Desbouueries ...	...	1s.	
La Vesue Meskar ...	...		3d.
Denis du Buis ...	...		2d.
Francois Ghemart ...	...		3d.
Jan de le Waulle ...	...		2d.
Pierre du Forest ...	...		3d.
Jan Taillebert ...	...		2d.
Jan le Gry ...	...		4d.
Jan du Tailly ...	...		2d.
Rober Behagle ...	...		3d.
Louis de la Rue ...	...		3d.
Jan Heughebart ...	...		4d.
Charle de le Begue ...	...		4d.
Jan de le Becque ...	...		4d.
Jan Martin ...	...		4d.
Martin des Rouseaux ...	...		6d.
Recheu le jour de la Cene et durant le mois au platelet ...	}	18s.	4d.
Receu de Nicola le Feure po' vne ame'de ...		1s.	
Recheu de Simon Oudart ...		1s.	
Receu de Louys de Calo'ne a cause d'une ame'de de nauoir venu au co'sistoir ...	}		3d.
So'e des receptes £2 17s. 4d.			

The English Government and the Relief of Protestant Refugees.

BY WILLIAM A. SHAW.

[*Reprinted with additions by kind permission of MESSRS. LONGMANS, GREEN & Co. from the ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW, October 1894.*]

AMONG the many minor falsifications of history which meet the student at almost every turn, there are few more curious, and few have proved more long-lived, than that embodied in the accepted account of the grants made by William III and his successors in aid of the Huguenot refugees in this country. Briefly, the hitherto accepted story is this. Under Charles II and James II, both before and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, briefs were granted for collections to be made in behalf of the French protestants escaping from persecution, and large sums were raised on those briefs by private benevolence throughout the country. The product of these collections was more than doubled by parliamentary grants, and the total—over £200,000*l.*—was lodged in the Chamber of London, whence it was subsequently borrowed or removed by William III under stress of state necessity. When, therefore, the government of William III issued a grant to the Huguenot refugees of 15,000*l.* a year, this could only be regarded as the interest on the capital sum confiscated, and therefore the right and property of the refugee French. The full amount of this pension was paid with occasional irregularity through the reigns of William and Anne and part of that of George I: then the Government of George I reduced both pension and arrears by one half, and gradually, throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, as church after church or refugee family after family ceased to exist or to need the dole, the amount was resumed to the state, until eleven years since, by a resolution of the Treasury, the last item—the grant of 250*l.* to the French Protestant Episcopal Church of the Savoy—was withdrawn.

It is the object of this article to show from documentary

sources that the main contention of such a statement of the transaction is completely unfounded.

The original briefs and the account books of the collections are still in great measure preserved at the Guildhall library,¹ and their testimony is perfectly conclusive. The Chamber of London was simply the treasury for the city of London. On account of the position held by the city its treasury became the depository of numberless funds raised for charitable objects of all sorts. Receipts or notes were made of the money paid in; as soon as the funds began to come in, or as soon as they had reached a considerable amount, they were distributed and receipts taken for the payments exactly as would be the case with any Mansion House fund to-day, and the account was finally and invariably closed by a balancing of charge and discharge within a reasonable date from the opening of the subscription. All these various kinds of documents exist still among the Guildhall manuscripts. The account books are roughly in the form of ledgers or rather cash books. The papers or notes of payments into the chamber consist of the actual briefs themselves, as issued to the churches and returned thence endorsed by the rector and wardens with a statement of the amount of the collections. The acknowledgments consist of the actual forms as signed by the various recipients of the charity. In many of the last-named the ink has faded, and it is difficult to draw out the total. Moreover, the whole series of accounts from first to last is not, as yet, to be found, but enough remains to establish a sufficient account of the question.

The first brief for a collection on behalf of the French protestant refugees was ordered by a proclamation of Charles II on 28 July 1681. As a rule these briefs ran only for a year, and were then, if necessary, renewed by a re-enacting proclamation. In this particular case the first payment into the Chamber of London on account of the brief was made on 2 Aug. 1681. From that date onwards the subscriptions cover the whole of 1682 and continue till September 1683, when the account was cast up. But subsequently it was reopened and straggled on to February 1684, the ledger even containing the entries of subsequent years, 1686, 1689. The total payments into the chamber made within the whole period amounted to 14,631*l.* 11*s.* 7½*d.* The paying out of the money began almost

¹ I am greatly indebted to the courtesy of the librarian of the Guildhall, Charles Welch, Esq., F.S.A., for an indication of these manuscripts, and for every assistance in handling them.

simultaneously. From the way the account is cast up, however, it is not certain whether we know the exact final amount paid out; but receipts exist for various sums amounting in the whole to 14,141*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* The dates of these receipts extend over 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, and into 1685. From them it is clear that the bulk of the money was paid away before 23 Sept. 1683, when the account was temporarily cast up,² leaving a balance of 362*l.* odd. In the end a sum of *at least* 14,268*l.* 18*s.* was paid away, leaving still the same balance apparently unexpended, but probably the item of bad money

² Guildhall MS. 279: 'an account of monies received towards the reliefe of poor protestants from the kingdom of France.' The account of receipts runs from 2 Aug. 1681 to 2 March 1684 with three entries of May 1682 for London, giving a total collected from the capital of 3,319*l.* 1*s.* 5½*d.*; and for all England from 10 Jan. 1684 to 4 Sept. 1683, giving a total for the whole country up to the latter date of 12,788*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.* (this amount including the London contribution). The dates given are those not of the collection, but of the entry of the amount in the book, which is equivalent to the date of the receipt of the return from the various churchwardens, &c. On the latter date, 4 Sept. 1683, the account was cast up thus:

'There was recd by Sir Thomas Player, Knt., late cham- berlain of the city of London, to the 4 Sept. 1683	£	s.	d.
	12,788	6	11½
'There was paid by Sir Thomas Player, Knt., to the said time, the sum of	12,425	13	4

Balance 362 13 7½

But as the moneys almost immediately recommenced to flow in, the account was re-opened; the entries of payments-in from 11 Sept. 1683 to 28 Feb. 1684 (with two other entries, one of 1686 and one of 1689) making a total receipt of 1,843*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.* These figures give the total of receipt as stated in the text.

Received up to 4 Sept. 1683	£	s.	d.
„ „ 11 Sept. 1683 to 1689	12,788	6	11½
	1,843	4	8

14,631 11 7½

The payments-out also immediately recommenced with the term of office of a fresh chamberlain (Peter Aylworth, Esq.), and ran over 1684 up to 27 March 1685, including one entry of 1689, when the total of the new payments-in was exactly liquidated. The total of payments-out therefore stands thus:

Paid 8 Aug. 1681 to 4 Sept. 1683	£	s.	d.
„ 26 Sept. 1613 to 27 Mar. 1685, and an entry of 1689	12,425	13	4
	1,843	4	8

14,268 18 0

There was therefore, on this showing, an unexpended balance of 362*l.* 13*s.* 7½*d.* But against this is to be set the bad money received, which amounted to 110*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* The small remainder might have gone in expenses. At any rate, it is expressly stated (see below, p. 348) that the account was finally considered to be properly liquidated. In Guildhall MS. 297, marked 'orders for payments out of collections 1683,' there is a bundle of 345 loose receipts for various sums, of which I make the total to be 14,141*l.* 5*s.* 3*d.* All these orders for payments are signed by the bishop of London and the Lord Mayor or one of the two, and are endorsed with the signature of the recipient. The earliest dated of these receipts appears to be one for 30*l.*, 12 Aug. 1681.

and expenses would fully account for this latter. At any rate it is certain that the committee of the House of Commons, which sat on the question in 1689, came to the conclusion that the money had been properly and faithfully administered.

The next transaction of the kind was set on foot by James II's proclamation for a collection by brief dated 5 March 1685-6, renewed in the following year by a proclamation of 31 Jan. 1686-7. In the preamble to the latter of these two proclamations of James, it is explicitly stated that 'all the several sums of money which were collected under the former (of the two briefs) have been faithfully expended and applied to the use of the French refugees.' Each brief only ran, as usual, for a year; but the last payment, which appears as being made on behalf of either of the accounts or of the combined accounts, runs into 1695, by which time the total money received under the two Jacobean briefs amounted to 63,713*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.*² In the absence of the account of the discharge we are reduced to

² Guildhall MS. 280, 'an account of monies received upon the briefe for French protestants.' For the first brief the entries extend from 21 April 1686 to July 1688, with three entries of 1689, and a total receipt of 42,889*l.* 8*s.* 10½*d.* *Ibid.* fol. 27, 'received for French protestants upon his majesty's second brief, dated 31 Jan. 1687, as followeth.' The entries for the second brief extend from 10 March 1687 to January 1688 with a second total of 19,634*l.* 19*s.* 9½*d.* From this point the two accounts are combined, and the entries thrown together in one column, the items being marked 'on the first brief,' 'on the second brief,' as the case happens to be. The last item of the combined account is dated 20 Dec. 1695, and the grand total of all moneys received on both the briefs from first to last (including therefore the above-named separate amounts) is 63,713*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* For the verification of part of this debit account there still exists at the Guildhall (Guildhall MS., bundle 291) the original forms of the latter of the two concurrent briefs just as returned from the various parishes endorsed with statements of the amount collected, and signed by the parson and churchwardens. Many of these have been almost hopelessly damaged, having evidently passed through a fire and been deluged. There is unfortunately no record of the discharge or credit account, and in the absence of it we are reduced to the imperfect record of the receipts which have been preserved of the payments-out. So many of these as are still known to exist are contained in Guildhall MS., bundle 347, 'orders for payments out of collections for relief of French protestants to Henry Loades, Esq., chamberlain of London.' These orders are in many instances signed by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Jeffreys, Nottingham, Huntingdon, &c., &c. Each document is a written instruction to the Chamberlain of the city of London to pay so much money (mostly to Peter du Gua, merchant and treasurer of the French church at the Savoy), and is endorsed by Du Gua's or other signature as attesting the full receipt of the money. The number of receipts preserved is fifty. The total amount of the payments they attest I make to be 55,150*l.* 16*s.*, and the dates range from 5 May 1686 to 8 Jan. 1688, the dates of the payments-out, therefore, not covering but falling within the dates of the payments-in or debit account. The series is, therefore, quite manifestly incomplete. At the end of MS. 280, there is an entry of bad money received upon the brief of 1687, the amount being 224*l.* 11*s.* 10½*d.* On the previous brief of March 2, James II, the bad money received 22 April 1687 to 6 March 1688 was 390*l.* 16*s.* 2½*d.*

the testimony of a file of receipts which is manifestly incomplete and which, with the account of the bad money received, gives a total of known disbursements of 56,465*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*, leaving an apparent debit balance of 7,237*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* The presumption is that this balance would be satisfactorily accounted for by the missing receipts, for there is not the least doubt that the whole sum was exactly expended and on its proper object. So much is directly avouched by the report of the Commons' committee above referred to.

The succeeding brief, and the last which it is necessary to notice, was ordered by William and Mary by their proclamation of 31 March 1694. It produced between 2 May 1694 and 17 Feb. 1701-2 a total of 11,829*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.*, but the account of the discharge I have been as yet quite unable to trace.⁴ This was by no means the last brief issued for the protestant refugees. But as far as the origin and real nature of the royal bounty are concerned, the crux of the question lies in these collections of Charles II, James II, and William III, and there cannot be a shadow of doubt as to the disposal of the funds raised by them. Almost as fast as the money came in it was paid out; the accounts were properly watched and finally balanced; and whatever was done further by either king or House of

⁴ The accounts for this collection exist in part in Guildhall MS., bundle 290, which is as before a large bundle of the actual briefs as despatched to the various parishes, and returned thence endorsed with the amounts collected and the signatures of the rector and churchwarden. There are 104 briefs in the bundle, but I have been unable to take out the total of amounts on account of the state of decay of a great portion of them. The full statement of accounts (debit), however, is preserved in Guildhall MS. 280. It is abstracted as follows: Entries running from 2 May 1694 to 6 July 1696 continuously, 11,774*l.* 17*s.* 4½*d.*, and thence four or five entries of scattered dates reaching to 17 Feb. 170½, 54*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.*, making a total of receipts on the brief of 31 March 1694 of 11,829*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.* There was 305*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* of bad money received. The materials for the balancing of the account are unfortunately wanting. In the Guildhall manuscript, bundle 348, there are two bundles of small printed receipts for money paid out to the distressed French. They mostly relate to 1698. The various amounts received have been entered in ink, and the ink has so faded in many instances as to render it impossible to cast up a correct total. The same bundle encloses a doubled-up paper book of about thirty leaves in good condition, which contains 'an account of the distribution and assistance made to the poor French protestant refugees out of the money proceeding from the parliamentary fund granted for their relief for the year 1696, which distribution was made by the French committee, &c., &c.' The total accounted for in this book is 2,488*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* and it is possible that the loose receipts preserved alongside in bundle 349 represent this total. The only other possible (partial) statement of credit account which I have been able to find at the Guildhall is contained in bundle 349, which is unlettered, but is evidently a rough file of payments made 1695-8, mostly to the refugee churches outside of London, as Colchester, Thorp, Barnstaple, &c. There are forty-two receipts, giving a total disbursement of 1,161*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*. But this is manifestly a mere fraction of the account.

Commons was entirely spontaneous and additional. Putting aside finally, therefore, the question of the briefs, there remains that of those other parliamentary and royal grants and their origin.

It is not quite so easy to see what the real nature of these latter at first was. Finding that the relief which sprang from the collections by the briefs was insufficient to meet the growing wants of their poor, the ministers presented, on the 15th April 1689, a petition to the House of Commons, praying a yearly relief for their support out of a revenue arising from a tax to be put on hackney coaches. The commons disliked the petition 'as very irregular and disagreeable to the custom of the House to prescribe ways and means.' It was resolved 'that the petition be withdrawn, and that a committee be appointed to consider of a way to relieve the French protestant ministers and others.' Nine days later this committee reported as follows :⁵—

. . . (the Frenchmen have formed three regiments and there are 20,000 of them engaged in trade, etc.) but there still remain above 2,000 persons, some of them old, others infants, others sick and impotent; many of them heretofore rich and flourishing in their own country, but now reduced to the utmost misery and must inevitably perish and starve unless assisted by the House, the money of the 2 late collections made upon the briefs obtained from the late King James not being sufficient to last beyond the end of next June, after which they have nothing to trust to but the mercy of God and the pity and compassion of this house. The committee examined the management and distribution of the money raised by the 2 said collections the first whereof amounted to about 50,000*l.* and the latter to about 15,000*l.*, which 2 sums have served them for about three years and a half. The committee upon examination found the said 2 sums to have been faithfully employed for the ends mentioned in the aforesaid briefs, and all parties concerned to be well satisfied. After this the committee proceeded to the consideration of the present state of the said distressed French protestants, and it appeared to them that there are now to be provided for about 100 poor ministers and their families, amounting in all to about 300 persons, and 100 gentlemen and their families, likewise about 300 persons; about 400 physicians, lawyers, citizens, &c.; about 400 common people; 60 sick people at the Pest House; about 100 children at nurse, and about 400 persons in divers places in the country. Upon calculation of the yearly sum requisite for the support of these distressed people they find that a revenue of 17,200*l.* per annum is necessary. Further, the committee proceeded to consider

⁵ *Commons Journals*, x. 88 and 103, 15 and 24 April, 1689.

of a fund that might be proper for the raising the said yearly sum. Divers things were propounded, as the renewing the tax upon coal, the laying 1 per cent. on all merchandises exported and imported as has been formerly done for the redemption of captives, the revenue that may be raised on hackney coaches, taxes to be laid upon paper, the wine license office, post office, and others. On the whole matter the committee came to these resolutions :

1.—That it is the opinion of the committee that a revenue of 17,200*l.* per annum is necessary for the support of the distressed French Protestants.

2.—That it is the opinion of the committee that the new imposition upon wine and vinegar which is to expire 20 July 1693 is a proper fund for the charging the said sum of 17,200*l.*⁶

Immediately after hearing this report of the committee the House was summoned to the lords to witness the royal assent to several bills, and on its return it adjourned without discussing the above recommendations. Nor is there any evidence in the Journals between April and 30 Nov. that the commons returned to the subject. The reason is nowhere explicitly stated, but is quite easy to deduce. Before the committee of the house had finished its report even, King William or rather Queen Mary had taken the matter up and made a grant to the French out of the privy purse.⁷ The original warrant for the grant I have been unable to find, but it is referred to distinctly in the privy purse accounts for 1697.⁸ Part of Queen Mary's jointure was a sum of 50,000*l.* annually allowed her for her

⁶ In the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* for 1853, i. 218, M. C. N. de la Cherois Purdon, writing on the Huguenot colony at Lisburn, co. Antrim, gives a partial extract from this report of the committee of the house of commons. He omits the decisive words here copied, but Agnew, who had the paper before him, had only to turn to the original to find them.

⁷ See *The Proselytish Hercules*, p. 91. Some light is thrown on the transaction by the completely analogous case of the relief for the distressed Irish protestants. Their case was considered on the same day of April on which that of the Huguenots had been handled. A committee was appointed, and on 1 May it reported (*Commons Journal*, x, 134) advising the raising of money on the East India and Guinea stock held by the late King James II. The House agreed to all the suggestions of its committee, and yet three months later (10 August 1689, *C. J.* x. 259) we find them resolving on an address to be presented to the king by such members as were of the privy council to remind his Majesty of the address of this house for the bestowing of 5,000*l.* for the relief of the Irish nobility and gentry.

⁸ Record Office, *Audit Office Declared Accounts*. Privy purse, Roll 3a, bundle 1922. The account from 24 June 1697 to 24 June 1699 of Edward Nicholas, treasurer and receiver general to Queen Mary. 'Easter term, Anno IX Wm. III, by the hands of Thomas Howard Esq., one of the tellers to ye aforesaid Edward Nicholas Esq. upon account to be applied towards the support of poor French protestants by virtue of a privy seal dated 19 April 1689, and a warrant under the royal signe manuell dated 3 June 9^o. Wm. III—£15,000.'

own use and service, to be disposed of at her pleasure without account.⁹ It formed the fund from which the queen's civil list was paid, as also the annual 15,000*l.* to the French, the 425*l.* to the Savoy churches, and numerous other charities. William religiously maintained all the benefactions of his queen after her death, and when he took over and provided for her civil list out of his own privy purse, he continued the grant of 15,000*l.* to the French along with it.¹⁰

In its origin and nature, therefore, the grant is properly a bounty or charity from the royal or privy purse. But there seems some little discrepancy in such scattered hints as are available, as to the funds which were allocated or appropriated for the supply of the privy purse for these objects. On the opening of the parliament of 1695 (22 Nov.), William recommended the case of the French protestants to the commons from the throne, and early in 1696 the house took the matter into consideration, resolving 21 March 1695-6 'to consider of ways and means for the civil list for 1696, and for the relief of the poor French.' The report of the committee's resolutions was made on 27 March 1696, and consisted of recommendations of a series of duties on low-priced wines to be granted for five years. A bill enacting to that effect was accordingly brought in and passed on 23 April.¹¹ On the other hand, writing in the reign of Anne, Michel Malard gives a different account of the nature of the fund.¹² 'As for the 15,000*l.* per annum it was granted to the French protestants by King William. The said sum was and is taken out of the stock that ariseth every year from the first fruits and tenths of all the ecclesiastical preferments of the church of England.' According to this Queen Anne's bounty to the poor English clergy would be simply an adaptation of the same idea. It is, perhaps, permissible to conclude on the whole showing that this civil list item was at first and up to 1696 unappropriated—a payment of 50,000*l.* being annually made direct from the imperial ex-

⁹ See one warrant for this payment in *King's Warrant Book*, vii. 121, Record Office. It is dated Whitehall, 4 June 1689, and is addressed 'to the commissioners of our treasury, etc.' There are numerous references to this fund, for which warrants had to be issued yearly. See at the Record Office the warrants for 1691, 1694, 1695 in 'auditor's privy seals xxi. 166, 225, 238,' et aliunde.

¹⁰ 'Our will and pleasure is that the establishment of the sallaries and charitable penc'ons to our late dear consort the Queen's family and servants be continued from Lady Day 1695 until we signify our further pleasure.' Record Office, *Treasury Warrants*, xi. 96, 4 May 1695.

¹¹ *Commons Journals*, xi. 527-562, *passim*.

¹² *The Proselytish Hercules*, p. 91.

chequer to the queen's treasurer,—and that then for the rest of William's reign it was charged upon the wine duties and for that of Anne upon the first fruits.

[As the subject of the real nature of this grant of 15,000*l.* per annum presents some difficulty I have preferred to let the above paragraph in the text stand as it first appeared in the English Historical Review. But as the result of a subsequent exhaustive examination of the King's Warrant Books (Treasury) I am clearly of opinion :—

1. That the specific fund of 15,000*l.* dates only from the action of the House of Commons in 1696.
2. That whatever W^m and Mary did before that year 1696 was of their own mere grace and royal bounty, and that such bounty was extensive (see note 14 *infra* and appendices No. IV. & VI.)
3. That after the institution of the parliamentary grant of 1696 the yearly issue of the King's warrant for the payment of the 15,000*l.* was only one of the formalities of Treasury method which attended the making of all payments at the Receipt of the Exchequer. Such King's warrants (see appendix No. VII.) distinctly state that the payments were to be made out of any of the funds recited in the Act or out of any loans on those funds.
4. That therefore the 15,000*l.* per annum was paid neither out of Queen's Mary's jointure nor out of First Fruits and Tenths but out of the funds specified by the Act of Parliament. If in the reign of Anne the payment was transferred from the duties on low wines to First Fruits and Tenths the change must be regarded as a subsequent arrangement. But I have found no proof of Malard's statement.]

It would be interesting to follow the history of the fund, but here again there is not a little difficulty. In a warrant dated 18 Dec. 1695, subsequent to that by which William took over the queen's civil list there is mention of a payment 'to M. Braguier, treasurer to the French refugees, of 100*l.* weekly to begin the 18th day of September last. This payment is now ceased.'¹³ Apart from this entry, which may perhaps admit of explanation, it is demonstrable that the payments for the first years of William and Mary approximated to 15,000*l.* per

¹³ It is possible that this entry refers to a separate grant or bounty of the king to the families of the French officers and soldiers which did him and us such signal service. In Edward Nicholas's accounts for 1697-9 (see reference *post*) there is an allusion to such payment quite apart from the 15,000*l.* to the ministers and non-military refugees. 'M. Rovigny . . . to be by him paid and distributed to 51 families of French refugee officers, etc., 1,097*l.* per annum.'

annum. The first disbursements on account were made in November 1689, and from that date to 6 July 1693 a sum of 39,000*l.* was received by the French committee from the king.¹⁴

¹⁴ Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, xxi. 36, 1693.

Etat des sommes accordées par sa majesté pour la subsistance des Protestans françois réfugiés depuis le mois de Novembre 1689 et reçues par le comité françois qui a administré les charités royales.

1689		£
12 Novembre	Reçu en argent contant par les mains de Sr John Morden	2,000
7 Jan. 1689½	En argent par le dit sieur	1,000
27 Jan.	En argent par le dit sieur	1,800
19 Sept. 1690	reçu en taillies à l'échiquier	1,800
2 Jan. 1691½	reçu en argent	1,000
30 Jan.	reçu en taillies	1,400
3 Avril	" " "	1,200
9 May	" " "	1,800
12 Aoust	" " "	3,000
29 Oct.	reçu en argent	1,000
1 Jan. 1691½	reçu en taillies	4,000
28 Avril	" " "	4,000
18 Aoust	" " "	4,000
19 Décemb.	" " "	6,400
12 Juin 1693	" " "	3,600
29 Juillet	reçu en argent	1,000

39,000

Sur cette somme est à déduire qui a été remis pour la négociation des taillies dix neuf cent trente livres

1,930

37,070

Partant le comité n'a eu à distribuer des charités de leurs majestés que la dite somme de trente sept mille septante livres qui a été employée avec les sommes cy après à payer les personnes et autres assistances dues jusqu'au dernier Février 1691½.

Autres sommes reçues par le comité pour la subsistance des réfugiés depuis ledit jour premier Novembre 1689.

	£	s.	d.
Reçu à la chambre de Londres procédant de la collecte accordée en faveur des dits réfugiés en l'année 1686	600	0	0
Plus reçu de la même collecte à autrefois	1,330	0	0
Plus reçu de la collecte accordée en l'année 1688	1,000	0	0
Plus reçu de la même collecte à autrefois	950	0	0
Plus reçu en conséquence des souscriptions faites par plusieurs seigneurs et autres personnes en faveur des dits réfugiés depuis le mois de Juin 1690 jusqu'à la fin de la même année	1,868	4	10
Plus le comité a employé pour la subsistance des dits réfugiés un reste des sommes destinées pour le rachat des captifs à Alger décédés pendant la négociation et qui avaient été données par divers particuliers	332	4	0
Plus le comité a reçu de legs pieux faits au profit des dits réfugiés en l'année 1692	241	17	6

6,322 6 4

Somme totale de la dépense faite par le comité depuis le dit jour prem. Novem. 1689 jusqu'au dernier février 1691½ qui sont 3 ans 4 mois, quarante trois mille trois cent nonante et deux livres 6s. 4d.

43,392 6 4

From other sources the committee received an additional sum of over 5,000*l.*, the total receipt for the period being 43,392*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* The united amounts would make out more than the annual 15,000*l.* for the period covered (two and a half years), but the committee themselves work out the annual expenditure to 14,379*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* The subsequent accounts for William's reign are not forthcoming, but direct evidence of the payment of the full bounty exist here and there in the king's warrant books and in the privy purse accounts in the audit office.¹⁵ Nor, on the other hand, is there any complaint of the withholding of the bounty until the last year of William's reign, when it appears from the petition of the French refugees

Et les dépenses, pensions et distributions aux dits réfugiés ayant cessé par le comité faute de fonds au dernier février 1694 il se trouvera qu'au premier Janvier de l'année prochaine 1694 ils auront été dix mois sans rien recevoir. Lesquels dix mois sur le pied de 1,250*l.* chacun et des dernières assistances et en regard que le nombre des personnes a augmenté d'un tiers depuis l'année 1691 se montent à douze mille cinq cent livres . . . 12,500 0 0

Mémoire des charges du comité

		Personnes. Pensions par an		
		£	s.	d.
Fonctionnaires	Ministres, leurs femmes et enfans au nombre de . . .	345	2,757	0 0
	Gentils hommes et demoiselles au nombre de . . .	268	2,120	16 0
	Bourgeois au nombre de . . .	465	2,597	8 6
	Pauvres des églises Françaises en province au nombre de . . .	200	100	0 0
	Orphelins au nombre de . . .	105	430	0 0
Que l'on appelle casual	Menu peuple à qui l'on donne par semaine au nombre de . . .	1,000	5,182	0 0
	L'Hopital de la Peste House coûte par an . . .		420	0 0
	Médecins chirurgiens et médicamens . . .		236	0 0
	Ecoles entretenues pour les pauvres . . .		36	0 0
	Enterremens . . .		100	0 0
	Passans et nouvellement arrivés . . .		300	0 0
	En frais nécessaires et besoins extraordinaires . . .		100	0 0
		2,383		
Total de la somme dépensée par an . . .			14,379	4 6
Le tout justifié par le Dernier État				

¹⁵ Record Office, *Audit Office Declared Accounts*. Privy purse, Roll 3a, bundle 1922. 'Allowed the accomptant, Edward Nicholas Esq., treasurer and receiver-general to Queen Mary, the money wherewith he is charged in this account to have received out of his majesty's exchequer by virtue of 2 several warrants under his majesty's royal sign manual, the one dated at the camp of Genap, 3 June 1697, and the other at the court at Looe, 15 Sept. 1698 (O.S.), payable to the French ministers and other French protestants according to such directions as he should receive from time to time from the archbishop of Canterbury, lord mayor, lord chancellor, the bishop of London, &c., &c. (detailed) 15,000*l.*' For warrants for 1691, 1694, and 1695, see note 9, *supra*.

on 8 Dec. 1702,¹⁶ that these payments were suspended by a warrant of 14 Jan. 1701, and continued so suspended until after the accession of Anne.

For the reign of Anne the information is more circumstantial. The last-named treasury paper is minuted, '8 Dec. 1702. *The Queen doth intend to continue this 15,000*l.* per annum to the French refugees, and will pay a year when due, from the time of its being last paid.*' There is no complaint that payments were not made during the early and greater part of her reign. Towards the end of it, however, they were again suspended. The statement of what was due to them on this account and of the action of George I on his accession is detailed by the French themselves in their undated memoir preserved in the Treasury papers (ccxi. 7). In 1710 only half the grant was received, the remaining half being paid at irregular intervals between 1711 and 1714, at which latter date the arrears for 1711 were in great part paid up.¹⁷

At the accession of George I the bounty was therefore over two years in arrears. It is further clear, by a note drawn up by John Robinson, bishop of London, for the information of the king respecting pensions, that the question of the renewal of the grant by George was uncertain. 'King William granted and the late queen continued 15,000*l.* sterling a year to the French protestant refugees.'¹⁸ In the end, however, the grant was again allowed.

Le règne de sa majesté commençant au 1 d'aout 1714, il a eu la

¹⁶ *Treasury Papers*, lxxiii. 11.

¹⁷ Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, ccxi. 7: En l'année 1710 la Reine d'heureuse mémoire donna un warrant pour faire payer aux pauvres Protestans François réfugiés la somme annuelle de 15,000*l.* de la bénéfice pour l'année courante finissant au 24 de Mars 1711. En 1710 les réfugiés ne reçurent que la moitié de cette somme. Le reste sur le même warrant leur a été payé à diverses fois en 1711, 1712, 1713, et au commencement de 1714 la reine fit donner aux ministres François qui ont part à la Bénéfice Royale la somme de 1,500*l.* Par un warrant du 19 de Novembre 1714, le roy eut la bonté de leur adonner sur l'argent qui devoit rentrer à l'échéquier avant le 1 Aoust de la même année (ce sont les termes du warrant) la somme de 13,500*l.* qu'ils ont recue et au moyen de laquelle toute l'année 1711 leur est payée. Il leur est deu jusqu'à la mort de la Reine.

	£
toute l'année 1712	15,000
„ „ 1713	15,000
depuis le 25 Mars jusqu'au 31 Juillet 1714 quatre mois et quelques jours	5,000
	35,000

This information is reprinted verbatim in the preface to the list for 1717 issued by the committee, also in Dubourdieu's *Appeal to the English Nation*, 1718.

¹⁸ Minuted, 'Read 29 Oct. 1714. To be considered.' *Treasury Papers*, clxxxi. 32.

bonté au mois de Décembre 1715 de faire expédier un warrant pour leur faire payer la somme de 15,000*l.* qu'ils ont receue, au moyen de laquelle la première année du règne de sa majesté finissant au 31 Juillet 1715, leur a été payée. Au mois d'avril dernier 1717 le Roy a eu la bonté de donner un warrant pour leur faire payer pareille somme de 15,000*l.* C'est pour la seconde année du règne de sa majesté. Il n'y a encore rien d'ordonné pour la troisième année courante.¹⁹

On a later document of 1719²⁰ a note is entered that 'the whole has been paid to Lady-day 1717, so that from thence to Midsummer 1719 is two years and one quarter, which amounts to 33,750*l.* . . . "²¹

The subsequent history of the grant is interesting in itself, but not material to the main contention of this article. In 1726 (14 June), the grant was reduced by a warrant of George I. The arrears, put at 53,750*l.*, were cut down to 26,511*l.*, and the annual 15,000*l.* to 8,591*l.*, of which amount 1,718*l.* 4*s.* was appropriated to the refugee ministry and churches. This order was renewed on his accession by George II, and the grant remained at the sum named for some years. The process of reduction during the latter part of the 18th century is difficult to trace, because in the yearly estimates the fund was merged with others of a like nature. Thus in the year, 1814-15, a sum of 15,000*l.* is put down miscellaneously for "suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese and Corsican emigrants, Saint Domingo sufferers

¹⁹ Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, ccxi. 7. Appended to this document is a list of the payments in detail.

	£	s.	d.
19 Nov. 1714 by the hands of Mr. Nicholas on the order for 15,000 <i>l.</i> bounty	13,500	0	0
26 Aug. 1715 by the hands of ditto on pen'cons	7,320	0	0
10 Feb. 171½ by the hands of Mr. Clayton in part of an order for 15,000 <i>l.</i> bounty	7,500	0	0
27 April 1716 by the hands of ditto on pen'cons established by his majesty	1,822	5	0
27 July „ The like	1,791	18	11½
7 Sept. „ „	1,792	1	2
5 Oct. „ „	1,758	9	10
15 Nov. „ „ to complete the order for 15,000 bounty	7,500	0	0
28 Dec. „ The like on pen'cons established by his majesty	1,797	4	2
8 Mar. 171½ The like	2,068	0	0
	46,787	19	1½

²⁰ Record Office, *Treasury Papers*, ccxi. 3 (5 May 1719). Cp. also the preface to the list for 1717.

²¹ For the years 1723 and 1724 see the incidental references in *Treasury Papers*, ccxlv. 1, and ccxlviii. 63.

and Dutch naval officers." (*Accounts and Papers*, 1814-15, ix., p. 225). In 1831 the estimates specify "Protestant dissenting ministers, poor refugee clergy and laity, &c.," the estimate being 5,612*l*. In 1832, for exactly the same objects, the estimate was 5,327*l*. (*Accounts and Papers*, 1832, vol. xxvii., p. 641). About this latter date the determination was definitely taken to reduce the bounty appropriation. In 1831, (5 March) Mr. Stewart, secretary of the Treasury, addressed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting him and the other commissioners 'to consider and suggest in what manner and under what arrangements the gradual reduction of the same can be made, so as to secure the entire cessation of it hereafter, with the least possible detriment to the individuals who have been hitherto benefitted by it.' As a matter of course the *comité ecclésiastique* objected, but the resolution was finally taken and announced, 13 Feb. 1833, to discontinue the various pensions as the recipients, whether churches or families, died out. From this point onwards, therefore, the amount steadily diminishes, as the refugee churches one after another closed their doors or were united, or as the pensioners died out. In 1831-32 the estimate for this charity was as follows:—

	£	s	d
For the poor French protestant refugee clergy . . .	2,092	6	3
For the poor French protestant refugee laity . . .	1,250	0	0
For the poor of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields and other charitable allowances	1,197	4	10

To-day there is nothing whatever paid on this score.²²

The last and still surviving French refugee church—that of the Savoy—received as its share of the above a grant of 250*l*. from 1835 to 1841, when it was announced, 15 Jan. 1841, that

²² The following details from the parliamentary *Accounts and Papers* for the years chosen may illustrate the process:—

<i>Accounts and Papers</i>	Year	Vol.	Page	Refugee clergy	Refugee laity
	1833	xxiv.	449	1,695 <i>l</i> .	1,673 <i>l</i> .
"	1834	xliv.	425	1,673	1,000
"	1835	xxxviii.	503	1,600	900
"	1836	xxxviii.	407	1,500	800
"	1837-8	xxxviii.	375	1,500	700
"	1839	xxxi.	673	1,300	600
"	1840	xxx.	836	1,300	500
"	1841	xiv.	441	1,200	400
"	1842	xxvii.	509	1,100	400
"	1849	xxxi.	467	1,000	350
"	1850	xxxiv.	453	800	350
"	1851	xxxii.	459	700	300

it would be reduced to 209*l.* 13*s.* On the appointment of M. Bouverie to the ministry of the church in 1870, this decision was again announced, and the attention of the ecclesiastical committee was drawn to the resolution of the Treasury not to continue payment after the life of the then new incumbent. M. Bouverie died in April 1884, and on 9 May following the vestry received notice from Mr. Barrington, through the Ecclesiastical Committee, of the intention of the Lords of the Treasury thenceforward to discontinue the pension. The result was a controversy between the Treasury and the Savoy church which lasted down to 1888 but without producing any result. In his conduct of this controversy, M. Beaufort, the treasurer of the church, insisted most strongly on the old hitherto accepted account of the bounty, and emphatically asserted that his church had a legal claim to the annuity. But beyond holding that 'much might be said on the question,' the Treasury did not notice the contention as far as the mere historical side of the question was concerned.

In the case of this particular church, however, there are considerations which, it was contended, might have entered more fully into the minds of the Lords of the Treasury. When in 1833 Mr. Stewart communicated the pleasure of the Treasury, his letter contained a concession which put the case of the Savoy church on quite a different footing.

Being of opinion that it will be proper that there should be one place of worship in London for the performance of divine service for French protestants, my lords will continue, when these charges shall otherwise have ceased, to submit to Parliament such estimates as may be necessary to provide for the church in Crown Street ²² beyond the sum which may be raised for that church as at present by subscriptions and by property now in the funds.

This was tantamount to a reinstitution of the pension, and to its placing on quite a different basis from the old grant under the royal bounty, and on this basis the vestry of the church claimed to have received repeated assurance of the guarantee of the money. But apart from the exceptional circumstances of guarantee which this particular church has received, it is to be clearly understood that there is no basis for any claim *qua* claim, on the part of the French refugees in any capacity. The conduct of the British nation towards them, except in this latter and much disputed transaction, has been signally noble.

²² Now the Savoy church in Bloomsbury.

The money the country spontaneously raised for them by collections on the briefs they duly and fully received; over and above that they partook of the royal bounty, and that granted in no mean and grudging measure, and in one form or other were partakers of it for over a century, and over and above the royal bounty again they partook of the national bounty in the Parliamentary grant of 15,000*l.* and in the subsequent large established pension list.²⁴

[When writing this paper for the English Historical Review I was not aware of the surprising fact that in addition to all the parliamentary support and royal bounty described above the French refugees were recipients of a second and *quite distinct* source of relief and assistance. The evidence for this statement is drawn entirely from the King's Warrant Books (Treasury) and is printed

²⁴ There is another extremely interesting question involved in this history of the royal bounty, viz. that of the *spirit* of the *administration* of the charity. The literature of the subject yields an abundance of personal and biographical Huguenot matter and quite deserves separate study. For the administration of the bounty twenty commissioners were named apparently 'par sa majesté': see *Etat de la distribution de la somme de 15,000*l.* etc. pour l'an 1705* (British Museum, 791, k. 5). These formed the English committee. Under their direction worked a French committee of twenty-four—the names of the members of both bodies are given for the year 1705 in the tract quoted. The rules for the guidance of the French committee were drawn up 'par les seigneurs hauts commissaires Anglais.' They are printed in 'les malversations du comité François . . . par remarques sur la conte rendu de l'an 1707' (British Museum, 701 b*4*). Under any conditions the handling of such a charity might be expected to give rise to jealousy and discontent in some one quarter. Pensions would tend to be continued when the cases were no longer necessitous—fresh applicants would find it necessary to press, insist, beg, and so on. So much is directly charged on the committee, and much more indeed. But there appears to be something beyond this merely personal and natural jealousy. A very strong feeling was aroused by the change in the constitution of the French committee which is detailed in *Treasury Papers*, cxlix. 30, 1712 (Record Office). Possibly connected with this, was another slight change in the composition of the charity itself. It became applicable to the relief of poor proselytes to the Church of England from the Church of Rome, and the phrase 'the commissioners for the relief of the poor proselytes' is even employed (see *Treasury Papers*, ccxxi. 3, 1719. Record Office). The reference to proselytes is contained in the eighth of the regulations referred to above, and these date apparently from 1689, but the idea would certainly appear to have been an afterthought, 'out of which sum of 15,000*l.*' says Malard, 'the French (committee) have granted 400*l.* with much ado to the archbishop of Canterbury for the said proselytes' (see *The Proselytish Hercules*, p. 91; also a better account of the proselytes' fund in Seymour's Stow, ii. 23). Malard's accusation is that the French committee being presbyterian tabooed such proselytes as became not presbyterians but conformist (i.e. to the Church of England form as adopted in the Savoy church), thereby belying the goodness and exceeding charity of King George. He charges them, as did others, with frantic corruption. But the question is worth much more careful examination (see Misson's unequivocal defence of the committee in his *Meanders and Observations on his Travels over England*, 1719, s.v. French Committee).

in the appendices B *infra*. To make the nature of it quite clear it is to be understood that the King, by a Privy Seal or warrant under his sign manual, could institute a pension to any person he pleased. When the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, or the Lord Treasurer as the case might be, assented to this warrant by countersigning it, a dormant warrant would be made for that pension and regular payments year after year would be made at the Exchequer quarterly on that dormant warrant until it was recalled by some specific King's warrant or Privy Seal. When the number of pensions thus instituted *mero motu* by the King had grown considerable it might be reduced to a single and separate list or *establishment* of pensions payable say to French refugees. All these pensions would be—like the concurrent English pension list—payable out of “any money in the Receipt of the Exchequer” or as we should say in modern times out of the national purse or income.

All this provision would stand quite apart and distinct from any specific grant by parliament of any sum (say 15,000*l.*) which was given as a yearly lump sum and left to be distributed by a certain committee.

In all probability the difference between the two concurrent sources of relief consisted in this.

The king would hardly institute a pension list for persons of no note. His pensioners or nominees for pensions would be persons of descent, or of note, or who had done him service in war, &c. The larger mass of poor Frenchmen of little or no note would be left to the parliamentary fund of 15,000*l.* as distributed by the committee.

This being understood, it will be plain that the charitable provision made for the French refugees was during a certain portion of the period treated of above, about *double* of what has been represented in the text.

William's French pensioners consisted of his army officers. Mary's French pensioners I have been unable to find, with the exception of the grant to the Society of French gentlewomen at the Hague. But early in her reign Anne instituted a long list of pensions including French and English names indiscriminately [in appendix No. IX.] This list was added to, in quite a miscellaneous way at many subsequent points of her reign, sometimes a few, sometimes only a single pension being instituted.

Early in the reign of George I all the French names which thus existed on the general pension establishment, miscellaneous mixed up with English and other names, were taken out and made into a separate and distinct establishment of French pensioners. Far from decreasing, this French pension list seems to have occasionally increased under George I. and II., but its general tendency would of course be after a time to decrease as families died out. In the appendices I have carried the account of this separate French pension list only to 1731, but it would be quite possible by working the King's Warrant Books (Treasury) at the Record Office straight

through to give the account of it to its close. For the sake of guidance to any possible researcher, I may say generally that in these King's Warrant Books will be found yearly a warrant or sign manual for the 8591*l* (or less), which represented the reduction of the 1696 grant of 15,000*l*. This amount will appear in its proper and corresponding place in the Treasury Money Books and Order Books.

The contemporary pension list will not or may not appear annually because the pensions being established they would be paid as by virtue of a dormant warrant and out of a large "imprest" paid to the credit of the paymaster of the pensions.

It will not be until some alteration takes place in this *establishment* or pension list that it will necessarily recur for notice in the King's Warrant Books, perhaps at the expiration of several years, and then the pension list or establishment will be re-entered as an appendage to the ordinary, general, or English pension list, with all the changes of names or amounts which may have been necessitated by death or removal since the period of the last enumeration of the *Establishment*.]

There is a remarkable parallel to this historical blunder in the hitherto accepted account of the national grant to the Vaudois clergy. The misstatement involved in the latter, though hardly as definite and far-reaching as that relating to the French refugees, is curiously similar in nature and equally bound to disappear on examination. Ever since the days of the high minded and determined action of Cromwell in defence of the persecuted protestants of Piedmont the English people has evinced a tenderness of regard for the protestant inhabitants of the Hautes Vallées. All through the eighteenth century they were the recipients—as at this moment they still are—of the national bounty. But it happened that at the beginning of the present century the yearly grant of aid was for explicable causes suspended. Accordingly, in 1825, a movement purely private and unofficial was set on foot to agitate the question of support for the Vaudois protestants and to inquire into the lapse of the said pension. The first meeting of the 'Committee for the relief of the Vaudois of Piedmont,' was held at the house of the Right Honourable Sir George Henry Rose, 20 May 1825, under the presidency of Dr. Howley, then bishop of London. A report was issued couched in brief in these terms:—

It is attested by documents in the Record Office that 13,333*l*. 16*s*. 3*d*., the residue of a collection made in 1655 for the Vaudois, was placed out at interest, and that the interest had been regularly remitted to

the Vaudois under Oliver and Richard Cromwell. Soon after the Restoration remittances were stopped, and no steps were taken to renew them till 1689 when measures were taken by Queen Mary, and a pension of 425*l.* a year, increased after 1703 to 500*l.*, was directed to be paid through the hands of the Lord Almoner, Archbishop Sharpe, to the Vaudois churches. The Vaudois ministers continued to receive this sum up to 1797 through the archbishops of Canterbury and York, when the remittances became very irregular and ceased altogether in 1797. A secretary of the archbishop received the issues from the exchequer until 1804, but failed to remit them and died insolvent in 1809. From 1804 to 1807 the moneys accumulated in the exchequer, but in July of the latter year a treasury minute ordered the payment on account of the Vaudois churches to cease from that time.

The Vaudois committee made a representation of this case to government in a letter addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, 11 March 1826, in which it was stated that the Vaudois had a fair and equitable claim to arrears and to a restitution of the pension. The result was a restitution of the 1,500*l.* which had accumulated in the exchequer, and a renewal in part (277*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*) of the pension formerly granted. The 500*l.* was reduced to 413*l.* 12*s.*, two-thirds of which was to go to the Piedmont churches.²⁵ From that day this amount has been issued regularly in May or June to the Vaudois representatives on application to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. With the latter portion of this document and history we have no concern. The interest of the subject turns on the disputable statement of the preamble. In the letter to Lord Liverpool just referred to, these statements are given with more of detail and apparent circumstantiality.

1. The parochial collections of 1655 produced 38,241*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*, of which 21,908*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* was immediately expended. 3,000*l.* were remitted within the 2 following years, and the remainder placed out on loan at 4 per cent. 2. The interest was regularly remitted to the Vaudois by order of the privy council up to 1660, as is attested by official documents in the State Paper Office. 3. Very soon after the Restoration the remittances were stopped, but whether the principal sum was paid into the exchequer or otherwise or by whom embezzled is unknown to us.

At this distance of time a complete elucidation of the matter is, perhaps, out of the question, but a much more detailed and correct account of the facts is at least possible.

²⁵ See *Treasury Minute Book*, A, 152, 8 May 1827 and 8 June 1827.

On May 17, 1655, the elders of divers congregations in London presented a petition to Cromwell calling his attention to the case of the poor Waldenses. On the same day the council appointed a day of humiliation in reference to the subject,²⁶ and a week later a committee was appointed to consider of means for promoting the collection on the occasion. On 31 May the warrants for a general collection on 14 June, accompanied by a printed sheet of 'instructions by the Protector,' were sent out signed by President Lawrence.²⁷ Christopher Packe, then Lord Mayor, and Sir Thomas Vyner, alderman of London, were appointed treasurers of the fund, and they were to be assisted by a committee of nine in the distribution. Finding that the contributions on the appointed fast day had not been universal, Cromwell issued another proclamation (12 July 1655) for a collection in those parishes which had not taken the matter up (*Council minute book*, I 76, p. 75). From this point onwards numerous references exist in the state papers and council minute books, to the remittance of several amounts to Geneva and to exchange²⁸ transactions with regard to them. But it is unnecessary to follow these in detail, as the properly attested account of the whole exists. The money was partly distributed at home to such of the Vaudois refugees as had managed to reach England and partly remitted *vid* Geneva.²⁹ But a balance still remained, and considerably more than a year afterwards the council, on report from the com-

²⁶ *Council Minute Book*, Record Office, I 76, pp. 78-9. *State Papers, Domestic, Interregnum*, xcvi. 44.

²⁷ *Ibid.* I 76, 110, 113. *S. P. Dom.* xcvi. 4.

²⁸ Such payments as I have noticed may be printed together though the dates spread wide, as will be apparent:—

24 July 1655	15,000 <i>l.</i>	ordered to be remitted	(<i>Council Book</i> , I 76, p. 197)
Nov. March, 1654	7,000 <i>l.</i>	" "	"
27 Jan. 1654	2,000 <i>l.</i>	" "	I 77, p. 563
28 July 1657	{ 1,000 <i>l.</i> 200 <i>l.</i> 100 <i>l.</i>	" "	"
25 Nov. 1657	{ 300 <i>l.</i> 1,500 <i>l.</i>	" "	I 78, p. 33
18 May 1658	1,254 <i>l.</i>	" "	"
27 May 1658	100 <i>l.</i>	" "	I 78, p. 632

For the subsequent payments which were clearly misappropriations of the money see *post*. The account of the income of the whole collections 1655-6 is still preserved at the Record Office in a folio manuscript volume marked I 126, 'Collections for the Piedmontese churches in England and Wales.' It would require a chartered accountant and weeks of toil to take out the total, which is also happily stated elsewhere.

²⁹ See among the Gibson papers at Lambeth an attestation of a committee of examination, to Morland's faithful discharge of his duty in these remittances abroad. (Lambeth MS. 931, No. 9.)

mittee, ordered 'that what remains from the collection, viz. 17,872*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, be put forth on good security in such sort as may enable the trustees to call it in speedily if any further remittances are wanted to be sent, (12 Nov. 1657, *Council book*, I 78, p. 73). This order was approved by the Protector two days later.

Almost immediately payments began to be made out of the interest on so much of this money as was lent out.³⁰ But it is quite impossible to construct an account of the interest for the years during which the money was out. In the course of the following year also, the matter became further complicated by the institution of relief out of the same fund to certain protestant Polish and Bohemian exiles. This relief was granted in response to a petition of the pastors of 'several churches of the reformed religion in higher Poland and Bohemia, now scattered abroad through persecution,' (4 Nov. 1657, *Council book*, I 78, 249). The matter of their petition was referred to the same committee which had the management of Piedmont moneys, and although a separate collection was ordered³¹ for the new sufferers (5 Jan. 1657, *ibid.* I 78, 386) the two accounts were ultimately combined.³² What money was raised by the Polish collection proper seems to have been paid away as quickly as it came in, and the account balanced up to 15 June 1658 at the least,³³ but for the subsequent income from the collections which straggled as usual over no little time, there is nothing ascertainable beyond the skeleton of items in the statement of account (see appendix A below), and we are therefore left with two floating and unknown balances on our mind. It was to this composite sum or balance that the Council of State had

³⁰ See *Council Book* I 78, p. 366, 24 Dec. 1657, and the terms of the parliamentary order of 7 Oct. 1659, I 91, p. 90.

³¹ Oliver's declaration for a collection is dated 25 March 1658. It is preserved in the *Council Minute Book*, I 78, p. 865, and gives a succinct account of the persecution. 'On information that during the late wars in Poland the protestant churches at Lycia and other places have been driven away on account of their religion and forced to fly into Silesia to preserve their lives and consciences, and have sent deputies authorised by five of their pastors and by the testimony of protestant princes who have afforded them shelter, and also on a petition from twenty protestant families driven from Miania in Bohemia into the marquise of Culmbach by the persecution of the Jesuits and of the House of Austria, whence they sent a signed instrument attesting their distress, his highness,' &c.

³² E.g. on 12 May 1658, *Council Book*, I 78, p. 614, the treasurers for the Piedmont money were ordered by the council to advance 500*l.* for the twenty Bohemian families.

³³ See order of the council 24 June 1658, I 78, p. 713, and ditto of 7 Sept. 1658.

recourse in 1659 in the time of its financial need. On 9 July of that year a parliamentary order was passed empowering the council to borrow from the balance of moneys of the Piedmont fund. Three weeks later the treasurers of the fund were ordered to pay over the balance into the exchequer. In accordance with this order a sum of 7,978*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* was at once paid in.³⁴ There still exists an index reference to an entry in one of the missing council minute books, dated 31 July 1659, 'Piedmont money, how to be disposed.' The full entry, of course, cannot be conjectured, but it is quite plain that the money was used freely for state purposes. On 13 Aug. following a sum of 1,000*l.* was ordered to be paid out of the fund, 800*l.* of it being to pay for coats and breeches for the soldiers that came from Dunkirk.³⁵ There are similar entries relating to payments amounting in whole to at least 6,700*l.*

Naturally the matter and manner of these transactions did

³⁴ See Record Office, *State Papers Dom. Interreg.* cciv. 19, petition of Thomas Vyner and Christopher Packe. 'We were made treasurers of the moneys collected for the distressed protestants in Piedmont and Poland. These moneys were brought into the Chamber of London and there managed by a committee whence the greatest part was sent beyond sea for the uses intended, and the remainder by order of the committee we were to put out to interest. Since that time on 29 July [1659] you commanded us to bring in 3,100*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* of the Piedmont moneys, and 853*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.* of the Poland moneys, 3,954*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* in all, supposed to be in our hands, and 9,450*l.* more, unapplied to the uses for which it was gathered. We never had any money in our hands, but what remains in cash remains in the Chamber in London, in the same specie wherein it was first contributed, part of it being money counterfeit or light, and clipped money not current. Yet to show our forwardness, the next day after the order we brought into the exchequer all the same moneys amounting to 3,178*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* in current money and 776*l.* 19*s.* 10*d.* in other money; and have since got in 4,500*l.* more in part of the bonds. As the security for the remainder set out at interest is taken to the late Protector and his successors and if any part should prove desperate, yet the moneys being put out with the best of our skill to persons then and yet responsible, and it being then known that the moneys were the protestants moneys, we conceive we are not by any rule of equity to make good the same. We beg acceptance of the moneys as brought in, and an order for the rest to be brought in, and an act of parliament discharging us in full.' This paper of the treasurers is assigned conjecturally to August 1659. They subsequently (22 Oct. 1659) paid in another 300*l.* (*State Papers Dom. Interreg.* ccv. 57).

³⁵ See *Council book*, I 79 and 37, Record Office. The following payments also came out of the same fund:—

6 Aug. 1659	2,000 <i>l.</i> for Dunkirk garrison
"	1,000 <i>l.</i> for Major-General Lambert
22 Aug. (<i>Council book</i> , I. 79, p. 471)	200 <i>l.</i> for 1,200 pairs of stockings and shoes, and 1,200 shirts
23 Aug. " "	1,000 <i>l.</i> to G. Frost
26 Sept. " "	1,500 <i>l.</i> due to Lieut.-Col. Clement and John Young (<i>Council Book</i> , I 79, p. 617).

not pass unchallenged. On 7 Oct. 1659 a parliamentary order was passed *Council book*, I 91, p. 90) on the petition of the deputies of the poor Piedmontese for an inquiry into the affair, and in April of the following year (11 April 1660) an auditor's warrant was issued for payment to the protestants of Piedmont of 7,978*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, 'part of the moneys borrowed by the state by the parliamentary order of 9 July 1659.' A month later (11 May) in consequence apparently of the non-discharge of the warrant, the commons ordered the 7,978*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* to be repaid to the treasurers of the Piedmont fund by 2,000*l.* monthly from the excise, the house declaring at the same time its detestation of any diversion of the money from its proper use. Between this latter date and 24 Oct. 1660 only one payment of 2,000*l.* was made. The Piedmont deputy accordingly again petitioned the council and got an order for a privy seal for the payment of the 2,000*l.* monthly from the exchequer. In November 1660 one such privy seal for the payment of another 2,000*l.* was issued to Escosier and Bastie. This is the last item of payment that can be found, and it is open to doubt how far we can assume from the statement of the affair appended to this article, that the whole account was settled before October 1668. There are, therefore, to my mind two uncertain points about this statement of account. (1) We are left uncertain as to the final repayment by the treasury of the balance of the 7,879*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* The explanation would probably be that if paid at all it was paid direct, and not through the hands of Packe, and therefore need not reappear, as it otherwise ought, on both the credit and debit side; (2) of the 8,000*l.* lent to Nathaniel Temme and Sir Martin Noell, 4,950*l.* was recovered from their executors by act of parliament. But if the balance 3,050*l.* was written off as a loss, it ought to appear credited to Packe in account. In the same way there is no credit entry for the money spoken of as embezzled by Powell, and yet the account is made to balance. We can only suppose that these credit items are lumped in the total of money remitted. The statement of account is by no means clear, and its testimony is slightly confusing; but it must not be forgotten that this document was drawn up and filed after the appointment of a commission of inquiry upon the subject, and that it must have been intended and accepted as final and satisfactory. It is at least open to conclusion, though it may also be disputed,³⁶ that the commonwealth transaction was in

³⁶ See Record Office, *Domestic Entry Book; Warrant Book*, 4 Jan. 1664 to 23 Feb. 1664. 'Being informed that there is a sum of money remaining in the hands of certain persons not yet accounted for out of that which was pretended

the end fairly liquidated, however discreditable the action of Richard Cromwell's government was in the matter. When, therefore, in the reign of William III English charity again flowed out to the Savoy protestants, it could not possibly have had relation to any outstanding claim for old moneys confiscated. No such claim existed, nor, I think, could exist, nor was it at the time ever whispered or dreamed of. The grant which Queen Mary made was allowed by her out of the 50,000*l.* per annum already referred to as the first source of the 15,000*l.* granted to the French protestants. The king's warrant books and the accounts of Edward Nicholas quoted, amply attest this, and it is quite in character and keeping with a small host of related gratuities.

The subsequent history of the grant, therefore, must stand on its own merit and the later conduct of the treasury be similarly estimated—putting aside for good this wholly untenable claim to interest on a misappropriated sum.³⁷

to be collected for the protestants in the time of the late usurpations we do hereby give power and authority to . . . Anthony, Lord Ashley, and Sr. John Denham . . . our surveyor of the works, to examine the whole matter and to that end that they may send for all such persons, books of accompt, or other papers as may make out the full discovery thereof, and to report to us as they shall therein discover, and come to the knowledge of, that so as we may give further order for the prosecution of our right and title therein.' Dated 12 Nov. 1664. The rough draft occurs among the undated state papers of 1663 (lxxxviii. 2).

³⁷ Among the Guildhall MSS. there are several bundles which bear on the later part of the subject of the Savoy churches and their pension.

MS. No. 281. (marked j). A folio vol. of accounts of collections made on briefs (1) for the Vaudois 6 April 1699 to 24 Dec. 1710; (2) for the refugees of the Principality of Orange, 11 Feb. 1704 to 7 March 1712. With accounts of payments.

MS. No. 282. A folio vol. 'Accounts of moneys received upon her majesty's [Anne's] brief for relief of poor distressed Palatines, with account of payments.'

MS. No. 287 (marked l). Folio vol. (2) collections for the poor distressed protestants in lesser Poland as per his majesty's briefe 1 June 1681 to 8 May 1682.

MSS. No. 350 and 351. Printed copies of a brief of 12 March, 2 Wm. III for a collection for the Vaudois.

MS. No. 352. A bundle of warrants to the chamberlain to pay money to the Vaudois out of collections for them. Also an authority from the Landgrave of Hesse authorising Sir Gerard Denham to receive money for the Vaudois settled in the territory.

MS. No. 353. A parcel of printed briefs for the poor distressed Palatines, with account of sums received. (See No. 282.)

APPENDIX A.

*Record Office. Audit Office Declared Accounts. 'Protestants.
Money for.' Roll I. Bundle 2027.*

(Duplicate in Pipe Office Declared Accounts 2084.)

Declaration of the accompts of [Sir Robert] Viner K^t & Bar^t one of the executors to Sir Thomas Viner K^t Bar^t deceased, who with Christopher Packe late alderman of London were appointed Receivers and Treasurers for the money collected for the poore Protestants in Piedmont and for the Polonian and Bohemian exiles from the 25 May 1655 untill the last of July 1660.

The said Sir Thomas Viner and Christopher Packe being in and by several instructions to be observed touching the collec'on appointed by a declarac'on of Oliver the late pretended Protector with the advice of his counsel to be made throughout England and Wales for the poore inhabitants of Lucerne, Angrona and others within the dominions of the Duke of Savoy and for the Polonian and Bohemian exiles, nominated and appointed treasurers for the receiving the whole sum which should be gathered upon that collection [*torn*] sums received and paid from time to time by virtue of sundry orders of the said protector and council or of the committee appointed by the said instructions to take care of (it) from 25 May 1655 to the 31 July 1660 as by 2 ledger books of account delivered in upon oath of the said Christopher Packe the only surviving Treasurer with bills of exchange, receipts, acquittances, etc.

Sworne before (. . .) 12 Oct. 1668.

Charged with

of Oliver late pretended Protector 7 June 1655 for said protestants of Lucerne and Angrona and other valleys of Piedmont	£	s.	d.
	2,000	0	0
of sundry persons in England and Wales as by the instructions of the said pretended Pro- tector to receive the money collected	36,232	3	8
For interest of severall of the said sums of money soe collected as aforesaid and lent out by order of the then counsell untill it could be disposed of for the relief of the Protestants upon the security of several persons	614	19	9

Also with money received and collected within the several parishes in England and Wales according to the declaration of the late Oliver Cromwell for the relief of divers Protestant churches driven out of Poland, and sundry Protestant families driven out of the confines of Bohemia 10,685 14 3

And with money received back out of the receipt of the Excheq^r by virtue of an order of the then counsell dated xiii April 1660, in part of the sum of 7,978*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* being part of the money collected for the reliefe of the aforesaid poore protestant exiles and which was by these accomptants formerly paid into the receipt of the exchequer at Westminster in pursuance of an order of the late pretended parliament of 9 July 1659 2,000 0 0

Sum total of change and receipts . . . 51,532 17 8

Payments.

For relief of the protestants in the valleys of Piedmont.

Transmitted by order of Oliver Cromwell as his free gift 2,000 0 0

Transmitted in pursuance of severall orders of the late pretended Protector and council, &c. . . 23,455 18 9

For relief of the Polonian and Bohemian exiles

transmitted as by orders, &c. appeareth . . . 9,470 0 0

Given by virtue of several like orders to sundry of the said exiled persons then in England . . . 550 0 0

Paid into the receipt of the exchequer upon several tallies leavyed and struck upon their accounts, viz. upon one tally dated the 2nd of August 1659, 1,550*l.*, another of same date 1,628*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, another of 13 August 1659, 2,500*l.*,

another of same date 2,000*l*. In all as by the said tallies and a certificate under the hand of William Wardour clerk of the Pell, dated 5 May 1665, appeareth 7,688*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*. and for money by them also paid into the receipt of the exchequer 22 Oct. 1659, 300*l*. In all paid into the Receipt of Exchequer

7,978 8 9

Money lately owing by Nathaniel Temme late alderman of London, and S^r Martin Noel Kn^t, both dec^d in part of the sum of 8,000*l*. lent them in pursuance of an order of the committee for the affairs of Piedmont dated the 27 November 1657, upon their bond dated the 22 of December 1657 and since paid by the executors of the said S^r Martin Noell with interest according to the tenor of an act of parliament in the parliament begun at Westminster 13 May, 13 Car II, unto John Escosier minister of the Gospel and James Bastie of St. John in the valley of Lucerne, the 2 deputies of the Protestant churches of Piedmont lately residing in England or unto Didier Foncaut of the city of Westminster apothecary, and Peter Gerard merchant stranger the attorney of the said 2 deputies

4,950 0 0

Also allowed for clipt and brasse money sold by virtue of an order of the late committee of the then councill to whom the business of Piedmont is referred, dated 16 April 1660, and the proceed thereof paid to the aforesaid John Escosier and James Bastie the deputies of the said churches

473 16 10

Also allowed for money paid by virtue of an order of his majesty in Councill dated 16 July 1660 unto said John Escosier and James Bastie deputies of the said churches

2,000 0 0

Money given to persons that assisted in the conveyance of the money transmitted by Alexander D'Ize by virtue of an order of Oliver Cromwell and councill dated 27 May 1658, 100*l*. and to Samuel Morland by like order dated 25 Nov^r 1687 for his care and paines in the business of Piedmont, 300*l*.

400 0 0

For the Examination of accounts, watching

the Treasury, for books, paper bags, and other stationary ware, printing bill orders and other acts of Parliament, charges in the exchequer when the money was paid into the receipt there, postage and postage of letters, charges of a suit against Noell and Temme upon the bond as by several bills and acquittances appeareth and allowed by order of the counsel 19 July 1655 . 91 13 0

For money paid to John Powell for the service of himself and clerk by order of the then pretended counsell 23 December 1657 . 100 0 0

Charges and expenses in a suit commenced against Powell and others for the recovery of the money by him embezzled as by several bills appeareth and now allowed by order of the Lord's commisioners of his majesty's Treasury dated 28 August 1668 . 59 9 4

In all . . 51,529 6 8

So the said accomptants are indebted 71s. which said sum of 71s. was by the aforesaid Christopher Packe the surviving Treasurer paid into the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer at Westminster 17 Sept. 20 Car II as by a tally then levyed the same day and certificate of W^m Wardour clerk of the Pells of 18 Sept. 1668 appeareth.

12 Oct. 1668.

APPENDICES, B.

The following extracts from the King's Warrant Books will be of interest from the names of the refugees entered in the various successive pension lists,¹ with the changes occurring in such lists owing to death &c., and also for the purpose of illustrating the main propositions of the preceding article.

They show

1. The extensive private bounty of both W^m and Mary *before* the institution of the grant of 15,000*l.* in 1696.

¹ It is to be borne in mind by persons searching for French names that names of French pensioners occur in the general pension lists or establishments scattered and buried among the ordinary British pensioners, *as well as* in the *other* establishments of refugee pensioners pure and simple.

2. The fact that this private bounty did not cease after the institution but that both under W^m and Mary and under Anne numbers of individual refugees were granted pensions, those pensions being at first inserted in the ordinary or general pension lists or establishments.
3. That these pensions were greatly extended in August, 1715, by George I. and were then *established* or made into an *establishment* of French refugee pensions with a total of 7,320*l.* per annum. Considering that since the era of the Revocation many refugees must have died, removed, or found suitable avocation, such a list in 1715 can be fairly claimed as providing for all the remnant formerly intended to be provided for by the grant of 15,000*l.* and therefore the establishment of 1715 can fairly claim to be the representative successor and fulfiller of the earlier grant of 15,000*l.*
4. That when, therefore, in April, 1717, George I by a sign manual ordered a payment of 15,000*l.* (not at first as a yearly grant, but which was made a yearly grant by George by warrant of 1718, June 24), the order practically meant a clear *doubling* of the provision for the refugees which had been intended in 1696; for in 1696 there was no large pension list of refugees as well as the 15,000*l.* grant. There is no doubt that this action of George I was due to the petition of the refugees for arrears, but the king himself must have been struck by the incongruity of first providing for the refugees by a pension list, and then providing for them again by a re-instituted grant of 15,000*l.* Accordingly a different colour was given to the re-instituted grant by the addition of the clauses capacitating ministerial converts from the Church of Rome and lay proselytes,—a change which subsequently in 1730 puzzled the Lords of the Treasury not a little, and was condemned by them as having led to a notable inrush of hypocritical and feigned conversions.
5. That if under the circumstances, the re-instituted or additional grant of 15,000*l.* was paid *at all*, alongside of and in addition to the yearly refugee pension list, it is only proof of the generosity of George I, and when it was reduced in June, 1726, George I was acting quite within his rights. The pension list which had been paid concurrently with it, was of course continued, sometimes swelling and sometimes dwindling in amount. “

I.

ESTABLISHMENT FOR FRENCH PENSIONERS.

[King's Warrant Book, vii., p. 224.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS we are graciously pleased to continue unto the several officers and gentlemen hereunder named, the respective pensions of allowances against each of their names expressed, we do hereby make and pass this our establishment for the same amounting to 4*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* per diem, to commence from the first day of July last and to be paid unto them respectively by monthly or quarterly payments upon the establishment of our forces remaining in England until further order, upon certificates to be produced to the Paymaster General of our said forces of their being alive at the several times of payment.

Given at our Court at Hampton the 17th day of Sept., 1689, in the 1st year of our reign :—

HORSE.		<i>per diem.</i>		<i>per annum.</i>		
		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Col. Petit	...	7	6	136	17	6
Major Boyson	...	6	0	109	10	0
Capt. St Leger	...	5	0	91	5	0
Capt. Jancour	...	5	0	91	5	0
FOOT.						
Capt. Dargillers	...	3	6	63	17	6
" La Gardiole	...	3	6	63	17	6
" Manconret	...	3	6	63	17	6
" De Fravecy	...	3	6	63	17	6
" de la Porte	...	3	6	63	17	6
" de Orsevall	...	3	6	63	17	6
" Chasseloup	...	3	6	63	17	6
Lieutenant Hardii	...	2	0	36	10	0
" Prad Laine	...	2	0	36	10	0
" Bolroy	...	2	0	36	10	0
" Pegat	...	2	0	36	10	0
" L'ansade	...	2	0	36	10	0
" Soutignii	...	2	0	36	10	0
Ensign Pinet	...	1	6	27	7	6
" de la Swardiers	...	1	3	22	16	3
" Lé Lavie	...	1	3	22	16	3
Gent : Du Lac	...	1	3	22	16	3
" Malherbes	...	1	3	22	16	3
" Francois Brun	...	1	3	22	16	3

Foot.		<i>per diem.</i>		<i>per annum.</i>		
		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
„	La Meau	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Beauvais	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Corville ...	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Vrignii ...	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	De Vese	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Vasse la dé Regniers		1 3	22 16 3		
„	Mailas de Ladet ...	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Serrieres	...	1 3	22 16 3		
„	Richard ...	...	1 3	22 16 3		
Total,			4 0 3	1464 11 3		

II.

[King's Warrant Books vii. pp. 290-1.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS there are several of the French reformed officers who came over with us into this Kingdome now in our service in Ireland who are not yet incorporated into any of our regiments in the army, we have therefore thought fit to incorporate the said officers whose names are hereunder written into our regiments of foot commanded by Col. de la Moliniere, Col. du Cambon, and Col. de la Callimot and to make and pass this our additional establishment for the said incorporated officers, viz. in our regiment commanded by Coll. de la Moliniere, 18 captains, 23 lieutenants, and 8 ensigns, in our regiment commanded by Col. du Cambon, 16 captains, 17 lieutenants, and 10 ensigns, and in our regiment commanded by Coll. de la Callimote, 16 captains, 18 lieutenants and 10 ensigns; at the rate of 5s. per diem each captain, 2s. 6d. each lieutenant, and 2s. a day each ensign, amounting in all to £22 10s. 0d. per diem, to commence from the 1st day of July, 1689, and to be paid unto them during their service as incorporated officers of the said regiments and no longer.

Given at our Court at Whitehall this 4th day of November, 1689, in the first year of our reign.

In Col. de la Moliniere's regiment.

Captains.—*per diem.*

				s.	d.
La Seigne	...	...	...	5	0
Pierre de Vicouse	...	...	...	5	0
Centurion belau la Mote	...	...	...	5	0
Louis Chabranca	...	...	...	5	0
Martel van Dere	...	...	...	5	0
Louis du Rosoy	..	...	...	5	0
Pacel la Rise	...	...	...	5	0
Abraham Courtelle	...	...	...	5	0
Jean du Rill de Villey	...	...	...	5	0
Josue Mechin	...	...	...	5	0
Claud Sarment	...	...	...	5	0
Louis la Pamiere	...	...	...	5	0
Isaac de la Clide L'Estrille	...	...	...	5	0
Pierre de la Roche	...	...	...	5	0
Louis Ganory	...	...	...	5	0
Jacques Brabant	...	...	...	5	0
Jean de la Clide	...	...	...	5	0
Char. de Bours Betan Cour	...	...	...	5	0

Lieutenants.—

Francois de la Patt	...	...	...	2	6
Louis D'Andurant	...	...	...	2	6
Jacques Ricetier	...	...	...	2	6
Morne la Porte	...	...	...	2	6
Plessis Mayon	...	...	...	2	6
Louis Tourmice	...	...	...	2	6
Francois du Boier	...	...	...	2	6
Jean Bigot	...	...	...	2	6
Jean Rion	...	...	...	2	6
Guy Alex ^r . Millery	...	...	...	2	6
Alexander Pellert (? Pollat)	...	...	...	2	6
Pierre Unicenot	...	...	...	2	6
Pierre la Lane	...	...	...	2	6
Isaac Bressons	...	...	...	2	6
Michell de Bucos (? Buros) Sailly	...	...	...	2	6
Francois Rob La Lose	...	...	...	2	6
Pierre Traisiner	...	...	...	2	6
Papin de Molange	...	...	...	2	6
Sebastian Darragan	...	...	...	2	6
Hector Boisbleau	...	...	...	2	6
Charles Pointelle	...	...	...	2	6
Leon L'Eveque	...	...	...	2	6
Terry	...	...	...	2	6

Ensigns.—

				<i>per diem.</i>	
				<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
La Cordre ...	...	...	...	2	0
Louis Malide ...	...	...	...	2	0
Reuj Manelair ...	...	...	...	2	0
Estienne Auchroches (? Asichroches) ...			...	2	0
Pierre Bourdales ...	...	...	...	2	0
Isaac Malerade ...	...	...	...	2	0
Sam ^l Du Forde ...	...	...	...	2	0

Coll, Du Cambon's regiment.

Captains.—

Castillon ...	...	...	...	5	0
Thenies ...	...	...	...	5	0
Nolitoz ...	...	...	...	5	0
Les garde ...	...	...	...	5	0
Du Seigle ...	...	...	...	5	0
Du Gardin ...	...	...	...	5	0
Aubin ...	...	...	...	5	0
Simon ...	...	...	...	5	0
La Cour ...	...	...	...	5	0
Daunils ...	...	...	...	5	0
Tiberne ...	...	...	...	5	0
Lallache ...	...	...	...	5	0
Charrier ...	...	...	...	5	0
Vetrou ...	...	...	...	5	0
Galy ...	...	...	...	5	0
Des Irois ...	...	...	...	5	0

Lieutenants.—

Bellet ...	...	...	...	2	6
Gaulier ...	...	...	...	2	6
Carles ...	...	...	...	2	6
Masot ...	...	...	...	2	6
Dambois ...	...	...	...	2	6
Du Vigneu ...	...	...	...	2	6
S ^t Thomas ...	...	...	...	2	6
La Chancellerie ...	...	...	...	2	6
Bourdin ...	...	...	...	2	6
Baucours ...	...	...	...	2	6
Luisne ...	...	...	...	2	6
Royere ...	...	...	...	2	6
S ^t Leger ...	...	...	...	2	6

Lieutenants.—

						<i>per diem.</i>	
						<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Faure	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Pegat	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Melier	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Chabanes	...	...	...	...	...	2	6

Ensigns.—

Chabers	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Promesat	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Bardon	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Du Mas	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Rials	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
La Cross	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Baudoin	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Brocas	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Brocas	...	...	...	...	...	2	0
Belliote	...	...	...	...	...	2	0

Coll. De la Callimote's regiment.

Captains.—

Ponte run	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Prou	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Massu de S. Pardon	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Verdier	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Jourtron l'Eveque	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
La Garde	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Dufay	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Mariegell	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
La Coste	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Du verge de mon Roy	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Montagnac	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Du Mont	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Liger	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Le Cercler	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Marescal	...	...	...	...	...	5	0
Sausaix	...	...	...	...	...	5	0

Lieutenants.—

La Ferrier	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Le gons de Lespois	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Le seuir de Barnay	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Pommeau	...	...	...	...	...	2	6
Le Duc	...	...	...	...	...	2	6

Lieutenants.—

					<i>per diem.</i>	
					<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Vialas	...	...	..	...	2	6
Pruer	..	...	...	..	2	6
Foncalta	...	...	...	...	2	6
La Fortelle	...	..	...	..	2	6
Descorviac	...	...	...	...	2	6
De Mestre	...	..	..	...	2	6
Du Long	...	...	...	..	2	6
Du Solvan	...	...	...	...	2	6
Mercier	...	...	..	..	2	6
Friar	...	..	...	...	2	6
La Brissonier	...	...	...	..	2	6
Lisle Du Roy	...	...	...	...	2	6
Vivains	...	...	..	..	2	6

Ensigns.—

Metiery	...	...	...	...	2	0
Rapin	...	...	...	...	2	0
Gentiller	...	...	...	...	2	0
La Verniere	...	...	...	...	2	0
Martin	...	...	...	...	2	0
Geoffry	...	...	...	...	2	0
La Hauteville	...	...	...	...	2	0
Rousillon	...	...	...	...	2	0
Mathew La Bal	...	...	...	...	2	0
Dapers	...	..	...	...	2	0

III.

[King's Warrant Book, vii, p. 426.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS there hath always been a distinction of 3^d a day in the pension or allowance given by us to such gentlemen as have served us in the Horse more than to those that have served in the Foot and there being no such distinction in our establishment of pensions bearing date the 17th day of September last, our will and pleasure is that out of such moneys as are or shall come to your hands for the use of our forces you pay to the 8 gentlemen of the said establishment who have served us in the Horse and whose names are mentioned in the margin three pence a day each to make up the pension allowed them upon the forementioned establishment 18^d a man a

day to commence with the said establishment from the first day of July last. And for soe doing this together with the acquittances of the said gentⁿ or their assigns shall be your warrant and discharge.

Given at our Court at Whitehall this 19th day of December, 1689, in the first year of our reign. By His Majesty's command.

HEN. CAPELL.
R. HAMPDEN.

To our R^t Trusty & R^t welbeloved
cousin, Richard Earle of Ranelagh, Paymaster General of our Forces.

In the margin

CORVILLE.

VRIGNIS.

DEVESE.

VASSELOT DE REGNIER.

MAILLY LE CADET.

SERIERES.

MONPUISON.

RICCARD.

IV.

[King's Warrant Book, viii., p. 446.]

MARIE R.

OUR will and pleasure is that by virtue of our General letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 19th day of April, 1689, you issue & pay or cause to be issued & paid, out of any our treasure being and remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer not appropriated to particular uses by act of Parliament, unto Joⁿ Braguiera, Esq., or his assigns, the sum of 3,000*l*. without account the same to be distributed by him as our charity and benevolence to the distressed French Protestants for & towards their reliefe and subsistence, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 28 day of July, 1691, in the 3rd year of our reign. By Her Majesty's command.

To our R^t Trusty & R^t welbeloved
Counsellor Sidney Lord Godolphin and the rest of the Comm^{rs}
of our Treasury.

V.

[King's Warrant Book, ix, p. 426.]

WILLIAM R.

OUR will and pleasure is that this additional establishment for an augmentation of pay to the reformed officers of our regiment of Horse commanded by our R^t Trusty & welbeloved Cousin the Lord Vis^{ct} Galway doe commence and take place the 1st day of August last.

Given at our Court at Whitehall this 7th day of November, 1692, in the fourth year of our reign.

	Per Diem.		
	£	s.	d.
To the Major above his former allowance	...	2	0
18 Captains, each 4s.6d. above their former allowance	4	1	0
27 Lieut ^s " 3s.9d. " " " "	5	1	3
27 Cornets " 3s.10d. " " " "	5	3	6
	£14	7	9

VI.

16th Oct., 1691.

Royal Sign Manual by Q. Mary for 1,000*l.*
to John Braguier for the French protestants.

King's Warrant
Book, ix, p. 48.

30th Dec., 1691.

Same by King W^m for 4,000*l.* to same
for same

Ibid, p. 117.

22nd April, 1692.

Same by Q. Mary for 4,000*l.* to same for
same

Ibid, p. 217.

6th August, 1692.

Same by same for 4,000*l.* to same for same

Ibid, p. 313.

9th Oct., 1692.

Same by Kg. W^m for 6,400*l.* to same for
same

Ibid, p. 360.

31st May, 1693.

Same by Q. Mary for 3,600*l.* to same for
same

Ibid, x, p. 184.

26th July, 1693.

Same by same for 1,000*l.* to same for same *Ibid.*, p. 229.

[King's Warrant Book, x, p. 468.]

MARIE R.

OUR will and pleasure is that by order of our general letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 19th day of April, 1689, you issue and pay or cause to be issued and paid out of any our Treasure not appropriated to particular uses by Act of Parliament unto our trusty & welbeloved Sir Leonard Robinson, K^t, Chamberlain of our city of London or to his assigns the sum of 2,100*l.* without account, the same to be disposed and distributed to and amongst the distressed French Protestants in this kingdom as our charity and benevolence to them, according to such directions as he shall from time to time receive from the Commissioners appointed for the care and inspection of the said poor : & for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Whitehall the 13th day of July, 1694, in the 6th year of our reign. By her Majesty's command.

To the Comm^{rs} of the Treasury.

Memorandum.—A warrant signed in the foregoing sign manual the 14th July, 1694.

VII.

[King's Warrant Book, xii, p. 97.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS in and by an Act of Parliament entituled an Act for laying several duties upon low wines or spirits of the first extraction and for preventing the frauds and abuses of brewers, distillers and other persons chargeable with the duties of excise, it is authorised (amongst other things) that any sum or sums not exceeding 15,000*l.* may be issued for relief of poor French Protestants : Our will and pleasure is and we do hereby direct authorise &

command that by virtue of our general letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 19th day of April, 1689, you issue and pay or cause to be issued & paid out of any the money or loans arising or to be made on credit of the funds mentioned in the said act, or one of them, unto our trusty and well beloved Edward Nicholas, Esq., the said sum of 15,000*l.* by way of imprest and upon account to be by him applied as followeth, that is to say, 3,000*l.* thereof to be by him paid over to our trusty & welbeloved La salle de Monginot and Hermitage, gent, Uchard & Blanc, clerks, to be distributed by them according to their best discretions to and for the relief and support of such poor distressed French ministers as are now residing in our kingdom of England; and the sum of 12,000*l.* which will complete the said 15,000*l.* to be by him, the said Edward Nicholas, paid over and applied for and towards the relief and support of poor French Protestants in such manner and according to such methods, rules and directions as he shall from time to time receive from the most Rev^d Father in God, Tho^s, Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, Sir John Somers, K^t, Keeper of our Great Seal of England or the Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal of England for the time being, the Right Rev^d Father in God, Henry, Bishop of London, or the Bishop of that See for the time being, our trusty and well beloved Sir John Houlton, Mayor of our City of London, or the Mayor of our said city for the time being, our right trusty & welbeloved Councillor, Sir John Holt, K^t, Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench, & our trusty & well beloved Sir Geo. Treby, K^t, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, or the Chief Justice of our Courts of King's Bench & Common Pleas for the time being, or any four or more of them, or from such persons as shall be nominated or authorised by them or any four or more of them to take care of the distribution thereof. And for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our camp at Attre the 20th day of July, (O.S.) 1696. In the eighth year of our reign. By His Majesty's Command signified by M^r Blathwaite.

To the Com^{rs} of our Treasury.

Memorandum.—A warrant signed by the Lords [of the Treasury] upon the foregoing sign manual the 27th July, 1696.

[King's Warrant Book, xii, p. 401.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS in and by an Act of Parliament entituled an Act for granting to his Majesty certaine duties upon malt, mum, sweets, cider and perry as well towards carrying on the war against France as for the necessary expense of his Majesty's household it is authorised (amongst other things) that any sum or sums of money not exceeding 15,000*l.* may be issued for relief of poor French protestants, our will and pleasure is and we do hereby direct, authorise, and command that by virtue of our generall letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 19th of April, 1689, you issue and pay or cause to be issued and paid out of any the money or loans arising or to be made on credit of the funds mentioned in the said Act unto our trusty and welbeloved Edward Nicholas, Esq., the said sum of 15,000*l.* by way of imprest and upon accompt to be by him applied as followeth to wit, 3,000*l.* thereof for the relief and support of such poor distressed French ministers as are now residing within our kingdom of England and the remaining 12,000*l.* for and towards the relief and support of other poor French protestants: the whole to be paid by the said Edward Nicholas in such manner and according to such methods, rules, and directions as he shall from time to time receive from the most reverend father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, John Lord Somers, baron of Evesham, our High Chancellor of England, or the High Chancellor or keeper of our Great Seal of England for the time being, the right reverend father in God, Henry, Bishop of London, or the bishop of that see for the time being, our trusty and welbeloved Sir Edward Clarke, K^t., mayor of our city of London, or the mayor of our said city for the time being, our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor Sir John Holt, K^t. Chief Justice of our Court of Kings Bench, and our trusty and well beloved Sir George Treby, K^t. Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas, or the Chief Justice of [our] said Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas for the time being or any 4 or more of them, or from such persons as shall be nominated or authorised by them or any 4 or more of them to take care of the distribution thereof, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Genap the 3rd of June [1697]
(o. s.) in the 9th year of our reign. By his Majesty's
command signified per M^r Blathwayt
To the Comm^{rs} of our Treasury.

1698, $\frac{1}{2}$ Sept.

A similar sign manual for 15,000*l.* dated
from the Court at Loo. King's Warrant
Book, xiii, p. 20.

1699, 11 July.

A similar sign manual for 15,000*l.* dated
at the Court at Loo. *Ibid*, p. 177

170 $\frac{1}{2}$, January 14.

Similar sign manual for 15,000*l.* for same
dated from the Court at Kensington . *Ibid*, xiv, p. 159.

1702, May 28.

Similar sign manual for 15,000*l.* for same
dated from the Court at Windsor *Ibid*, p. 246.

VIII.

[King's Warrant Book, xiv. p. 110.]

WILLIAM R.

WHEREAS we have lately directed that the several persons
named in the Schedule hereunto annexed shall be inserted
in the establishment of our expense in our kingdom of
Ireland for the several pensions set against their names
respectively to commence from the 1st of August, 1701,
and whereas we are graciously pleased to allow unto them
so much as one half-year thereof, to be computed by the
day, doth amount unto as of our free gift and royal bounty
for carrying them to our said kingdom of Ireland, our
will & pleasure is and we do hereby authorise and com-
mand that out of the money that is or shall be imprested
to you for this purpose you pay to the said respective
persons or their assigns so much as half a year on their
respective pensions (to be reckoned by the day as aforesaid)
doth amount unto for every of them respectively; making
in all 730*l.* as of our royal bounty to them for the charge
of transporting themselves to our said kingdom of Ireland;
the same to be paid without any deductions whatsoever:
and we do hereby direct and command that no further
payments be made to them or any of them by you for the

future, in respect of any pensions (which may have been formerly payable to them or any of them in your office), or of any arrears of the same: and for so doing this being first entered with the Auditors of our Imprests together with an acquittance of the said respective persons shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our Court at Loo, the 1st August, 1701, in the 13th year of our reign. By his Majesty's command; signified by W^m Blathwayte, Esq.

To Earl of Ranelagh.

A list of several French pensions to be removed from the Earl of Ranelagh's office to the Irish establishment.

				<i>per diem.</i>		
				£	s.	d.
Mons ^r Montant, a Lieut. Col.	...	...	...	5	0	
Marg de Harcourt	...	...	...	5	0	
De Neuville	...	...	...	5	0	
Baron D'autragues (Antragues)	...	...	...	5	0	
D'Olloue, the father	...	...	...	5	0	
De Travecy	...	...	...	3	0	
Villeueufe	...	...	...	3	0	
De la Gardiole	...	...	...	3	0	
De la Porte	...	...	...	3	0	
Meni Lambert	...	...	...	3	0	
De la Baume	...	...	...	2	0	
De la Val	...	...	...	2	0	
De Soulignee	...	...	...	2	0	
Du Lac	...	...	...	2	0	
Clavier	...	...	...	2	0	
Begat	...	...	...	2	0	
Bancor (Bancour)	...	...	...	2	0	
Bolleroy (the Sieur de Bolleroy)	...	...	...	2	0	
Montpisson	...	...	...	1	6	
Vassolet Regue (Vasselot)	...	...	...	1	6	
Pinner (Pinnet)	...	...	...	1	6	
Vague	...	...	...	1	6	
De la Sovardiere	...	...	...	1	6	
De Membray, L ^t lost a leg	...	...	...	2	0	
De la Plaigne	...	...	...	2	0	
Prat Laine	...	...	...	1	6	
Du Puy	...	...	...	1	6	
Bonuevall (Bonneval)	...	...	...	2	0	
Pinnot	...	...	...	2	0	
Despieres	...	...	...	1	6	

				<i>per diem.</i>	
				s.	d.
De la Motte	...	...	...	1	6
De serrieres	...	...	...	1	6
(De Laussac)	...	...	...	3	0
				£4	0 0

In the "Irish Book" (Treasury), v.p. 169, the above list is entered identically (with the variations in spelling given in brackets above), as an additional establishment of pensions payable out of the revenue of Ireland from 1st August, 1701.

IX.

[King's Warrant Book, xv., pp. 10-14.]

QUEEN Anne's establishment of yearly pensions dated about 27 March, 1703. [The general pension list, French & English names mixed inextricably. Total, £12392 7s. 8d. French names could only be found by transcribing the whole list.]

[King's Warrant Book, xv, pp. 121-4.]

Dated about 1st week in December, 1703.

ANNE R.

"AN additional list or establishment of yearly pensions or bounties which our pleasure is shall be paid and accompted payable quarterly by the hands of our trusty and well beloved Edward Nicholas, Esq., or such other person or persons as we may hereafter direct to pay the same, and shall commence and take place from the respective times under mentioned, and continue during our royal will and pleasure; that is to say,—

Payments which our pleasure is shall commence from the feast of the Nativity of S^t John Baptist, 1702.

				<i>per annum.</i>		
				£	s.	d.
To Lucrece de Chevernay	...	...	...	50	0	0
Claude Davennes	...	...	...	40	0	0
Mary & Ann La Borde	...	...	...	24	0	0
Catherine & Mary D'Hubac	...	...	...	20	0	0
Isabeau de Brasselay	...	...	...	20	0	0
Henrietta de Hautcharmoy	...	...	...	36	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Judith de Brugniere	...	...	12	0	0
Elizabeth Vebron	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Boudon	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Jolly de Chadignac	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Verveillon	...	...	12	0	0
Elizabeth Hauteclair	...	...	25	0	0
Charlotte & Mary Malleray	...	...	24	0	0
Blanche Tournier	...	...	25	0	0
Louie & Aimee Lamangere	...	...	30	0	0
Mary Berault	...	...	12	0	0
Jeanne de Sussac	...	...	12	0	0
Mary & Silly Dumont	...	...	30	0	0
Louise de Launay	...	...	20	0	0
Francois & John Marioge	...	...	15	0	0
Susanne de Culan St Meme	...	...	12	0	0
Anne Benigne Desgrovais	...	...	15	0	0
Charlotte Montguion	...	...	15	0	0
Susanne le Cercle	...	...	15	0	0
Charlotte Pommeau	...	...	12	0	0
Mary de Champagne	...	...	40	0	0
Mary & Katherine Laferriere	...	...	24	0	0
Henrietta & Mary Lauvigny	...	...	30	0	0
Judith Beconne	...	...	15	0	0
Ester, Mary & Susanne Champlaurier	...	...	24	0	0
Mary & Susanna Bette	...	...	20	0	0
Falquerolles	...	...	12	0	0
Pasquet	...	...	6	0	0
Anne Gabrielle de Montmillan	...	...	15	0	0
Angelique Donder	...	...	12	0	0
Francois Sarette	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Dubreville	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Jouneau	...	...	10	0	0
Mary Chabannes	...	...	12	0	0
Ester & Lucrece Longuevergne	...	...	20	0	0
Madeleine de Touchimbert	...	...	18	0	0
Madeleine Dornaunt	...	...	18	0	0
Andre, Pierre & Anne Henrietta La	...	...			
Primaudy	...	...	15	0	0
Elizabeth & Katherine Tourton	...	...	33	0	0
Susanne la Pennotierre	...	...	25	0	0
Mary St Faussevicouse	...	...	12	0	0
Susanne Marolles	...	...	12	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s	d.
Emeraud le Grand	...	...	2	0	0
Martha Dollon	...	...	30	0	0
Susanna de Serrieres	...	...	18	0	0
Mary de Rozell	...	...	12	0	0
Helene & Margarite Maraucin	...	...	40	0	0
Elizabeth de la Barre	...	...	25	0	0
Susanne de la Hospitall	...	...	25	0	0
Henrietta de la Largere	...	...	50	0	0
Henrietta de Bellefonds	...	...	25	0	0
Sarah de St Helenne	...	...	20	0	0
Claude Duncan	...	...	20	0	0
Catherine Siecler	...	...	25	0	0
Ursula Siecler	...	...	25	0	0
Jaqueline Godeau de la Roche	...	...	17	0	0
Elizabeth Perigoix	...	...	20	0	0
. . . . Dangeau	...	...	100	0	0
. . . . La Muce	...	...	30	0	0
Mary de Lisle	...	...	50	0	0
. . . . Pardaillon	...	...	30	0	0
Catherine de Dallon	...	...	30	0	0
. . . . Laugragne	...	...	50	0	0
. . . . De Renevall	...	...	9	0	0
Anne de Boisrisseau	...	...	30	0	0
Frances Plunket	...	...	30	0	0
Anne Donavant	...	...	22	0	0
Margaret Stevens	...	..	13	4	0
Anne Paltock	...	...	40	0	0
. . . . Persoode	...	...	100	0	0
Henry Gwynne alias Quinn	...	...	20	0	0
Oliver de la Muce, Esq.	...	...	150	0	0
Peter de la Touche	...	...	50	0	0
Sir Wynwood Mowat	...	...	40	0	0
Matthew Clarke	...	...	20	0	0
John Lanze	...	...	50	0	0
Thomas Chamberlaine	...	...	18	0	0
Oswald Fawne	...	...	18	0	0
Elizabeth Duke	...	...	4	0	0
Anne Gourney	...	...	20	0	0
Margaret Barker	...	...	20	0	0
Sarah Bridgman	...	...	30	0	0
Deborah Roleston	...	...	30	0	0
Catherine Harleckenden	...	...	40	0	0

				<i>per annum.</i>		
				£	s.	d.
Sarah Okrover	...	...		30	0	0
Elizabeth Macdonald	...	...		30	0	0
Winifred Whaley	...	...		30	0	0
Magdalen Cunningham	...	...		30	0	0
Elizabeth Mackraken	...	...		30	0	0
Total,				£2,465	4	0
Payments which our pleasure is shall commence from the feast of S ^t Michael the Archangel, 1702.						
Duchess of Holstein Bec.	...			200	0	0

X.

[King's Warrant Book, xv, p. 219.]

Additional establishment dated 30th May, 1704, of pensions payable by M^r Nicholas. To date & be payable from Lady Day, 1702.

For the French Chapel of St. James's.

				£	s.	d.
To John Menard, minister	...			160	0	0
„ Abraham Gilbert „	...			160	0	0
„ Philip Menard „	...			160	0	0
„ John Peter Brisac, reader	...			40	0	0
„ Frederick Furton, porter & sexton				10	0	0
„ John Menard above, or to the first minister of the said chapel for the time being for provision of bread and wine for the Holy Communion	...	...		8	12	0
				£538	12	0

For the Dutch Chapel at St. James's.

To Bernard Hoef Nagel, minister	..			160	0	0
„ Nucela, minister	...	...		160	0	0
„ Sebastian Vander Eick, reader				30	0	0
„ Frederick Furton, porter & sexton				5	0	0
„ Bernard Hoef Nagel above or to the first minister of the said Dutch Chapel for the time being						

	£	s.	d.
for the providing of bread & wine for the Holy Communion	8	12	0
For candles and other necessities of the said chapel	12	0	0
	£375	12	0

Payments to commence from Lady Day, 1703.

		<i>per annum.</i>		
To Magdalen de Alix, widow	...	20	0	0
„ Magdalen de la Chesnay	..	20	0	0
„ Mary de la Chesnay	...	20	0	0
„ Frances Purcell	...	40	0	0
„ Captain Roger Raven	...	27	7	6
„ Alice Vaughan, widow	...	20	0	0
„ Amelie de Stirum	...	50	0	0
„ Mary Urseline de Stirum	...	50	0	0
„ John Pellet	...	60	0	0
„ Amelia Keysers	...	24	0	0
„ Claude de Venneville	...	20	0	0
„ Constance de la Marie	...	20	0	0
„ Anne de Cloux	...	10	0	0
„ Bonna Green de Percour	.	20	0	0
„ Helene & Margarette de Marancin		30	0	0
„ Tabitha Haughton	...	10	0	0
„ Elizabeth Lebar	...	2	10	0
„ Henriette & Mary Louvigny	...	30	0	0
		£473	17	6

XI.

[King's Warrant Book, xv., p. 387.]

ANNE R.

OUR will and pleasure is that out of such our money as is or shall be imprested to you at the Receipt of our Exchequer you pay or cause to be paid unto the respective persons hereafter named or their assigns the several sums set against their names as of our free gift and royal bounty to them respectively, that is to say.

	£	s.	d.
To Susanna de Malien	20	0	0
Charlotte de Marmaude	25	0	0
Jeanne de baune Louvigny ...	20	0	0

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	£	s.	d.
Judith de proisly Dept de Fugny ...	15	0	0
Susanna Marie St. Legere de Bacetan	12	12	0
Claude Mergarette de Neufeville ...	10	0	0
Mary and Vicouze La Court ...	10	0	0
Jean Braguier	10	0	0
Francois Dalton	12	10	0
Judith Ricard	7	10	0
Louise de Foissac	7	10	0
Marguerite de Bar Montmelian ...	7	10	0
Isaac Malleray	7	10	0
Susanna de Serriere	3	10	0
D'Entrague	10	0	0
Mary Fullerton	25	0	0
Vassolet de Regnier	12	10	0
Hester Renaud... ..	6	0	0
Francoise Marie Renaud	6	0	0
Catherine de Quirehamp	12	10	0
Mary Pinyot	6	0	0
Louise Pinyot	6	0	0
Marie Barquet	10	0	0
Magdalen Chamier	12	10	0
John Dackin	13	13	9
Arthur Reynell	13	13	9
Charlotte de Frotte	7	10	0
Eliz. Collyer	25	0	0
Dame Ann Sylvius	100	0	0
John Crowne	50	0	0
Cath. Dollard	12	10	0
Eliz. Houston	20	0	0
Rebecca Pride	20	0	0
Mary Rowe	100	0	0
Nahum Tate for his supplement to the new version of the Psalms	50	0	0
John Butts, Consul at Elsinore ...	50	0	0
	£737	9	6

amounting in the whole to 737*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* and this shall be as well to you for making the said respective payments as to the auditor for allowing thereof on your account a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at New Market 17 April, 1705, in the 4th year of our reign. By her Majesty's command.

GODOLPHIN.

To our Trusty and welbeloved Edward Nicholas, Esq.

By another sign manual of the same date and place of issue (*King's Warrant Book*, xv., p. 388) the following pensions were instituted payable by Edw^d Nicholas.

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Margaret Croisett (from nativity of St. John the Baptist 1704).	20	0	0
Hester Golim (from St. Michael Archangel 1704).	15	0	0

XII.

[*King's Warrant Book*, xvi., p. 67.]

2 July, 1706.

Sign manual by Queen Anne establishing the following pensions, payable by Edward Nicholas.

Payable from 24 June, 1705.

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Sarah Browne	11	0	0

Payable from 20 Sept., 1705.

Susanne de Mollien	40	0	0
Marguerite de Villeneuve	40	0	0
Jean de la Milliere	30	0	0
Magdalen Vaudcère	30	0	0
Elizabeth Sixte Dalem	30	0	0
Magdalene de la Martinere	30	0	0
Utesia Astley	40	0	0
Anne Daniel de Grangue	40	0	0
Jean de la Salle	40	0	0
Eliz. Salinaune	40	0	0
Mary and Katherine du Chail	20	0	0
Susanne de Cantiran	40	0	0
Judith de Roux	20	0	0
Susanne de Blune	20	0	0
Magdalene de Chamier	25	0	0
Edward Purcell	20	0	0
Frances Purcell	20	0	0

From 25th December, 1705.

Richard Elford	100	0	0
Frances Raleigh for herself and family	60	0	0

			£	s.	d.
<i>From 25 March, 1706.</i>					
Rebecca Flower	...	...	20	0	0
Susanne Pallier	...	...	20	0	0
Ann Bing	...	...	40	0	0
Elizabeth Wagget	...	...	80	0	0
Dame Barbara Killigrew, relict of Sir					
Robt. Killigrew	...	...	150	0	0
Mary Killigrew, relict of Henry					
Killigrew	...	...	100	0	0
Rebecca Pauldon	...	...	25	0	0
			£1,131	0	0

XIII.

[King's Warrant Book, xvi., p. 171.]

7th April, 1707.

Sign manual by Queen Anne instituting the following
additional pensions payable by Edward Nicholas.

			<i>per annum.</i>
Mary Walker	...	...	20 0 0
Katherine D. Bourbon from Xmas, 1706			25 0 0
De Thors	...	...	60 0 0

XIV.

[King's Warrant Book, xvii, p. 301.]

19th June, 1707.

Sign manual by Queen Anne for 15,000*l.*
to Spencer Compton for French
Protestants

*King's Warrant
Book, xvi, p. 214.*

19th July, 1708.

Same for same to same for same

Ibid, p. 403.

15th Aug., 1709.

Same for same to same for same

Ibid, xvii, p. 123.

8th July, 1710.

Same for same to same for same

Ibid, p. 301.

XV.

[King's Warrant Book, xvi., pp. 355-6.]

About May, 1708.

Sign manual by Q. Anne establishing the following pensions payable by Mr. Spencer Compton.

To commence from 1706, Dec. 25. *per annum.*

	£	s.	d.
Elizabeth Lady Hay	200	0	0

To commence from 1707, June 24.

Katherine Stanhope, relict of Alexander

Stanhope	200	0	0
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To commence from 1708, March 25.

Magdalen Errard	50	0	0
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Arthur Reynolds	27	7	6
------------------------	----	---	---

Rose Baricave	25	0	0
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Margaret Lorin	15	0	0
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Mary de Ancour	20	0	0
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Elizabeth Boucher	50	0	0
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Margaret Sarrau	10	0	0
------------------------	----	---	---

Susanna Sarrau	10	0	0
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Mary Mc Neal	20	0	0
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Charlotte Tallemant Marmande ...	40	0	0
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Jane Debenue Louvigny	40	0	0
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Claude Marg ^{te} de Neuville	20	0	0
--	----	---	---

Mary Vicouze de la Cour	20	0	0
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Judith Ricard	15	0	0
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Jean Beguier	20	0	0
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Judith des Proisy depte de Tugny ...	30	0	0
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Marguerite Debar Montmillan ...	15	0	0
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Francois Dallons	25	0	0
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Anne Maucier	30	0	0
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Judith de Goisy	36	0	0
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Louise Pignot	12	0	0
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Mary Pignot	12	0	0
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Mary du Barquet	20	0	0
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Mary de Blagny	15	0	0
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Eliz Veron	15	0	0
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Francoise Marie Renaud	12	0	0
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Charlotte Frote	15	0	0
------------------------	----	---	---

Maie Anne La motte Dufaux	30	0	0
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Anne Grosvenor	30	0	0
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Mary Boitout	30	0	0
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Jane Kerr alias Brothwick, widow	30	0	0
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£1,139 7 6

[King's Warrant Book, xvii. p. 389.]

Dec^r, 1710.

Sign manual by Queen Anne instituting the following additional pensions payable by the hands of Spencer Compton, from Michaelmas, 1710.

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Hypolite de Prechac	...	...	20	0	0
Marie du Rozel	...	...	20	0	0
Mariane le Gendre	...	...	20	0	0
Louise de Foissac	...	...	20	0	0
Isaac de Mailleray	...	...	10	0	0
. de St Mesme	...	...	8	0	0
Anne Guinebaud de la Miliere	...	...	15	0	0
Francois de Grandry de Bete	...	...	15	0	0
Isabelle de Bacalan	...	...	15	0	0
Mariane de Court	...	...	15	0	0
Blanche de Samazan	...	...	15	0	0
Henrietta de Samazan	...	...	15	0	0
Marie de Samazan	...	...	15	0	0
Marie Pechalves	...	...	15	0	0
Marie Venier	...	...	15	0	0
Olimpe de Longuevergne	...	...	20	0	0
Edouart & Jean Max Bordigues	...	...	30	0	0
Anne Guerin	...	...	30	0	0
Marie Jancourt	...	...	20	0	0
Marie de There	...	...	30	0	0
Thomasse de la Cour Visouze	...	...	30	0	0
Pierre Balier	...	...	20	0	0
Martha Lockhart	...	...	100	0	0
Marie Francoise St Paul	...	...	25	0	0
			£538	0	0

XVI.

[King's Warrant Book, xix. pp. 37 and 332-8.]

1714, March 25.

Sign manual by Q. Anne for 5,000*l.* to Edward Nicholas as royal bounty to French ministers.

1714, Dec^r 20.

Warrant under the royal sign manual for payment by Edward Nicholas of arrears to several of her late majesty's pensioners to Xmas, 1713. The list includes French names mixed up with English, although it is

styled "exclusive of divers French pensioners, who being omitted to be paid out of the 500,000*l.* to midsummer, 1713, are not included for any arrears in this list."

XVII.

[King's Warrant Book, xx. p. 89-93.]

1715, August 12.

GEORGE R.

A LIST or establishment of pensions or annual sums which we are graciously pleased to grant or allow unto divers persons of quality, widows and children of officers slain in service who are French refugees for religion, and some others; and that the same shall commence from the 24th June, 1714, and be paid during our pleasure to the hands of our trusty and well beloved Jacob de la Motte Blagny, Gent., or to such other person or persons as we may hereafter think fit to appoint in this behalf.

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Madam the Dutchesse de la Force	500	0	0
Society of French gentlewomen at the Hague	200	0	0
Charlotte de Dangeau	100	0	0
Mark Anthony Davessein and Magdalen, his wife	100	0	0
Bernard du Vigueau	80	0	0
Helene de Mazanein & Mary Cornet, her daughter	70	0	0
Claude de Veuevelle	70	0	0
Charlotte Justell	60	0	0
Michael le Vassor	60	0	0
Henriette Pono de Thors	60	0	0
Mary & Magdalen Alix	60	0	0
Jane de Bene de Louvigny	40	0	0
Henriette & Mary de Louvigny, her daughters	60	0	0
Anne Deveille	50	0	0
Lucrece de Chavernay	50	0	0
Mll ^e Marie de l'Isle du Gast	50	0	0
Pierre de la Touche	50	0	0
Magdalen Errard	50	0	0
Elizabeth Boucher	50	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Mill ^e de Monceau, sister of the late					
Major General de la Meloniere			50	0	0
Catherine Siegler	...	...	50	0	0
Mary de There & Mary de Blagny			60	0	0
Susanna Petit	...	...	40	0	0
Claude de Davesnes	...	...	40	0	0
Mary de Champagne	...	...	40	0	0
Susanna de Molein	...	...	40	0	0
Margaret & Henrietta de Villeneuve			40	0	0
Anne Daniel de Grangue & her daughter			40	0	0
Jane de la Salle	...	...	40	0	0
Elizabeth Salnave	...	...	40	0	0
Susanna de Canteran	...	...	40	0	0
Charlotte Tallemont de Normande			40	0	0
Frances Guiraud	...	...	40	0	0
Judith Benigne & Charlotte de Goisy			45	0	0
Mary de Rosell	...	...	40	0	0
Henriette de Haut Charmois	...	...	36	0	0
Elizabeth & Benigne Fourteron	...	...	34	0	0
Magdalen Dornand	...	...	30	0	0
Louise Aimée de la Mangere	...	...	30	0	0
Mary & Hester du Mont	...	...	30	0	0
Henriette Mary de la Muce	...	...	30	0	0
Victory Pardaillou	...	...	30	0	0
Katherine de Dollon	...	...	30	0	0
Anne de Boissrousseau	...	...	30	0	0
Elizabeth Sixte Dalem	...	...	30	0	0
Magdalen de la Martinere	...	...	30	0	0
Judith de Proisy Debte de Tugny			30	0	0
Anne de Mauclere	...	...	40	0	0
Mariane de la Mothe du Tour	...	...	30	0	0
Anne Grosvenor	...	...	30	0	0
Mary Boiteau	...	...	30	0	0
Mary de Lomaria	...	...	30	0	0
Constance de Lomaria	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Beveridge	...	...	30	0	0
Edward & Maximilean Bourdigues			30	0	0
Anne Guerin	...	...	30	0	0
Thomas de la Cour Vicouse	...	...	30	0	0
Hester de Civile	...	...	30	0	0
Elizabeth de la Barre	...	...	30	0	0
Blanche de Fournier	...	...	25	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s	d
Susanna la Penotiere	...	...	25	0	0
Henriette de Bellefons	...	...	30	0	0
Magdalen Chamier	...	...	25	0	0
Catherine de Bourbon	...	...	36	0	0
Rose Barricave	...	...	25	0	0
Frances Dalon	...	...	25	0	0
Mary Frances de St Paul	...	...	25	0	0
Martha Doffranville	...	...	25	0	0
Judith Valentine	...	...	25	0	0
Crune de la Borde	...	...	24	0	0
Mary de la Ferriere	...	...	24	0	0
Mary & Susanna de Champlaurier	...	...	30	0	0
Emelie Kayzers	...	...	24	0	0
Susanna Culau de St Nesme	...	...	20	0	0
Susanna Palie	...	...	20	0	0
Baron de Neufville	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Barnier	...	...	20	0	0
Elizabeth Marmande dacere	...	...	20	0	0
Catherine Du Bac	...	...	20	0	0
Isabeau de Brassalaye	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Benique de Franquefort	...	...	20	0	0
Louise de Lonnay	...	...	20	0	0
Claude Duncan	...	...	20	0	0
Elizabeth Perigoix	...	...	20	0	0
Magdalen de la Chesnay	...	...	20	0	0
Bonne Green de Percourt	...	...	20	0	0
Mary de la Chesnay	...	...	20	0	0
Margarett de la Croisette	...	...	20	0	0
Mary & Catherine du Chail	...	...	20	0	0
Judith de Roux & Mary de Roux, her daughter	...	...	20	0	0
Susanna de Blance	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Dancourt	...	...	20	0	0
Claude Margaret de Neufville	...	...	20	0	0
John Braguire & Catherine de Fos	...	...	20	0	0
Mary de Banquet	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Gacherie	...	...	20	0	0
Angelique le Goux	...	...	20	0	0
Hypolite de Pressac	...	...	20	0	0
Mariane le Gendre	...	...	20	0	0
Louise de Foissac	...	...	20	0	0
Olympe de Longuevergne	...	...	20	0	0

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Hester & Lucrece de Longuevergne	30	0	0
Mary Jancourt	20	0	0
Pierre Balmier	30	0	0
Catherine Prat de la Deverse ...	20	0	0
Anne Gabriell Cossard	20	0	0
Susanna de Sarriere	30	0	0
Jaqueline Godeau de la Roche ...	17	0	0
Frances, Job, Catherine & Margaret Marioge	20	0	0
Ann Benigne de Groix	15	0	0
Charlotte Monguion	15	0	0
Susanna de Sercler	20	0	0
Judith Becone	15	0	0
Anne Gabriele de Montmeillan ...	15	0	0
Margaret Barre de Montmeillan ...	15	0	0
Andre, Pierre & Henriette de lay Pri- maudaye	15	0	0
Hester Gohin	15	0	0
Margaret Lorrain	15	0	0
Judith Ricard	15	0	0
Elizabeth Verron	15	0	0
Anne Guinebaut de la Milliere ...	15	0	0
Frances de Grandy de Bette ...	15	0	0
Mary de Pechelves	25	0	0
Isabella de Bacalan	15	0	0
Mariane de Court	15	0	0
Mary Veniere	15	0	0
Blanche Samasan	15	0	0
Mary de Samasan	15	0	0
Henrietta de Samasan	15	0	0
Mary la Pie	15	0	0
Michael de Monsegar	15	0	0
Judith de Bruggire	12	0	0
Elizabeth de Vebron	12	0	0
Mary Verveillon	12	0	0
Mary Berault	30	0	0
Mary Joly de Chadignac	12	0	0
Bernandine de Falquerols	12	0	0
Angelique Doudart	12	0	0
Mary du Breuil	12	0	0
Frances Sarette	12	0	0
Mary S ^t Faust Vicouse	25	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s	d
Susanna Marolle	...	...	12	0	0
Emerauld Le Grand	...	...	12	0	0
Louise Pignot	...	...	15	0	0
Mary Pignot	...	...	15	0	0
Frances Mary Renaud	...	...	12	0	0
Jane Mouchard	...	...	12	0	0
Susanna de Bette	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Jonnean	...	...	10	0	0
Anne de Clou	...	...	10	0	0
Margaret Sarra	...	...	10	0	0
Isaac de Malray	...	...	10	0	0
Susanna Sarra	...	...	10	0	0
Susanna de Reneval	...	...	10	0	0
Frances Pascal	...	...	6	0	0
Lady Charlotte de Roussy	...	...	400	0	0
Marquis de Rochegude	...	...	100	0	0
John de Rochegude his nephew	...	...	50	0	0
Pierre Perrault	...	...	40	0	0
Clement Patonnier	...	...	40	0	0
Mark Anthony Reboul	...	...	20	0	0
John Baru	...	...	20	0	0
John Landen	...	...	25	0	0
Benjamin Germain & Susanna his wife	...	...	20	0	0
Claude du Bos	...	...	20	0	0
Daniel Bascoul	...	...	20	0	0
.... Maturin, a minister aged about					
80 years	...	...	50	0	0
Mll ^e de Champagne de Juigny	...	...	25	0	0
Mll ^e de Sousselles of the Society of					
Harlem	...	...	20	0	0
Margaret Joly	...	...	20	0	0
Mll ^e de S ^t Clair	...	...	20	0	0
Louise le Tresor du Mesnil Lambert	...	...	20	0	0
Mll ^e Verenere	...	...	15	0	0
Camille Catelet	...	...	25	0	0
M ^e Barbot	...	...	30	0	0
Susanna & Catherine de Portneuf	...	...	30	0	0
Louise Dagneau	...	...	15	0	0
Mary Dagneau	...	...	15	0	0
Marquis de Bears de Montgomery	...	...	30	0	0
Mademoiselle de Rosset a veugle	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Anne de Courey	...	...	15	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Elizabeth Robethon & Susanna Ro-					
bethon	...	...	40	0	0
Mary de Chabanne	...	...	10	0	0
The two sisters of Martigny	...	...	30	0	0
Isabella de la Verie	...	...	16	0	0
Mary Perer	...	...	15	0	0
Princess of Holstein Beck	...	...	200	0	0
The young Prince de Nassau Siegen	...	...	100	0	0
Anne de Langrac	...	...	50	0	0
Emilie de Styrum	...	...	50	0	0
Abel Tassou d'Allome, who was Sec-					
retary to the late Queen Mary			200	0	0
John Remy de Montigny, gentleman					
to the said late Queen	...	...	100	0	0
Dulais, Secretary to the late Queen					
Anne at Hanover	...	...	100	0	0
Constanten de Reneville	...	...	50	0	0
Sieur de la Menardiere	...	...	40	0	0
Marianne de Charon	...	...	15	0	0
Marie Bonnet	...	...	15	0	0
Falaiseau	...	...	200	0	0
Mary Urseline de Styrum	...	...	53	0	0
			£7,320	0	0

which sum of 7320*l.* our pleasure is shall be from time to time paid to the said Jacob de la Motte Blagny or such person or persons as we may hereafter appoint to receive the same for the persons abovenamed in manner following, that is to say so much forthwith as is become due for the year ended at Midsummer now last past & the subsequent payments quarterly during our pleasure yet so as that he or they shall produce a certificate signed by three at the least of the principal refugees residing in London between each payment to be made to him or them of the alterations made in the said establishment by the death of any of the persons therein named & that so much shall be abated from time to time out of the next payments to be made to the said Jacob de la Motte Blagny or the person or persons that may hereafter be appointed to receive the same as ought to be saved upon the said establishment from the day of the decease of any the persons therein named as aforesaid, and as we may further direct to

cease or be abated by any warrants from the Commissioners of our Treasury now being or our High Treasurer or Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being signifying our pleasure on that behalf. And that the said Jacob de la Motte Blagny or the person or persons to be appointed as aforesaid shall deliver over the acquittances or other proper vouchers quarterly which he or they shall receive for the payments which he or they shall make to any the persons named in the said establishment or to their assigns, to such person or persons from whose hands he shall receive the moneys for the payment of the said establishment, to the end the same may be delivered over by him or them to the Auditors of our Imprests who are to pass the accounts of the moneys to be from time to time imprested for that purpose as aforesaid.

Given at our Court at S^t James's the 12th day of August, 1715, in the 2nd year of our reign. By His Majesty's command.

CARLISLE.
RIC. ONSLOW.
W^m S^t QUINTIN.
EDW^d WORTLEY.

XVIII.

[King's Warrant Book, xx. p. 363.]

1716, April 18.

GEORGE R.

A LIST or establishment of pensions or annual sums which we are graciously pleased to grant or allow unto divers persons of quality, widows & children of officers slain in service who are French refugees for religion and some others: and that the same shall commence from the 24th of June, 1715, unless in such cases where any the pensions or annual sums are otherwise directed to commence and be paid during our pleasure to the hands of our trusty & well beloved Jacob de la Motte Blagny, gent., or to such other person or persons as we may hereafter think fit to appoint on their behalf: which annual pensions or sums being paid according to this our establishment our pleasure is that all former establishment or warrants authorising the payments of the said annual pensions or yearly sums

or any of them from & after midsummer, 1715, shall
cease & determine.

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
To Mary & Magdalen Alix ...	60	0	0
Abell Tassin Dallonne who was Secretary to the late Queen Mary and afterwards to the late King William ...	200	0	0
Elizabeth Boucher ...	50	0	0
Judith Benigne and Charlotte de Goisy ...	45	0	0
Anne de Boisruiſseau ...	30	0	0
Mary Boitou ...	30	0	0
Mary Beveridge ...	30	0	0
Edward & Maximilian Bourdigues ...	30	0	0
Elizabeth de la Barre ...	30	0	0
Henriette de Bellefons ...	30	0	0
Catherine de Bourbon ...	36	0	0
Rose Barricave ...	25	0	0
Anne de la Borde ...	24	0	0
Mary Barnier ...	20	0	0
Catherine du Bac ...	20	0	0
Isabeau de Brassalay ...	20	0	0
Susanna le Blanc ...	20	0	0
John Braguier and Catherine de Fos ...	20	0	0
Mary de Barquet ...	20	0	0
Pierre Balmier ...	30	0	0
Judith Beconne ...	15	0	0
Francis le Grandy de Bette ...	15	0	0
Isabella de Bacalan ...	15	0	0
Judith de Brugire ...	12	0	0
Mary Berault ...	30	0	0
Mary du Brevil ...	12	0	0
Susanna de Bette ...	12	0	0
John Baru ...	20	0	0
Claude du Bos ...	20	0	0
Daniel Bascoul ...	20	0	0
Charlotte Barbot ...	30	0	0
Mary Bonnet ...	15	0	0
Lucrece de Chavernay ...	50	0	0
Marie de Champagné ...	40	0	0
Susanna de Cautiran ...	40	0	0
Henriette du Haut Charmois ...	36	0	0
Hester de Ceville ...	30	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Magdalen Chamier	...	...	25	0	0
Mary and Susanna de Champlaurier			30	0	0
Magdalen de la Chainay	...	...	20	0	0
Mary de la Chainay	...	...	20	0	0
Margaret de la Croisette	...	...	20	0	0
Mary & Catherine du Chail	...	...	20	0	0
Anne Gabrielle Cossard	...	...	20	0	0
Mariane de Court	...	...	15	0	0
Mary Joly de Chadignac	...	...	12	0	0
Anne de Clou	...	...	10	0	0
Catherine de St Clair	...	...	20	0	0
Camelle Catelet	...	...	25	0	0
Mary Anne de Courey	...	...	15	0	0
Mary de Chabanne	...	...	10	0	0
Mary Anne de Charon	...	...	15	0	0
Charlotte de Dangeau	...	...	100	0	0
Mark Anthony Davesseiu & Mag-					
dalen his wife	...	...	100	0	0
Anne Deveille	...	...	50	0	0
Claude Davesnes	...	...	40	0	0
Magdalen Dornand	...	...	30	0	0
Catharine de Dollon	...	...	30	0	0
Elizabeth Sixte Dallem	...	...	30	0	0
Francois Dallons	...	...	25	0	0
Martha Doffranville	...	...	25	0	0
Claude Duncan	...	...	20	0	0
Elizabeth Marmand Daceré	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Dancourt	...	...	20	0	0
Catherine Prat de la Devese	...	...	20	0	0
Angelique Doudart	...	...	12	0	0
Louise Dagneaux	...	...	15	0	0
Mary Dagneaux	...	...	15	0	0
Isaac Dalais who was Secretary to					
the late Queen at Hanover	...	...	100	0	0
Magdalen Errard	...	...	50	0	0
Madame the Dutchess de la Force			500	0	0
The Society of French gentlewomen					
at the Hague	...	...	200	0	0
Blanche de Fournier	...	...	25	0	0
Marie de la Ferriere	...	...	24	0	0
Mary Benigne de Franquefort	...	...	20	0	0
Louise de Foissac	...	...	20	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Bernardine de Falquerolls	...	...	12	0	0
Pierre Folaiseau	...	...	200	0	0
Marie de Lisle du Gast	...	...	50	0	0
Anne Daniel de Grangue & Susanna her daughter	...	...	40	0	0
Frances Guiraud	...	...	40	0	0
Anne Grosvenor	...	...	30	0	0
Anne Guerin	...	...	30	0	0
Mary Gacherie	...	...	20	0	0
Angelique le Goux	...	...	20	0	0
Marian le Gendre	...	...	20	0	0
Anne Benigne de Groix	...	...	15	0	0
Esther Gohin	...	...	15	0	0
Emeraulde le Grand	...	...	12	0	0
Benjamin Germain & Susanne his wife	...	...	20	0	0
The Princess of Holstein Beck	...	...	200	0	0
Charlotte Justell	...	...	60	0	0
Mary Jancourt	...	...	20	0	0
Mary Jonneau	...	...	10	0	0
Henriette de Champagne de Juigny	...	...	25	0	0
Margaret Joly	...	...	20	0	0
Anna, Marg ^t , Levina & Maria, the 4 daughters of Amelia Kaysers	...	...	24	0	0
Jeanne de Bene de Louvigny	...	...	40	0	0
Henriette & Mary de Louvigny her daughters	...	...	60	0	0
Mary de Lamaria	...	...	30	0	0
Constance de la Marie	...	...	20	0	0
Louise de Lannay	...	...	20	0	0
Olympe de Longuevergne	...	...	20	0	0
Margaret Lorain	...	...	15	0	0
Hester & Lucrece de Longuevergne	...	...	30	0	0
John Larden	...	...	25	0	0
Louise du Tresor du Mesnil Lambert	...	...	20	0	0
Anne de Langrac	...	...	50	0	0
Helena de Maranein & Mary Cornet	...	...	70	0	0
Marie de Monceau, sister of the late Major-General de la Meloniere	...	...	50	0	0
Susanna de Molein	...	...	40	0	0
Charlotte Tallemant de Marmande	...	...	40	0	0
Louise Amiée de la Maugere	...	...	30	0	0

		<i>per annum.</i>		
		£	s.	d.
Mary & Hester du Mont ...	...	30	0	0
Henrietta Mary de la Druce ...	...	30	0	0
Magdalen de la Martinerie ...	...	30	0	0
Anne de Mauclere ...	...	40	0	0
Susan Culan de St. Mesme ...	...	20	0	0
Francois, John, Catherine and Margaret Mariage ...	...	20	0	0
Charlotte Monguyon ...	...	15	0	0
Anne Gabrielle de Montmeillan ...	...	15	0	0
Margaret Barre de Montmeillan ...	...	15	0	0
Anne Guinebaut de la Milliere ...	...	15	0	0
Michael de Monsegar ...	...	15	0	0
Susanna Marolle ...	...	12	0	0
Jean Mouchard ...	...	12	0	0
Isaac de Malray ...	...	10	0	0
George Maturin, a minister, aged about 80 years ...	...	50	0	0
Louise Marg ^e Desbars de Montgomery ...	...	30	0	0
Anne & Gabrielle, two sisters of Martigny ...	...	30	0	0
John Remy de Montigny, gent. to the late Q. Mary ...	...	100	0	0
Jean de la Menardiere ...	...	40	0	0
James Maxwell from the day of the decease of Mary du Barquet ...	...	20	0	0
Baron de Neufville ...	...	20	0	0
Prince of Nassau Seigen ...	...	100	0	0
Susanna Petit ...	...	40	0	0
Victory Pordailan ...	...	30	0	0
Susanna la Penotiere ...	...	25	0	0
Mary Frances de St. Paul ...	...	25	0	0
Susanne Palie ...	...	20	0	0
Bonne Green du Percourt ...	...	20	0	0
Elizabeth Perigoix ...	...	20	0	0
Hipolite de Pressac ...	...	20	0	0
Andre, Pierre & Henriette de la Primaudaye ...	...	15	0	0
Mary de Pechelves ...	...	25	0	0
Mary la Pie ...	...	15	0	0
Louise Pignot ...	...	15	0	0
Mary Pignot ...	...	15	0	0

Pierre Perault	40	0	0
Frances Pascall	6	0	0
Clement Patonnier	40	0	0
Susanna & Catherine Pontneof ...	30	0	0
Mary Perer	15	0	0
Mary du Rossell	40	0	0
Judith de Roux & Mary de Roux her daughter	20	0	0
Jaqueline de Godeau de la Roche ...	17	0	0
Judith Ricard	15	0	0
Frances Mary Renaud	12	0	0
Susanna de Reneval	10	0	0
Lady Charlotte de Rousy	400	0	0
Marq ^e de Rochegude	100	0	0
John de Rochgude	50	0	0
Mark Anthony Reboul	20	0	0
Elizabeth & Susanna Robethon ...	40	0	0
Constantin de Reneville	50	0	0
Catherine Seigler	50	0	0
Jean de la Salle	40	0	0
Elizabeth Salnave	40	0	0
Susanna de Sarrière	30	0	0
Susanna de Sercler	20	0	0
Blanche Samasan	15	0	0
Henriette de Samasan	15	0	0
Frances Sarette	12	0	0
Margaret Sarran	10	0	0
Susanna Sarran	10	0	0
Mary de Samasan	15	0	0
Madam ^{le} de Souselles of the Society of Harlem	20	0	0
Amelie de Stirum	50	0	0
Henriette Pons de Thors	60	0	0
Pierre de la Touche	50	0	0
Mary de There & Mary de Blagny ...	60	0	0
Elizabeth & Benigue Torteron ...	34	0	0
Judith de Proisy debte de Tugny ...	30	0	0
Mariane de la Mothe du Tour ...	30	0	0
Bernand du Vigneau	80	0	0
Claude de Veneralle	70	0	0
Michael le Vassor	60	0	0
Margaret & Henrietta de Villeneuve	40	0	0
Thomasse la Cour Vicouse	30	0	0
Judith Valentine	25	0	0

			<i>per annum.</i>		
			£	s.	d.
Elizabeth Verron	...	...	15	0	0
Mary Venier	...	...	15	0	0
Elizabeth de Vebron	...	...	12	0	0
Mary Verveillon	...	...	12	0	0
Mary St. Faust Vicouse	...	...	25	0	0
Francois Verrière	...	...	15	0	0
Gabrielle de Rosset a Veugle	...	...	12	0	0
Isabella de la Verie	...	...	16	0	0
			£7340	0	0

To Nicholas de Ramboullet de la Sobliere, & Louise Magdalain, his wife, and the survivor of them 150*l.* per annum which is not to commence until so much or a like yearly sum shall be vacant on the foregoing list by the deaths of any one or more of the persons having pensions thereupon, and then this pension is immediately to take place and an accmpt to be payable to them and the survivor of them. And we do hereby order and direct that the said Jacob de la Motte Blagny or such other person or persons as we may hereafter nominate & appoint to pay the pensions or annual sums afore specified amounting on the whole to 7,340*l.* shall between each quarterly payment to be made to him or them produce a certificate signed by 3 at least of the principal refugees residing in London of the alterations in the foregoing establishment by the death of any of the persons therein named, &c., &c. (as before).

Given at our Court at S^t James's, the 18th day of April, 1716, in the 2nd year of our reign. By His Majesty's command.

W^m S. QUINTIN.
P. METHUEN.
T. NEWPORT.

XIX.

[King's Warrant Book, xvi, p. 154.]

1716, 6 July.

Sign manual by George I. for payment of the following pensions yearly by Jacob de la Motte Blagny to commence from 1716 Midsummer.

	<i>per annum.</i>		
	£	s.	d.
Henry Florent Count of Brandenburg	150	0	0
Amalie Louise Princess of Portugall widow to M ^r Van Ghent ...	80	0	0
Elizabeth Marie her sister ...	50	0	0
Amalie Van Ghent her eldest daughter & Henrietta de Hompesch her second daughter ...	70	0	0
Jane de Neuville, widow to Lieuten- ant Col. Montargis ...	60	0	0
	410	0	0

XX.

[King's Warrant Book, xxi, p. 228.]

1717, April 2.

GEORGE R.

OUR will and pleasure is that by the virtue of our General letters of Privy Seal bearing date the 29th day of Sept., 1714, you issue and pay or cause to be issued and paid out of any our revenue or Treasure in our Receipt of our Exchequer applicable to the uses of our civil government unto our trusty and well beloved W^m Clayton or his assigns the sum of 15,000*l.* by way of imprest and upon accompt to be by him applied as followeth to wit, 3,000*l.* part thereof as of our free gift and royal bounty for the relief and support of such poor distressed French ministers and converts from the church of Rome being in holy orders as are now residing within that part of Great Britain called England and the remaining 12,000*l.* as of our like free gift and royal bounty for and towards the support of the French Protestants and lay proselytes, the whole to be paid by the said W^m Clayton in such manner and according to such methods, rules, and directions as he shall from time to time receive from the most Rev^d Father in God W^m Lord Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, our right trusty and welbeloved Councillor W^m Lord Cowper our high Chancellor of Great Britain or our High Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal for the time being, the Right Rev^d Father in God, John, Bishop of London or the Bishop of that See for the time being, our right trusty

and well beloved Sir James Bateman, K^t, Lord Mayor of our city of London or the Lord Mayor of our said city for the time being, our right trusty and well beloved Councillor Thomas Lord Parker, Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench and Sir Peter King, K^t Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas or the Chief Justice of our said Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas for the time being or any 4 or more of them or from such persons as shall be nominated and authorised by them or any 4 or more of them to take care of the distribution thereof: and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at St. James's the 2nd April, 1717, in the third year of our reign. By his Majesty's command.

R. WALPOLE.
W^m S^t QUINTIN.
TORRINGTON.
R. EDGCUMBE.

To the Com^{rs} of our Treasury.

Memorandum.—A warrant was signed on the foregoing sign manual the 9th of April, 1717 by

R. WALPOLE.
W^m S^t QUINTIN.
R. EDGCUMBE.

[King's Warrant Book, xxii, p. 176.]

1718, June 24.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS our royal predecessors King William & Queen Anne of glorious memory were graciously pleased to grant and allow as of their free gift and royal bounty the yearly sum of 15,000*l.* towards the relief and support of the poor French Protestants who sought for refuge in these realms and whereas wee out of our princely compassion to the said French Protestants have since our accession to the throne issued and paid to them or to their use at the Receipt of our Exchequer out of the revenues applicable to the use of our civil government the sum of 30,000*l.* and are graciously pleased to declare that the said sum of 30,000*l.* shall be esteemed and taken as our annual bounty to the said French Protestants for 2 years ended at the Feast of S^t Michael the Archangel which was in the year of our Lord 1716, and whereas wee are minded to continue

the payment of the said annual bounty to the said poor French Protestants in such manner as that those objects of charity who partake thereof may have the same paid punctually for the future and their necessities be the better relieved thereby. Therefore our will and pleasure is and wee do hereby direct, authorise, and command that the said yearly sum of 15,000*l*. (reckoning the first year to commence from the said Feast of S^t Michael the Archangel which was in the year of our Lord 1716 as aforesaid) shalbe paid by you or by the Paymaster of our annual bounties and pensions for the time being out of such our Treasure as shall from time to time be imprested to you or to our said paymaster for the time being at the Receipt of our Exchequer for that purpose untill such time as wee shall think fit to signify our pleasure to the contrary: and whereas the said yearly sum of 15,000*l*. hath since our accession to the throne been distributed, paid over, and applied in manner following, that is to say 3,000*l*., part thereof to and amongst such poor distressed French ministers and converts from the Church of Rome being in Holy Orders as were residing in that part of Great Britain called England, and the remaining 12,000*l*. towards the relief and support of other French Protestants and lay proselites in general. Now wee being well satisfied that the said yearly sum of 15,000*l*. should be distributed, paid over, and applied in the like proportions for the future our further pleasure is and wee do hereby direct, authorise, and require you or the paymaster for the time being to distribute, pay over and apply all such sum or sums as are or shall from time to time become due and payable for and upon the said yearly sum of 15,000*l*. established by us as aforesaid to such persons and in such proportions and according to such rules, orders, and directions as you shall from time to time receive in writing from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal of Great Britain, the Bishop of London, the Mayor of London, the Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench and the Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas for the time being or any 4 or more of them, or from such person or persons as shall be nominated or authorised by them or any 4 or more of them to take care of the distribution thereof, in which distributions the persons so authorised by us are from time to time to take care that

the poor distressed French ministers and converts from the Church of Rome in Holy Orders have and receive out of the same at the rate of 3,000*l.* per annum for their relief and support. And for so doing this with the orders of the persons so authorised by us to distribute our said charity and the receipts of the parties thereof shall be as well to you for payment as to the Auditors of our Imprests and all others concerned in passing and allowing such payments from time to time upon your accounts a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Kensington 24th day of June, 1718, in the fourth year of our reign. By his Majesty's command.

SUNDERLAND, P.
J. AISLABIE.
GEO. BAILLIE.
J. WALLOP.
W^m CLAYTON.

To Walter Chetwynd, Esq., Paym^r of our Annual Bountys and Pencons or to the Paym^r thereof for the time being.

XXI.

[King's Warrant Book, xxi. p. 455.]

1717, Aug. 28.

Sign manual by George I, ordering the establishment of the following pensions payable by Mr. Clayton to take the place of persons dead on M^r de la Motte Blagny's list of French pensions.

		<i>per annum.</i>		
		£	s.	d.
Joseph, Count of Vivans	...	100	0	0
Catherine de Varengeville	...	25	0	0
Anne Philotée d'Aubuss	...	40	0	0
Pierre de Clary Floirant	...	25	0	0
Mariè de S ^t Mesme	...	25	0	0
Jaques Saurin	...	100	0	0
		£315	0	0

[Ibid, xxiii., p. 95.]

1721, March 31.

Similar sign manual, similarly establishing the following pensions,—

		<i>per annum.</i>		
		£	s.	d.
Jeanne Louise Jalasson	...	60	0	0
Louise Angelique de S ^t George	...	60	0	0
Daniel de Vaux	...	30	0	0
Marguerete de la Devese	...	30	0	0
Anne Caillard	...	50	0	0
Eliz. de Beranger	...	50	0	0
Marthe d'Agguilhon de la Farelle	—	40	0	0
Mll ^e Guide	...	30	0	0
Jean Herman	...	40	0	0
Magdelaine Tribles	...	20	0	0
Jaques de Ravenelle	...	30	0	0
Justine de Champfleury	...	25	0	0
Charlotte Gutron	...	30	0	0
Anne de Lisle	...	25	0	0
Jeanne Alaire	...	30	0	0
Anthoine de Hautchermois	...	25	0	0
Jacob & Jean de la Motte Blagny	...	100	0	0
Jean Bachelett l'Espine	...	50	0	0
		£750	0	0

XXII.

[King's Warrant Book, xxvii, p. 194.]

1726, June 24th.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by warrant under our royal sign manual bearing date the 24th day of June, 1718, and to the paymaster of our annual bounties & pensions then and for the time being directed, we were graciously pleased to continue & allow to be paid an annual bounty or yearly sum of 15,000*l.* for the relief of poor French Protestants from Michaelmas, 1716, until such time as we should think fit to signify our pleasure to the contrary, and whereas at Lady Day last, 1726, there remained due and in arrear to clear the said annual bounty or yearly pension to that [date] in the terms of the said warrant the sum of 53,750*l.*

Now forasmuch as the said annual bounty or yearly sum of 15,000*l.* and the arrears due or which may grow due thereupon depend wholly on our will & pleasure and in regard a great body of pensions to French persons other than those payable out of the said 15,000*l.* per annum are borne & placed on the establishment of our annual bounties & pensions payable by year, we are resolved to avail ourself of the sum of 27,238*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* in lieu of the sums which we have paid or which yet remains due to be paid to clear the said established pensions to Lady Day 1726, by discounting the same out of the said sum of 53,750*l.* so due and in arrear at Lady Day, 1726, on the said 15,000*l.* per annum as aforesaid. Therefore in pursuance of such our resolution we do hereby declare, determine, order, direct & appoint the said arrear at Lady Day, 1726. instead of 53,750*l.* shall be reduced, esteemed, & taken to be no more than 26,511*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*, and you and all others who shall or may be concerned herein are hereby charged and required on all accounts, states and reckonings with the Trustees for distributing our said yearly bounty of 15,000*l.* or with any other person or persons whatsoever to state, reckon and account the arrears due thereupon at Lady Day, 1726, to be no more than the said sum of 26,511*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.* as aforesaid: and moreover our further will and pleasure is and we do hereby declare that the said annual bounty or yearly sum of 15,000*l.* from and after Lady Day, 1726, shall be determined & absolutely void: and the said annual bounty or yearly sum of 15,000*l.* from and after Lady Day, 1726, as aforesaid is hereby determined and made void accordingly. Nevertheless since we are minded to allow some mark of our royal bounty and favour to such poor French Protestants as shall be judged real objects of charity we are generously pleased to establish from and after Lady Day, 1726, an annual bounty or yearly sum of 8,591*l.* to be distributed, paid over and applied to and amongst the said poor French Protestants from thenceforth quarterly from time to time during our royal will & pleasure; and our further will and pleasure is and we do hereby direct, authorise and require you or the paymaster of our annual pensions or bounties for the time being to distribute, pay over and apply all such sum and sums as shall or may from time to time become due & payable for and upon the said yearly sum of 8,591*l.*

established by us as aforesaid to such persons and in such proportions and according to such rules, orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive in writing from the Archbishop of Canterbury, our Chancellor or Keeper of our Great Seal of Great Britain, the Bishop of London, the Mayor of London, the Chief Justice of our Court of King's Bench, the Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas for the time being or any 4 or more of them or from such person or persons as shall be nominated and authorised by them or any 4 or more of them to take care of the distribution thereof: in which distribution the persons so authorised are from time to time to take care that the poor distressed French ministers & converts from the Church of Rome being in holy orders¹ have and receive out of the said annual bounty or yearly sum of 8,591*l.* at the rate of 1,718*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* per annum for their relief and support. And for so doing this with the orders of the persons so authorised by us to distribute our said charity and the receipt of the parties thereupon shall be as well to you for payment as to the Auditors of our Imprests & all others concerned in passing and allowing such payments from time to time upon your accounts a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court at Kensington the 14th day of June, 1726, in the 12th year of our reign. By his M^{ty} command.

R. WALPOLE.

CHA. TURNER.

GEO. DODINGTON.

To our trusty & welbeloved Walter Chetwynde, Esq., paymaster of our annual bounties & pensions or to the paymasters thereof for the time being.

By a similar warrant under the royal sign manual (King's Warrant Book, xxviii, p. 342) dated St James's, 11th Dec., 1727, George continued this allowance or royal bounty of 8,591*l.* to the poor French Protestants to be accounted payable from Midsummer, 1727.

¹ In the renewal of this grant by George II in Dec., 1727, the words "and converts from the church of Rome being in holy orders" are retained in the text of the sign manual but are underlined and a note is made in the margin "*this warrant was renewed leaving out the words here underlined.*"

XXIII.

[King's Warrant Book, xxv., p. 376 and xxvii, p. 297.]

1723, June 3 & 1726, Oct. 29.

Sign manuals establishing the following as the pension list of French refugees payable successively at the said respective dates by Jacob de la Motte Blagny & cancelling previous establishments.

	Pension list of 1723, June 3.	Pension list of 19 Oct. 1726.
	£	£
Mary & Magdalen Allix ...	60	60
Anne Philotee D'Anbuss ...	40	
Abel Tassin D'Allone ...	200	
Judith, Benigne & Charlotte de Goisy	45	45
Anne de Boisrousseau ...	30	30
Edward & Maximilian Burdigues	30	30
Henrietta de Bellefons ...	30	30
Catherine de Bourbon ...	36	
Rose Barricave ...	25	25
Anne de la Borde ...	24	24
Catherine du Bac ...	20	20
Susanna da Blance ...	20	20
Pierre Balmier ...	30	30
Frances de Grandy de Bette	15	15
Isabelle de Bacalan ...	15	15
John Baru ...	20	20
Claude du Bos ...	20	
Daniel Bascoul ...	20	20
Charlotte Barbott ...	30	30
Mary Bonnet ...	15	
Henry Florent, Count of Branden- bourg ...	150	300
Lucrece de Chavernay ...	50	50
Marie de Champagne ...	40	40
Susanne de Cantiran ...	40	40
Hester de Civile ...	30	
Magdalen Chamier ...	25	25
Mary & Susanna de Champlaurier	30	30
Magdalen de la Chainay ...	20	20
Mary de la Chainay ...	20	
Margaret de la Croisette ...	20	20
Mary & Catherine du Chail ...	20	20
Anne Gabriel Cossard ...	20	20

	Pension list of 1723, June 3		Pension list of 19 Oct. 1726.	
	£		£	
Mariane de Court ...	15		15	
Mary Joly de Chadignac ...	12		12	
Anne de Clou ...	10		10	
Catherine de St Clair ...	20		20	
Camille Catelet ...	25		25	
Mary de Chabanne ...	10		10	
Mary Ann de Charon ...	15		15	
Mary Cornet ...	70		70	
Charlotte de Dangeau & after her decease to Catherine Guichard her niece ...	100		100	
Mark Anthony Daveison & Magdalen his wife ...	100		100	
Claude Davesnes ...	40		40	
Magdalen Dornand ...	30		30	
Catherine de Dollon ...	30		30	
Elizabeth Sixte Dalem ...	30		30	
Francois Dalon ...	25		20	
Claude Duncan ...	20		20	
Elizabeth Marmand Dacere ...	20			
Mary Dancourt ...	20		20	
Catherine Prat de la Deveze	20			
Lewis Dagneau ...	15		15	
Mary Dagneau ...	15		15	
Isaac Dalais ...	100		100	
Madame the dutchess de le Force	500		500	
The Society of French gentlewomen at the Hague ...	200		200	
Blanche de Fournier ...	25		25	
Mary de la Ferriere ...	24			
Mary Benigne de Franquefort	20		20	
Louise de Foisac ...	20		20	
Bernandine de Falquerols ...	12			
Pierre Falaiseau ...	200			
Catherine de Fos ...	20		20	
Marie Alsen de Falaiseau ...			60	
Marie du Lisle du Ghasst ...	50		50	
Anne Daniel de Grangue & Susanna, her daughter ...	40		40	
Frances Guiraud ...	40		40	
Anne Grosvenor ...	30		30	
Anne Guerin ...	30		30	

		Pension list of 1723, June 3.	Pension list of 19 Oct. 1726.
		£	£
Marie Gacherie	...	20	20
Angelique le Goux	...	20	20
Mariane le Gendre	...	20	20
Hester Gohin	...	15	15
Benjamin Germain & Susanna,			
his wife	...	20	20
Amalia van Ghent & Henrietta de			
Hompesch	...	70	70
Princess of Holstein Beck	...	200	200
Mary Jaucort	...	20	20
Mary Jonneau	...	10	10
Henriette de Champagne de Juigny		25	50
Margaret Joly	...	20	20
Anna, Margaret, Levina & Maria, the			
daughter of Amalia Kayzers		24	24
Henriette & Mary de Lovigny		60	60
Maria de Lomaria	...	30	30
Constance de Lomarie	...	20	20
Olympe de Longuevergne	...	20	20
Hester de Longuevergne	...	30	30
John Lardan	...	25	25
Louise de Tresor du Mesnil Lambert		20	20
Ann de Langrac	...	50	50
Marie de Monceau	...	50	50
Susanna de Molein	...	40	40
Charlotte de Tallemant de Marmande		40	
Hester du Mont	...	30	30
Henrietta Mary de la Muze		30	30
Magdalen de la Martinerie	...	30	30
Anne de la Mauclere	...	40	40
John, Catherine & Margaret			
Marioge	...	20	20
Charlotte Monguyon	...	15	15
Ann Gabriel de Montmeillan		15	15
Ann Guinebaut de la Milliere		15	15
Michael de Monsegur	...	15	15
Susanna Marolle	...	12	12
Lewis Marquis Desbiars de			
Montgomery	...	30	30
Ann & Gabrielle 2 sisters of			
Martigny	...	30	30
John de Remy de Montigny		100	100

	Pension list of 1723, June 8. £	Pension list of 19 Oct. 1726. £
Charlotte Emilie Maxwell	20	20
Claude Margaret de Neufville	20	20
Prince of Nassau Seigan ...	100	100
Victoria Pardaillan ...	30	30
Mary Frances de S ^t Paul ...	25	25
Susanna Palie ...	20	20
Bonne Green de Percourt ...	20	20
Hipolite de Pressac ...	20	
Andre, Pierre & Henrietta de la Primaudaye ...	15	15
Marie de Pechelves ...	25	25
Mary la Pie ...	15	15
Louise Pignot ...	15	15
Pierre Perault ...	40	40
Clement Patonier ...	40	40
Susanna & Catherine de Portveuf	30	30
Mary Perer ...	15	15
Amalia Louise Princess of Portugal	80	80
Mary de Roux ...	20	20
Judith Ricard ...	15	15
Frances Mary Renaud ...	12	12
Lady Charlotte de Roussy ...	500	500
John de Rochegude ...	50	
Mark Anthony Riboul (Reboul)	20	20
Elizabeth & Susanna Robethon	40	40
Constance de Reneville ...	50	
Catherine Seigler ...	50	
Jane de la Salle ...	40	40
Susanna de Sercler ...	20	
Blanch Samasan ...	15	15
Margaret Sarrau ...	10	10
Susanna Sarrau ...	10	10
Henriette de Samasan ...	15	15
Mary de Samasan ...	15	15
M ^{lle} de Souselles of the Society of Harlem ...	20	20
Louise Magdalen de le Sabliere	150	150
Henriette Pons de Thors ...	60	60
Pierre de la Touch ...	50	50
Marie de There & Mary de Blagny	60	60
Elizabeth & Benigne Torteron	34	34
Judith de Proisy debte de Tugny	30	30

	Pension list of 1723, June 3. £	Pension list of 19 Oct. 1726. £
Claude de Veneville ...	70	70
Margaret & Henriette de Villeneuve ...	40	40
Thomase la Cour Vicouse ...	30	30
Judith Valentine ...	25	25
Elizabeth Verron ...	15	15
Mary Venier ...	15	15
Elizabeth de Vebron ...	12	12
Mary St Faux Vicouse ...	25	25
Francois Verriere ...	15	15
Gabriel de Rosset a Veugle	12	
	£6,409	£5,805

XXIV.

[King's Warrant Book, xxviii, pp. 297-301, and xxx, pp. 172-7.]

1727, Oct. 31, and 1731, March 25.

GEORGE II.

Similar sign manuals, as the above, by George II with similar directions, &c. for the Establishment of French pensioners at the said respective dates, & cancelling each preceding list, &c. as before.

	List of 1727, Oct. 31. £	List of 1731, 25 Mar. £
Mary & Magdalen Allix ...	60	60
Anne Philotee de Anbuss ...	40	40
Rose Barricave ...	25	25
Gabriel Dumont Baron de Blaignac ...	150	
Henrietta Susanna & Margaretta Brunet de Passy ...	40	40
Moyse Bertet ...	18	18
Jean Bondet ...	18	18
Colonel Armand de la Bastide ...	200	200
Madaimoselle — — — — — Blanvernoy ...	60	60
Catherine du Bac ...		20
Henrietta de Bellefond ...		30
Anne de Borde ...		24
Isabeau Bacalan ...		15
Anne de Boisrousseau ...		30
Henry Florent Comte de Brandenburg		100

			List of 1727, Oct. 31.	List of 1731, 25 Mar.
			£	£
Magdalen Chamier	...	...	25	25
Louise de Cier (Cire)	...	...	30	30
Elie Canole & Mary his wife	...	...	20	20
Anne de Cormelle	...	...	15	15
Helene, Margueritte and Cecele Henrietta de Chivre	...	...	40	40
Charlotte de la Chappelle	...	...	15	15
Anthoine Chabroil	...	...	18	18
Henrietta Chamfaque de Jugny	...	...		25
Canale Cletelet	...	...		25
Marie du Chaile	...	...		20
Susanne Cantizan	...	...		35
Marie Chabane	...	...		10
Lucrece de Chavernay	...	...		45
Marie de Champagnie	...	...		35
Anne de Clou	...	...		10
Magdalen Dornand	...	...	30	30
Isaac Dalais	...	...	100	100
Mary Ranbour Drancour	...	...	25	25
Jean de Durand	...	...	80	80
Francois Elizabeth Dasniese	...	...	60	60
Charlotte Dangeau & Catharine Guichard	...	...		80
Marie Dagneau	...	...		15
Marie Dancour	...	...		20
Claude Davenes	...	...		35
Elizabeth Dalem	...	...		30
Margaret Derveux de la Deveze	...	...		25
Bachelier de l'Espine	...	...	20	20
Jean Bachelier de l'Espine	...	...	50	50
Madam the Duchess de la Force	...	...	500	500
Marie Benigne de Franquefort	...	...	20	20
Susanna Farey de Mue & Catherine de Farey	...	...	40	40
Pierre Declaris Floreau	...	...	25	25
Jean Favas	...	...	18	18
Blanche Fournier	...	...		25
The Society of French gentlewomen at the Hague	...	...		200
Amelia Van Ghent & Henriette de Hompesch	...	...	70	70
John Gadfreed Gullman	...	...	100	100
Isaac Gronguet	...	...	35	35

			List of 1727, Oct. 31.	List of 1731, 25 Mar.
			£	£
Anne Grimaudet	...	...	25	25
Anne de la Guiminiere	...	...	18	15
Jacques Gravie	...	...	18	18
Michael Gaussen	...	...	18	18
John Gachon	...	...	200	200
Marthe de Gennes	...	...	50	50
Angelique le Goux	...	...		20
Louise Guiraud	...	...		30
Judith Benigne de Goisy	...	...		40
Marie le Gondre	...	...		20
Francis Grandy de Bette	...	...		15
Anne Grosvenor	...	...		30
Charlotte Gautron	...	...		30
The Princess of Holstein Beck	...	...	200	200
John Ludewig Hanneken	...	...	100	100
Anthoine du Hautchormy	...	...	25	25
Susanne du Hautchormy	...	...	25	25
Mary Jancourt	...	...	20	20
Jean Itier	...	...	18	18
Louisa & Maria the daughter of Amalia				
Kaysars	...	...	24	24
Henriette & Mary de Lavigny	...	...	60	60
Constance de la Marie	...	...	20	20
Anne de Langrac	...	...	50	50
Olimve du Longuevergne	...	...		20
Esther de Longuevergne	...	...		30
Marie de Lomaria	...	...		30
Jean Lasalle	...	...		35
Marie de Monceau	...	...	50	
Anne de Mauciere	...	...	40	40
Susanne Marola	...	...	12	12
John de Remy de Montigny	...	...	100	100
Charlotte Emilia Maxwell	...	...	20	20
Abraham Magney	...	...	50	50
Elizabeth de Mauleurier	...	...	25	25
Marie de St Mesme	...	...	25	
Gabriel Mignie	...	...	50	50
Rachel Maturin & Anna, her daughter	...	...	30	30
Andre Mege	...	...	18	18
Marie de Maliverne	...	...	40	40
Louise Marolles	...	...	25	25
Armand Louis de St George Seigneur				
de Marsay	...	...	275	275
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	List of 1727, Oct. 31. £	List of 1731. 25 Mar. £
Madalaine de la Martinerie ...		30
Jean Catharine & Margueritte Mareuge		20
Louise Desbiars Montgomery ...		30
Anne & Gabriel de Martigny ...		30
Henriette Marie de la Muce ...		30
Susanne Molin ...		35
Prince of Nassau Seigen ...	100	100
Samuel de Neufville & Mariane, his wife	20	
Anne d'Orgeval ...	20	20
Susanne Palie ...	20	20
Andre. Pierre & Henrietta de la Pri- maudaye ...	15	15
Mary la Pie ...	15	15
Pierre Perault ...	40	40
Amalia Louise, Princess of Portugal	80	10
Jean Pellet ...	50	50
Phillippe de Passac ...	25	25
Marie Pasquet ...	20	20
Marie Perer ...		15
Bona Greene Parcour ...		20
Marie Pechalves ...		25
Susanna & Katharine de Portneuf ...		30
Marie Francoise St Paul ...		25
Dame Charlotte de Roussy ...	500	500
Elizabeth & Susanna de Robethon ...	40	40
Jean de Rigo ...	25	25
Guillaume de Ruell (Ruel) ...	25	25
Guillaume Rousset ...	18	18
Judith de Renneville, widow of Constan- tine de Renneville ...	35	35
Judith Ricard ...		15
Lewis Renaud ...		200
Lovise Magdalen de la Sabliere ...	150	150
Jaques Saurin ...	200	
St Luke Schaub ...	400	400
Charles Augustus Sacetot ...	100	100
Baron de Salgos ...		60
Henry de Pons de Thors ...		50
Martha de Thehillac ...	15	
Thomase de la Cour Vicouse ...	30	35
Mary St Faus Vicouse ...	25	20
Francois Verriere ...	15	15

			List of 1727, Oct. 31.	List of 1731, 25 Mar.
			£	£
Joseph, Count of Vivans	...	...	100	100
Catherine de Varengueville	...	...	25	25
Angelique Vosselot de Regnie	...	...	30	30
Daniel de Vaux	...	...	30	30
Claude de Vins	...	...	50	50
Margueritte & Jeane Martha de Vemevil				
& the survivor of them	...	...	50	50
Anna Sophia Francois de Volckershoven			80	80
Claude Venevelle	...	...		60
Margueritte & Henriette Villeneuve	...	...		35
Elizabeth Verron	...	...		15
Morrie Vennier [? Venmen]	...	...		15
Judith Valentine	...	...		25
All which said yearly pensions so before			—	—
particularly specified amount on the				
whole to	...	...	£6,023	£7,382

Notes and Queries.

I.

THE EDWARDES SQUARE SETTLEMENT.

In "The Leisure Hour" for July 1896 is the following interesting notice of this little-known Huguenot quarter of London.—"In the best part of the western suburbs of the metropolis, not far from Kensington Palace, and close to Holland House, there is a curious relic of olden times called "Edwardes Square." Busy traffic and throngs of people pass by the entrance to this quiet and secluded place, which is known to comparatively few. A short, narrow street is all that divides it from the great highway that leads to Hammer-smith and Putney. Going down the little street exactly opposite Holland Park, on the southern side of the Hammer-smith Road, we suddenly see an open square, with a vast enclosure of garden and lawn, larger than Lincoln's Inn Fields. The houses on three sides of the quadrangle are very small. The northern boundary is formed by the backs of the loftier houses of Earle's Terrace, facing Holland Park. The origin of Edwardes Square carries us back to the date of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when the expulsion of the Protestants brought so many Frenchmen to our country, and caused Huguenot settlements in all parts of the kingdom. In most of the localities the refugees were workers who transferred their skilled labour and brought wealth to the land of their adoption. It was not so in the Kensington settlement. Here it was intended to prepare a French Arcadia for families who did not seek their livelihood by manual labour or as skilled artificers, but who only required safety and peace. So Edwardes Square, with its thrifty lodgings and healthy grounds, was built and named after the Kensington family. The Huguenot refugees and their descendants have passed away, and the houses are occupied by those who enjoy the quiet grounds and the economic homes prepared for the proscribed Huguenots. But the end is near. The lease of this Edwardes estate is nearly expired, and the site of the property will in another generation be covered with larger

and more valuable buildings. The Huguenot episode will all be forgotten. Even Leigh Hunt, in his "Old Court Suburb," abounding in memorials of Kensington, did not know the origin of Edwardes Square. He repeats the legend that it was built in anticipation of the conquest of England by Napoleon, "when Frenchmen could find a cheap and rural Palais Royal in an English royal suburb!"—(*Communicated by S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.*)

II.

HUGUENOTS IN THE CANARY ISLANDS.

The History of the Canary Islands by George Glas, London, 1764, 4to., contains some references to the presence of Huguenots in the Island in the early part of the eighteenth century, though without giving any detailed account of the settlement or the names of the refugees composing it. Alluding to the Inquisition, Glas says:—"Those Protestants in Tenerife who are most exposed to its censure are the French Huguenots, for they have none to protect them from it. The French Consuls here have always been men of narrow minds, who neither kept up the dignity of their office, nor regarded the glory of their nation; otherwise they would have protected their countrymen from the insults of the clergy, even though they had professed paganism." He relates the following stories as evidence of the intolerance of the Inquisition:—"A master of a French ship lying in the road of Orotava, was standing near the port, conversing with some merchants, when the Host passed close by them; all the merchants, on perceiving it, kneeled down in token of respect and reverence, as is customary in that part of the world; but the Frenchman, being a Huguenot, stood upright with his head covered, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the merchants to make him kneel and take off his hat. Next day, the merchants to whom the captain was consigned, were sent for by the officers of the Inquisition, and examined concerning the affair. They cleared themselves, but could not dissuade them from arresting the captain, although his ship was almost ready to sail. Luckily for the Frenchman, the merchants in a body, with some discreet clergymen, went to the Inquisition, and made its officers sensible that the taking any notice of what had happened would answer no purpose but that of frightening the Dutch, English and Hamburgers from coming to the island, which would totally destroy their commerce."

Glas proceeds to relate how "A French Huguenot of mean circumstances, who kept a shop in Tenerife, happening to be at Lancerota upon business, was importuned by a beggar for alms, having a figure of the Virgin in his hands, bedecked with flowers (which is customary there on certain festivals), which he made use of to enforce his visit. The Frenchman, vexed at his importunity, said, "Begone, what signifies your Virgin to me? Indeed, if you would beg for the sake of some pretty girl, you might have better success." With these words he turned away, not dreaming of any bad consequences. The beggar went off, muttering and vowing revenge against the heretical dog, as he called him. The poor Frenchman had reason to repent of his ill-timed gallantry, for he was soon after seized by the officers of the Inquisition, and confined in prison, until they found an opportunity of a bark going to Canaria. Before he was sent thither, he wrote a letter to one of his countrymen at Tenerife, informing him of his misfortune, and that he had been racking his thoughts ever since to find out the cause, but could charge himself with no offence against the Inquisition, excepting the affair of the beggar; adding, that being conscious of his innocence, he hoped soon to get clear; but in this he was mistaken, for he was confined at Canaria for more than a year. It was observed, that when he returned from thence to Tenerife, he looked fat and fair, but ever after attended mass, and otherwise behaved himself like a good Catholic, which it seems he had not done before."

In the *Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas Canarias*, (Lib. XII, § xiii, xiv), by the Rev. Don José de Viera y Clavijo, published at Madrid in 1776, in 3 vols. 4to., and, with an additional volume, at Santa Cruz de Tenerife, in 1858-63, is an account of the "Invasion of Gomera by the Huguenots," of which the following is a translation:—"Since the middle of 1570 several French pirates had been cruising about this island and that of Palma, being sent by the Huguenots of La Rochelle in order to intercept our commerce with America. One of these was Jacques de Soria¹ a Norman bravo, a subaltern of Admiral Coligny (the latter a man of great talent, an enemy of Philip II., of the religion of France, and of the Spanish possessions), who came at the head of five ships. Having, when in sight of Gomera, captured the Portuguese ship *Santiago*, which had just left the harbour of Tazacorte, he put to a cruel death the forty Jesuits who, under the leader-

¹ He was the first of the French pirates who went with the traitor Diego Perez to America and sacked Margarita and sundry ports of Venezuela in 1535.

ship of Padre Ignacio de Azevedo, were proceeding to the missions in the Brazils. Shortly after this he landed at Gomera under a flag of truce and left there his Portuguese prisoners. Cardinal Cienfuegos says that the Governor, Don Diego de Ayala, obtained possession of the cassock of one of these martyrs which became an object of veneration. In the following year, 1571, there appeared in these seas, in command of the same ship, another pirate, a worthy successor to Jacques de Soria. This was Jean Capdeville, a Béarnese, a daring Huguenot, whose name was a terror in these islands. He presented himself on August 24 before San Sebastian de la Gomera at the head of five ships, four French and one English. Their landing could not be opposed, and they sacked, burnt, and destroyed a great part of the town. Upon this followed some wonderful instances of Christian constancy related by the Bishop of Mantua and by Padre Luis Quirós of their brethren the Religious of Gomera. Surprised by this sudden invasion, not only did Fray Bernardino Ramos, the superior, take to flight, but also those under him, abandoning the convent, the church, and the Holy Eucharist. Fray Antonio de Santa Maria had not gone far when shame overtook him. He came back full of zeal, ran to the Sagrario and consumed the holy wafer; but when leaving the church he was caught by the Huguenots, who had already made prisoners the priest and others. They were all taken on board the admiral's ship, Fray Antonio all the time preaching to them and exhorting them to martyrdom. After six days they were fetched from the hold to dispute about dogmas; then they were transferred to another ship, beaten, and finally thrown into the sea with heavy stones round their necks. Meantime Fray Diego Muñoz (who had remained in the convent gathering together the sacred images, ornaments, and jewels), found himself surrounded by enemies. Full of holy enthusiasm, he reproached the heretics with their outrages, but both he and a lay brother, who had remained concealed and who came forward to defend him, were killed and cast into the sea. The Count, having gathered together some men, threw himself upon the invaders, who fled and re-embarked in confusion, leaving many dead upon the shore. Such was the day of St. Bartholomew¹ which the Huguenots inflicted upon our Gomeros. Could they have foreseen what was to happen to them in France in the following year? The records of the town were burnt. It

¹ Although the writer was a Romanist priest, he calls this in a note the "execrable" Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

became necessary to rebuild the convent and to enlarge the fortress. In 1578 Philip II. granted half the cost, or 1,500 ducats, out of the royal treasury 'to protect the island against further attacks by Lutheran ships.' (*Communicated by E. Belleruche*).

III.

LA CHEVALLERIE.

(*Extracts from letters from Captain Theodor von La Chevallerie, living at 80, Greisenau Strasse, Berlin; communicated by I. H. Layard*).

In reference to the La Chevalleries in Germany, there is a remark in the "Chronik" of Professor Erman of Berlin, published in the beginning of this century:—

"Les La Chevalerie sont de Poitou, une très illustre et nombreuse famille."

All the knowledge we have of our ancestry is confined to that branch which came to Germany in some relation to the House and family of the Princes Electoral (Kurfürsten), of Hanover, and also with the Dukes of Brunswick.

We have the same arms as the house of Hanover and Brunswick-Lüneburg, namely:—

Gules, a "cheval effrayé" argent, surmounted by a Viscount's Coronet. My father always told us that we were of high rank, but had come down in the world by evil circumstances, for instance, that one of our ancestors, contemporary with King Frederick William I., father of Frederick the Great, gave all the money which he had saved since his flight from France, as recruiting officer of the King, to help him levy his giant guards from all the ends of the world. So our great-grandfather was foolish enough to lose his money and we became poor, without any estate to our name, and were obliged to serve in the army, where several of the La Chevallerie have been very good officers, one being a Knight of the "Black Eagle."

Another of our ancestors, by name Siméon de La Chevallerie was a great friend of the Kurfürst. His tomb is in the vault of the Cathedral of Hanover, beside that of the Kurfürst; but we have not been able to see the grave, for the Duke of Cumberland, who lives at Gmund, does not allow strangers to enter the vault.

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The sisters of Siméon de la Chevalerie were with the Prussian Royal Family at Berlin as "dames d'honneur."

There are two other branches of the Chevalerie besides ours. One of them writes the name 'VON DER CHEVALLERIE,' the other 'DE LA CHEVALLERIE.'

We have accepted, and are authorised by the Heralds' College to write our name 'VON LA CHEVALLERIE,' which is the best way to show that we are noblemen, without corrupting the name.

There are La Chevalleries in Paris; they are Roman Catholics and bear the name of 'AYMER DE LA CHEVALERIE.' One of them is a Marquis.

We always consider ourselves to be of Refugee and Huguenot descent. The German Chevalleries are all protestants, belonging to the Reformed Church.

Our pedigree is officially authenticated.

We possess a picture of Siméon de la Chevalerie, a fine old miniature, depicting a very knightly face. He is painted in armour and looks, with his noble face, a perfect "chevalier."

I append the arms of the French alliances in the genealogy of the de La Chevalerie family.

I. d'Andigny.

Argent, three eagles, gules. Above the helmet, an eagle.

II. Philipponneau, Montargis de Haute-Cour.

Argent, on three chevronels gules, three stars, or.

III. de Bazin.

Gules, a lion, or. Above the helmet, a lion rampant.

IV. Dupuis de Sacetôt.

Argent, 2 chevronels sable between 3 ravens sable, two over one.

Dans le premier salon de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris se trouve le dossier DE LA CHEVALLERIE, où l'on voit le cheval effrayé et la couronne de marquis.

Le dossier indique la famille comme originaire de l'Auvergne Foire Angoulême.

Le Château de la Chevalerie à St. Maixent entre Poitiers et Niort (Vienne) appartient aux domaines du marquis AYMER DE LE CHEVALLERIE dont Ernest Auguste fit le connaissance à Paris en 1855. Le marquis habitait alors avec le nombreuse famille le domaine de Pillouet près de Poitiers. Madame la marquise fut née Comtesse de Moussy.

Lettre à Ernest de la Chevalerie du Marquis Henri Aymer de la Chevalerie.

Pillouet, 21 Août, 1876.

Deux familles seulement en Poitou ajoutent à leur nom patronymique celui de LA CHEVALLERIE ; Les Hunault qui ne sont pas Poitoriens, mais qui habitent le parti de Poitou avoisinant l'Anjou depuis 80 ans environ, et nous les Aymer. Une branche de ma famille vint s'établir au commencement du xvii. siècle au château de la Chevalerie, situé commune de St. Georges de Noyné près de St. Maixent. Charles Aymer, troisième fils de René Aymer, Sgr. de Cornion et de Germond, et de Julie d'Angliers de Joubert, épousa D^{lle} Marguerite de la Boutandière dame de la Chevalerie. C'est à partir de cette époque, que nous portons le nom de la Chevalerie ajouté au notre. Le château a été vendu pendant la révolution.

C'est un habitant de la campagne qui la possède présentement. J'ai voulu plusieurs fois en faire l'acquisition, mais toujours mes propositions n'ont pas été agréées. C'est du reste une véritable ruine. Les fermes ont été vendus séparément et mes parents n'ont pu conserver que celle de Fontenin, encore m'a-t-il fallu l'acheter à ma cousine germaine, fille de mon oncle le général.

Il y a quelques lieues de St. Maixent dans la direction de Poitiers, dans la commune de Soudan, si je ne me trompe, une ferme qui porte le nom de LA CHEVALLERIE. Elle appartient présentement à une des filles de Monsieur Peltier de Montigny mariée à M. de la Salinière.

J'ignore quels étaient les propriétaires précédents. Il y a en dans le Maine une famille de LA CHEVALLERIE qui n'a rien de commune avec la mienne.

IV.

NOTES ON THE COMMUNION PLATE LATELY
PRESENTED TO THE FRENCH PROTESTANT
HOSPITAL, VICTORIA PARK. LONDON.

In the 16th and 17th centuries each of the four Parishes of All Hallows the Great, All Hallows the Less, S^t Martin Vintry and S^t Michael Paternoster Royal possessed its own Church, but all were consumed in the Great Fire of London, and in the re-building of the City a single Church was erected to serve the Parishes of All Hallows the Great and Less, and another to serve the Parishes of S^t Martin Vintry and S^t Michael Paternoster Royal.

Under an Order in Council, made early in 1893 for uniting these four Benefices the Church of S^t Michael Paternoster Royal was retained as the Parish Church, and that of All Hallows was taken down and the site sold.

All Hallows Church had been noted for its beautiful Chancel Screen and for its magnificent double service of Sacramental Plate, both of which had been given early in the 17th century by the Foreign Protestant Merchants whose headquarters in London were in this Parish.

On the demolition of the Church the carved Screen was transferred to S^t Margaret's Lothbury, while the Communion Plate was "lodged in a chest in the adjoining City of London Brewery for security and to save expense."

Here fortunately it was seen by Sir Henry Peek, President of the Huguenot Society of London, and Senior Director of the French Protestant Hospital, and he at once suggested that one complete service of this Communion Plate would find its most appropriate destination in the Chapel of the Hospital—an Institution which was founded by a later generation of French Protestant Merchants and others as an Asylum for some of the poor and aged French Protestants who had fled to England from the cruel persecutions which followed upon the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Hospital—or Hospice—was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1718 and it has been maintained to this day as a home for poor French Protestants and their descendants in the last stage of their life's journey, so that in its Chapel the earliest traditions connected with this historic service of Sacramental Plate will be again taken up and carried on.

The suggestion of Sir Henry Peek was most kindly received by the Rector and Churchwardens of the United Parishes.

With their approval formal application was made to the Bishop of London to sanction the transfer and a special Joint Vestry of the United Parishes was called in November 1894 to consider the matter. But at this point legal difficulties arose which were only surmounted after about eighteen months' official correspondence and then, not by any legal process, but by mutual concession and goodwill.

On the 2nd May 1896 the Secretary of the French Protestant Hospital was invited to attend the Bishop of London at the office of his Registrar in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, when the Bishop, complying with the request of the Rector and Churchwardens of the United Parishes formally delivered to him the Sacramental Plate to be henceforth used in the Chapel of the Hospital. A copy of the Bishop's order dated 29th April under which the transfer was made was also handed to him.

For the afternoon of the same day a special General Court had been convened at the French Hospital to which the Rector and Churchwardens of the united Parishes had been invited.

Immediately on its arrival, the Communion Plate was placed on the Holy Table in the Chapel and a message conveyed to the Court that this had been done. At the invitation of the Deputy Governor, the Rector (the Rev^d Thomas Moore, M.A.), explained that under the scheme for amalgamating the several parishes represented by himself and the Churchwardens present the Church of All Hallows the Great had been removed and its Communion Plate became available for use elsewhere. He then spoke of the request of Sir Henry Peek, of its reception by himself and the Vestry and of the legal difficulties which had for so long prevented the proposed transfer. These having been at last overcome, and the Bishop having that day himself put the French Hospital in possession of the plate, he formally presented the sacred vessels to the Governor and Directors of the Corporation, commending their frequent and reverential use in the Chapel of the Hospital.

The Deputy Governor in gratefully accepting the gift to the Corporation begged the Rector and Churchwardens to join with the Directors and Inmates of the Hospital in a Dedication Service in the Chapel which had been arranged by the Chaplain. Sir Henry Peek also thanked the Rector and Churchwardens for the great courtesy with which they had received and considered his request, and for their patient conduct of the correspondence with the Bishop of London which had that day reached so satisfactory a termination, and he expressed a desire



to associate himself with the gift by providing a Chubb's steel safe for its safe keeping.

The Court was closed with the Blessing and all proceeded to the Chapel, where the Inmates were already assembled, to take part in the Dedication Service.

It will be seen by the illustration that the service of Sacramental Plate consists of:—

1. A Flagon.
2. A Chalice and Cover.
3. A Paten.
4. A smaller Paten.
5. An Almsdish.
6. A Spoon.

The following are the dimensions and weights of the several pieces and the inscriptions thereon:—

1. The Flagon. Height 14in., circumference at base 19½in. Weight 63oz. 16dwt. Date of manufacture 1608; maker's name unknown. Inscription "This Pott Belongeth to The Parish Church of great Alhallowes in Tham Stret London, 1608. The Guift of Thomas Kaddy."
2. The Chalice or Cup inclusive of cover. Height 11½in., circumference at foot 13½in., circumference at cover 15½in. Weight of Chalice and cover 27oz. 10dwt. Date of manufacture of Cup 1608. The cover is much earlier, probably about 1544. The makers' names are unknown. Inscription on the Cup "This cup and cover Belongeth to The Parish Church of great Alhallowes in Tham Streit London 1608."
3. The larger Paten. Height 3½in., circumference at foot 11½in., circumference at top 24in. Weight 13oz. 4dwt. Date of manufacture 1634. Maker's name unknown. Inscription "The free guifte of John Hadson unto y^e parishe of Allhallowes y^e greate, London, Thames Streete."
4. The smaller Paten. Height 1½in., circumference at foot 6½in., circumference at top 17½in. Weight 7oz. Date of manufacture 1575. Maker unknown. Inscription "Great Alhallowes in Tham Streat, London, 1608."
5. The Alms Dish. Circumference 22½in. Weight 10oz. 18dwt. Date of manufacture 1608. Maker unknown. Inscription "This Plate Belongeth to the

"Parish Church of Great Alhallowes in Tham
"Streit, London, 1608."

6. The Spoon. A rat-tailed spoon with pierced bowl 8in. long, weight 1oz. 4dw. Date of manufacture 1719. Inscription "Allhallowes The Great, 1719."

Although the makers' marks on this Communion Plate cannot owing to the want of official registration be identified, the following notes by Colonel George Lambert, F.S.A., a high authority on Church Plate, may prove of interest. The Flagon has its counterpart, and by the same maker, at Brasenose College, Oxford. The Chalice is similar to those in use at the Temple Church, while the Cover corresponds with covers of Communion Cups at St Margaret's, Westminster. The cover of the Chalice and the smaller Paten bear the same maker's mark though the date mark of the former is 1544 and of the latter 1575. The maker's mark on the larger Paten corresponds with that on a small silver gilt Paten at St Peter ad Vincula, Tower of London. The Almsdish has its fellow in the parish of Halsall, Lancashire. The maker's mark on the Spoon is obliterated.

The Order of the Bishop of London dated 29th April, 1896, and the Form of Dedication Service held in the Chapel of the French Hospital are given as appendices to these notes.

(Communicated by A. G. Browning, F.S.A.)

ORDER OF THE BISHOP.

WHEREAS by an order in Council made on the sixteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and ninety three for effecting the Union of the Benefice of All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less with the Benefice of St. Michael Royal and St. Martin Vintry in the City of London, it was amongst other things provided that upon the Union taking effect the Font and Communion Table and Sacramental Plate used in the Church of All Hallows the Great should be transferred to the Parish Church of the United Benefice, but if not needed for such Church they should be transferred to any other Church or Chapel, or Churches or Chapels within the Diocese of London which the Bishop might select.

AND whereas the said Union has taken effect and at a Meeting of Vestry held on the twenty third day of April, one thousand eight hundred and ninety five, it was resolved by the United Parishes that Mr Churchwarden Harvest be authorized to hand over a portion of the Communion Plate of the Church

of All Hallows the Great and Less to the Bishop of London to be disposed of by his Lordship as he might deem advisable. And whereas the Communion Plate so handed over consists of a Flagon, a Chalice with a cover, one large paten, one small paten, one small alms bason, and one spoon, We Frederick Bishop of London hereby order and direct that the said plate so transferred to Us for disposition in accordance with the said Order in Council shall be delivered to the Treasurer or Secretary of the Corporation of the Governor and Directors of the Hospital for Poor French Protestants and their Descendants residing in Great Britain to be and become the property of the said Corporation as and for the Sacramental Plate for use in the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion in the Chapel of the said Hospital.

Dated this twenty ninth day of April one thousand eight hundred and ninety six.

(Signed) F. LONDIN.

Copy of Receipt attached to foregoing Order.

I hereby acknowledge to have received from Mr Harry W. Lee, the Secretary of the Lord Bishop of London, the Sacramental Plate referred to in the foregoing Order.

Dated this second day of May, 1896.

(Signed) A. G. BROWNING,
Secretary,
French Protestant Hospital.

SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING

IN THE

CHAPEL OF THE FRENCH HOSPITAL,

ON SATURDAY, MAY 2ND, 1896,

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE GIFT OF COMMUNION SERVICE.

J. H. LEWTHWAITE, B.C.L., M.A.,
CHAPLAIN.

DEARLY beloved I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart and humble voice, unto the throne of the heavenly grace, saying after me.

† A general Confession to be said of the whole Congregation after the Minister, all kneeling.

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep, We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done: And we have done those things which we ought not to have done; And there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent; According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesu our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake; That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name. *Amen.*

† The Absolution, or Remission of sins, to be pronounced by the Priest alone, standing; the people still kneeling.

ALMIGHTY God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness, and live; and hath given power, and commandment, to his Ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their sins: He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe his holy Gospel. Wherefore let us beseech him to grant us true repentance, and his holy Spirit, that those things may please him, which we do at this present; and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure, and holy; so that at the last we may come to his eternal joy; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

† Then the Minister shall kneel, and say

THE LORD'S PRAYER,

the people also kneeling, and repeating it with him.

† Then likewise he shall say :

O Lord, open thou our lips.

Answer. And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

Priest. O God, make speed to save us.

Answer. O Lord, make haste to help us.

† Here all standing up, the Priest shall say :

Glory be to the Father and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

Answer. As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be: world without end. *Amen.*

Priest. Praise ye the Lord.

Answer. The Lord's Name be praised.

† Then shall be said or sung this Psalm.

PSALM LXXXIV. *Quam dilecta !*

1 O how amiable are thy dwellings : thou Lord of hosts !

2 My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord : my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God.

3 Yea, the sparrow hath found her an house, and the swallow a nest where she may lay her young : even thy altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God.

4 Blessed are they that dwell in thy house : they will be alway praising thee.

5 Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee : in whose heart are thy ways.

6 Who going through the vale of misery use it for a well : and the pools are filled with water.

7 They will go from strength to strength : and unto the God of gods appeareth everyone of them in Sion.

8 O Lord God of hosts, hear my prayer : hearken, O God of Jacob.

9 Behold, O God our defender : and look upon the face of thine Anointed.

10 For one day in thy courts : is better than a thousand.

11 I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God : than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.

12 For the Lord God is a light and defence : the Lord will give grace and worship, and no good thing shall he withhold from them that live a godly life.

13 O Lord God of hosts : blessed is the man that putteth his trust in thee.

THE LESSON, 2ND CHRON. V.

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

† Then shall be said or sung

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

by the Minister and the people, standing.

† And after that, these Prayers following, all devoutly kneeling ; the Minister first pronouncing with a loud voice.

The Lord be with you.

Answer. And with thy spirit.

Minister. Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

† Then the Minister, Clerks, and people, shall say :

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

with a loud voice.

† Then the Priest standing up shall say :

O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation.

Priest. O Lord, save the Queen.

Answer. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

Priest. Endue thy Ministers with righteousness.

Answer. And make thy chosen people joyful.

Priest. O Lord, save thy people.

Answer. And bless thine inheritance.

Priest. Give peace in our time, O Lord.

Answer. Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God.

Priest. O God, make clean our hearts within us.

Answer. And take not thy holy Spirit from us.

O ALMIGHTY God, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men ; grant unto thy people that they may love the thing which thou commandest, and desire that which thou dost promise ; that so among the sundry and manifold changes of the world, our hearts may surely there be fixed, where true joys are to be found ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O LORD Jesu Christ, who at thy first coming didst send thy messenger to prepare thy way before thee ; grant that the ministers and stewards of thy mysteries may likewise so prepare and make ready thy way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at thy second coming to judge the world we may be found an acceptable people in thy sight, who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*

O God, who knowest us to be set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright ; grant to us such strength and protection, as may support us in all dangers, and carry us through all temptations ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

KEEP, we beseech thee, O Lord, thy Church with thy perpetual mercy : and, because the frailty of man without thee cannot but fall, keep us ever by thy help from all things hurtful, and lead us to all things profitable to our salvation ; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O LORD, we beseech thee, let thy continual pity cleanse and defend thy Church; and, because it cannot continue in safety without thy succour, preserve it evermore by thy help and goodness; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O GOD, forasmuch as without thee we are not able to please thee; mercifully grant, that thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

O GOD, who hast been pleased to shew us, thine unworthy creatures, the riches of Thy love and bounty in giving unto us these sacred vessels dedicated to thy service and to the praise of thy Holy Name; so add thy priceless grace and blessing unto them, that we may henceforth at all time duly treasure them, and so employ them for thine honour and our salvation, that through holy use of them and thankful love in return for them, we may at length reach that place where with all thy saints we shall praise and bless thy boundless goodness and mercy for evermore, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

O LORD, who hast taught us that all our doings without charity are nothing worth; send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whosoever liveth is counted dead before thee; Grant this for thine only Son Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

PREVENT us, O Lord, in all our doings with thy most gracious favour and further us with thy continual help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorify thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

ALL People that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;
Him serve with fear, His praise forth tell,
Come ye before Him, and rejoice.

The Lord, ye know, is God indeed;
Without our aid, He did us make;
We are His flock, He doth us feed.
And for His sheep He doth us take.

O enter then His gates with praise,
Approach with joy His courts unto;
Praise, laud and bless His name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

For why? the Lord our God is good ;
His mercies are for ever sure ;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure.
To Father, Son and Holy Ghost,
The God whom Heav'n and earth adore.
From men and from the Angel host,
Be praise and glory evermore. *Amen.*

THE BLESSING.



MISCELLANEA.

M. Aimé Louis Herminjard of Lausanne.—On the 7th of November the venerable editor of the *Correspondance des Réformateurs*, which has been appearing at intervals since 1868, entered on his eightieth year. To decide on the most appropriate mode of celebrating the event and paying friendly recognition of his life-long labours on this and many other works, a committee of eminent historians and literary men was formed at Lausanne, and their deliberations resulted in an invitation to several continental Universities and Societies to unite with M. Herminjard's numerous personal friends in organizing a little fête and presenting him with their congratulations on the occasion. The Huguenot Society being courteously included in this invitation, the following address was forwarded to the committee through Professor A. Bernus and presented by them to M. Herminjard :—

À Monsieur A. L. Herminjard.

Monsieur et très cher Frère,

C'est tant honneur que plaisir pour les membres de la Société Huguenotte de Londres de se trouver dans la compagnie des nombreux amis qui s'approchent de vous avec leurs félicitations cordiales à ce jour de réjouissance générale.

Dans l'Éditeur de la *Correspondance des Réformateurs* nous reconnaissons pas seulement le savant bien instruit et le travailleur infatigable, mais aussi l'homme de but fixe et juste, d'âme pur et sincère, de cœur bienveillant et loyal. Par conséquent, Monsieur, nous désirons de vous rendre notre hommage respectueux et de vous assurer de notre admiration et de nos regards, priant que Dieu vous accorde une vieillesse heureuse et tranquille après si longues années de travail.

Le temps s'écoule, les choses mondaines périssent, et tous nos meilleurs efforts se passent dans l'oubli. Triste pensée. Mais cet oubli n'est pas que de l'homme, et les travaux et les aspirations des justes sont enregistrés dans le livre de Dieu. Qu'il vous accorde le soulagement de ce souvenir ici-bas, qu'il vous donne la couronne de vie dans les cieux, et la fruition de félicité éternelle.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de notre considération la plus distinguée et de nos sentiments bien dévoués.

HENRY W. PEEK, *Président.*

REGINALD S. FABER, *Sécrétaire.*

Joubert.—The Register of Marriages of the Walloon Church, Brille, Holland, contains the following under date of 1 Feb.,

1688 :—" Pierre Joubert, natif du lieu des Aigues-mortes en Provence et de Susanne Reyne de la Roque, native d'Antheron en Provence, tous deux embarquez dans le vaisseau le Mont de Sinai, faisant voile pour le cap de Bonne Esperance, sous la conduite du Capitaine Samuel van Groll, et cela apres leur trois annonces publiées dans un même jour du consentement de Messieurs du Ven. Magistrat." Vide *Proceedings* Vol. v. page 231. These particulars concern the Commandant General Joubert of the Transvaal (S. African) Republic and thus have additional interest now.—*Communicated to W. J. C. MOENS by the REV. H. DE JAGER, 20 Alexanderplein, The Hague' 12 Feb., 1896.*

The Huguenot Lodge, No. 2140.—The meetings of the Huguenot Lodge of Freemasons were resumed at the Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly, on Wednesday, 20th May, when B^r Hugh Sowerby Dumas was unanimously elected Master for the ensuing year.

This Lodge was founded in 1885, the Bi-centenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by some of the Directors of the French Hospital, and its members are almost without exception Fellows of the Huguenot Society. Information as to the Lodge and conditions of membership may be obtained from the Secretary, A. G. Browning, Esq., V.P., 16, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

The Huguenot Cemetery at Wandsworth.—A project has recently been on foot for transforming the Mount Nod cemetery into a public recreation ground, which, considering the immediate proximity of the vast open space of Wandsworth Common, seemed a piece of superfluous utilitarianism. This needless desecration of a spot hallowed by so many Huguenot memories has happily been averted by the energetic action of Mr. A. G. Browning and others, and the Wandsworth Board of Works has intimated to the proposers of the scheme that it cannot consent to the cemetery being in any way converted into a public garden.

A Home in Paris.—M. Weiss, Secretary of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, writes to say that M. and Mme. Boileau, 54, Rue Pergolèse (Quartier de l'Arc de Triomphe) are prepared to offer a comfortable home (with instruction in French and other subjects if required) to English persons desiring to spend some time in Paris. Their terms may be obtained on application at the above address.

Notes on the Communion Cups of the Dutch Church at Norwich.

BY WILLIAM MINET, F.S.A.

Time has spared but few tangible records of the foreign Churches established in England ; and among such as survive, the Communion cups of the Dutch Church at Norwich stand pre-eminent. Their authenticity is beyond dispute ; while their beauty, as examples of one of the best periods of the silver-smith's craft, clothes them with an additional interest. I am but fulfilling one of the chief objects of our Society in endeavouring to gather what may be of the story of these cups. And yet 'story : I have none to tell' ; my paper will be but one of negation and surmise ; since, though I have to discredit a theory once held, I can only offer in its place what I do not claim to be more than a plausible suggestion. Still, slight as may be the practical outcome of my researches, I shall hope to have done at least something to facilitate enquiry in the after-time.

It will be remembered that there were two foreign congregations at Norwich ; the Dutch, which occupied the choir of the disused church of the Black Friars, now known as St. Andrew's Hall ; and the Walloon or French, which used the church of St. Mary-the-Less, Tombland. Mr. Moens¹, in his exhaustive history of the latter, more than once touches on the former, and these notes may perhaps be regarded in the light of an appendix to his work.

The four cups whose history we have to consider, belonged to the former of these two churches. The questions which naturally suggest themselves are :—How did they come into the possession of the Church ? What was the manner of their use ? By whom and when were they made ?

¹ The Walloons and their Church at Norwich, W. J. C. Moens, Lymington: 1887—1888.

On each of these points the cups themselves give us some information, but unhappily none that is very definite.

First as to their date. Unfortunately they have no date letter, but they bear the mark of the Lion and Castle. This, the Norwich City mark, was first set up in 1565,¹ in which year the Dutch Church to which they belonged was established. It seems safe, then, to say that they cannot be of earlier date than 1565. The inscription on them states that they were 'the gift of M^r Rychard Browne of Heigham' who was, we know, Sheriff of Norwich in 1595, died the same year, and lies buried at Heigham, a suburb of Norwich.² We have therefore a period of thirty years within which the cups must certainly have been made; and the lettering of the inscription, with the general character of the workmanship, fully confirms this inference.

It is possible of course that the cups came into the possession of the Church otherwise than by direct gift of Richard Browne: but, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may fairly assume that it was he who presented them: of the man himself, as well as the motive of his gift, one would fain know somewhat. The name, Mr. Moens suggests, may have been a foreign one; but, seeing the official position M^r Browne held in 1595, it seems hardly probable that he himself was an alien; and it appears more reasonable to hold that he was a native of Norwich who, interested in the strangers (as many, we know, at that time were,) wished by his gift to enable them to conduct their services in a fit and becoming manner in the church, the use of which they had obtained in 1565.³

The cups are of silver, and the two in my possession⁴ stand $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches high, on a base $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; across the top, which is splayed, they measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Round the upper part run two narrow fillets, the space between them being occupied with a scroll of foliage—on the one cup roses, on the other "marguerites"; at three equidistant points the fillets interlace in semi-circles, and at these points the foliage is carried downwards through the interlacing and forms a sort of trefoil. At the junction of the cup with its base is a band of moulded and applied ornament $\frac{9}{16}$ inches deep, while the base, which projects $\frac{1}{2}$ inch beyond the bottom of the cup, has a raised and moulded ornament. Round the centre run two fillets, between which is engraved, in cusped letters—

¹ The Reliquary. Vol. iv, n.s. (1890) 208.

² Norfolk Archaeology, x, 113.

³ Moens; *op. cit.* 23.

⁴ One of these is figured in Plate I.

THE GIFT OF M^r RYCHARD BROWNE OF HEIGHAM

The letters in five instances coalesce, probably in order to save space. The lettering, as well as the character of the ornament, which is most beautifully chased, is essentially Elizabethan.¹

As will be gathered from the above description, the cups differ entirely from the usual form of communion chalice, having neither foot nor stem; they are what are known as beakers, a form which, though not unknown in England, was far more common in Holland, and the north of Europe; nor is this fact without its significance.

In pre-Reformation times in England, as in the Roman Communion everywhere, then and now, the chalice was the general form of communion cup in use: and, no doubt, when the priest alone drank from it, this form was found the most convenient. One of changes introduced at the Reformation was the admission of the congregation to communicate in both kinds: partly because the chalice was found not so convenient in form as the beaker for this purpose, and partly also as a protest against the older custom, we find the beaker coming into general use among the foreign Reformed Churches. When the Reformation spread to this country, one of the first changes was to adopt, for similar reasons, in place of the chalice, a cup more akin to the beaker in form.²

It will be obvious that the beaker is better adapted to the Reformation use than the chalice if we consider the method of communicating adopted by the Reformed Churches, a method which still partly obtains among them abroad, as well as with the Presbyterians in this country.³ The congregation stands round the table, and the cups (for two are generally used) are, after consecration, passed by the minister to the person on either side of him; and thus, after making the circuit of the table meet again opposite the celebrant.

White Kennet, sometime Bishop of Peterborough, enables us to picture to ourselves the scene, as it took place on Sunday,

¹ The weight of three of the cups is respectively —

1.	9 oz.	9 dwts.	15 gra.
2.	9 oz.	15 dwts.	0 gra.
3.	9 oz.	12 dwts.	0 gra.

The first is now in the possession of Mr. J. J. Colman of Norwich: the second and third are in my hands; while the fourth is owned by Mr. J. C. J. Drucker.

² Old English Plate, W. J. Cripps. Lond., 1894: 205.

³ This method of communicating was never however adopted by the Lutheran Churches, but seems to have been general among those deriving their inspiration from Calvin. Hence we find it surviving among the Presbyterians: while of the French Reformed Churches of the present day, a certain number still follow it, though some have reverted to the Lutheran practice.

October 18th, 1682, in the Huguenot Church of Guines; his diary recording as follows:—

"The Sacrament administered after sermon: the table placed under the pulpit, fenced off with seats for persons of better rank. The bread divided in a dish, and the wine poured out into 2 large cups. The two ministers assisting, the one consecrates the bread and administers to himself and then to the other, and the same with the wine. Then the communicants are admitted singly by order, and at the entrance of each the minister distributes to each a piece of bread; when the table is filled round, at the pronouncing of a prescribed blessing, they all eat; and soon after the minister that consecrated the wine takes the 2 cups and delivers them to 2 persons in the middle, so they pass round without any genuflection, after which, with another short benediction, they depart and give room to new successive sets till all have received."¹

It will be noticed that there were two cups at Guines, and we know that these same two cups were brought to Dover, where they continued to be used in the same way.² The congregation at Norwich being a large one, we may well conceive that it would be found desirable to have four cups instead of only two.

So much then as to the date of the cups, and the manner of their use. There remains to consider but one more point, a point of purely antiquarian interest, namely, by whom they were made. Up to within a short time ago it would have been replied without hesitation, that they were the work of Peter Peterson, a known silversmith of Norwich; indeed Mr. Cripps, in the fourth edition of his work, unhesitatingly attributed them to Peterson,³ and that on the following evidence. They bear three marks,⁴ clearly stamped on the bottom of the cup:—

1. Lion and Castle.
2. Orb and Cross, within a shaped shield.
3. Eagle's head erased (possibly a Wyvern).

The first is the Norwich City mark, which, as we have seen, dates the cups as not earlier than 1565. The second is the maker's mark. Now in the collection of plate which belongs to the Norwich Corporation is a cup stamped with the Lion

¹ Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. 937.

² The Fourth Foreign church at Dover. Proc. of the Soc. iv. 104, 107.

³ Cripps; *op. cit.*, 4th edit., 87, 90, 200, 254.

⁴ Plate VI, Fig. 1.

and Castle and the Orb and Cross in a shaped shield, with this inscription, in cusped letters, round its edge:

THE MOST HERE OF IS DVNE BY PETER PETERSON.

It has generally been assumed that the history of this cup is explained by the following entry in the Assembly Book, under date September 21st, 1574:—

"This day by the hole concent of this howse, at the
"humble suit request and desyer of Peter Peterson of
"the same cittie, goldsmith, the same Peter Peterson is
"dispensyed with and discharged from beryng the
"office of Shrevaltie and all other offices within the
"cittie, only the office of Chamblyne excepted: for the
"whc. dispensaon the same Peter Peterson have agreed
"to geve one standing cupp gylte of the weight of
"xv. oz. and xl^{li} in money, to be payed in forme follow-
"ing, viz., xx^{li} between this and the purification of o^r
"Lady next; x^{li} at Michelmas next after that, and
"the other x^{li} that tyme twelvemonths.¹

It has very generally been assumed that the cup now in the possession of the Corporation, is the cup referred to in this entry; but, unfortunately for this theory, the existing cup weighs 31oz. 2dwts., or just double the weight of what I may call the ransom cup,² and the two can only be connected by crediting Peterson with great generosity.

The fact remains, however, that we have a cup of Norwich make with the Orb and Cross in a *shaped* shield, the inscription on which declares it to be, in part at least, the work of Peterson: it would seem therefore but reasonable to attribute our cups to him also. The discovery and publication of Peterson's will has, however, imported a considerable element of doubt into the matter.³

This will bequeaths specifically a large amount of plate, and much of what is so bequeathed is identified as having the

¹History and Description of the Insignia and Plate belonging to the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of the City of Norwich; Norwich, 1890, 17. In the same collection is another piece, known as the Reade salt, date about 1568, and stamped with the Lion and Castle and the Orb and Cross; but the latter is in a lozenge, and not in a shaped shield, as in our cups. See *infra*, p. 448.

²Corporation Plate and Insignia of office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales. LL. Jewitt & W. H. St. John Hope, London, 1895; ii, 189. Nor can the existing cup be the one bequeathed by Peterson to the Corporation (though in this case the weights more nearly correspond), for this latter is specified in the will as of 'London tuch..'

³Nor. Arch., xi, 259. A paper by C. R. Manning, F.S.A. The will is in the Norwich Archdeaconry; 1603. fo. 190.

"sonne" on it. It has therefore been suggested that the "sonne" and not the orb and cross was Peterson's mark. A good deal, however, turns on the exact way in which the "sonne" is spoken of in connection with these pieces, and I therefore propose to quote from the will some of the actual passages. Many spoons are spoken of as having "knoppes of the sonne": others have "the knoppe of the sonne, and are graven and guylt on the back side wth the sonne." Again we find a "tankard of silver graven upon it with the sonne in the cover," a "porringer graven with the sonne," a "cup with a cover, of London tuch w^{ch} cover hath the sonne mentioned in the top thereof with the goldsmith's arms graven upon it"; a "silver pot graven upon the covers wth the sonne, the Lion and Castle of Norwich tuch, of my own making": in addition to the silver so bequeathed, mention is also made of a "garnish of pewter marked with the sonne," and a "half garnish" marked in the same way. In none of these instances, however, is the sun spoken of as being a maker's mark. On the contrary it may well be argued that it was more in the nature of a badge or crest. It will be noticed for instance—

1. That the sun is always spoken of as "graven" while a maker's mark would be punched. I do not wish to lay too much stress on this point, as it may well be that the word "graven" may have been used indifferently for both processes; but still I am inclined to think that even at that date the word implied cutting rather than punching.

2. The sun was, in the instances I have quoted above, admittedly used otherwise than a maker's mark; the spoons, for example, have it for a 'knoppe' or seal end, in the manner of apostle spoons.

3. In the case of cups having covers, the sun is expressly stated to be 'graven on the cover,' whereas we should expect the maker's mark to be punched both on the cup and cover, as being separate pieces.

4. In one case we are distinctly told of a cover which 'hath the sonne mentioned in the top thereof wth the goldsmith's arms graven on it'; the inference being, that the sun and the arms were both treated in the same way, the arms being evidently graven and not punched.

5. A cup, of London 'tuch' (and therefore not likely to be Peterson's work), has the sun graven upon it.

6. The pewter, and we have no evidence that Peterson was a pewterer, also has the sun on it.

7. Lastly—and this is important as proving what seems

clear from the other cases, namely, that the sun was at any rate used otherwise than as maker's mark—a bequest of coals is directed to be distributed by means of leaden tokens stamped with the sun.

So far as all this goes, it might fairly, I think, be argued that the sun was used by Peterson merely as a badge; and that the absence of any mention in his will of the orb and cross does not exclude the possibility of his having used this as his craft-mark. Hence, if the question could be left here, it might be assumed, on the evidence of the Corporation cup, and notwithstanding the silence of the will, that our cups were from his workshop. We have however one further piece of evidence, which not only cuts away the argument based on the Corporation cup, but also supports the surmise arising from the will, that the sun and not the orb and cross, was Peterson's mark. In the Churchwardens' Accounts for the parish of St. Margaret, Norwich, is an entry under date 1567 'p^d to Peter 'Peterson y^e goldesmyth for making ye comunyon cuppe——' and for makinge y^e cover.'¹ This cup still exists, bearing the date 1568, and for maker's mark, a full human face surrounded by rays, known heraldically as a head *affrontée*, and often used as the conventional representation of the sun. Here, then, we have a piece of plate identified as Peterson's work, bearing the mark which his will has told us he certainly used for some purposes, and, moreover, of about the same date as the Dutch cups.

We are thus I think brought to the conclusion that it is by no means certain that these cups were of Peterson's make; there is, indeed, a very strong presumption that they were not; though it has not been found possible, so far, to attribute the orb and cross to any other maker. Mr. Cripps² in the last edition of his work suggests, on the authority of an instance occurring at Haddiscoe in Norfolk, that the mark may have belonged to John and Robert Stone; but the illustration of this mark which he gives³ shows it in a shield with a pointed base. The mark is a common one in the county, some twenty instances of it being given in the Norfolk Archæology⁴; but all these again are in a lozenge, and, like the Haddiscoe mark, are not in that respect identical with our mark, which is in a shaped shield.

Here then, so far as direct evidence is concerned, the question must be left; nor should I have pursued it further,

¹ *Norf. Arch.* x. 92, 392. The cup also has a further mark, viz. a trefoil slipped.

² *Op. cit.* 88.

³ *Op. cit.* 92.

⁴ *Norf. Arch.* x. 65.

had it not been that my enquiries into it have made me acquainted with certain other cups, three of which I am able to exhibit to-night. It is true that these examples do not help us to any conclusion; but their close resemblance to our beakers, and the fact that some of them are from the same district, is sufficient excuse for devoting a few moments to their consideration.

The first I would bring to your notice is the beaker belonging to the parish of Ellon in Aberdeen. This cup is illustrated in Burn's *Old Scottish Communion Plate*,¹ and a glance at the figure will show that both in shape and ornament it almost exactly reproduces the Norwich cups. In fact, so close is the similarity of the chasing that I am only able to detect two points of difference; the Ellon beaker has a single line as the branch of the foliage, instead of a double one, and there are added also, at the point at which the fillets interlace, two unattached leaves, wanting in the Norwich examples. The Ellon beaker was purchased, as an inscription tells us, at Aberdeen in 1634, from Alexander Hays, a silversmith of that city. It is stamped with three marks:—

1. The town mark of Amsterdam.
2. A maker's mark, so badly struck as to be indecipherable.
3. The letter B, which would seem to be the date letter for the year 1614 in the Amsterdam cycle.²

Next let us turn to what I shall call the Yarmouth cup (plate 2), which, by the courtesy of Mr. Samuel, of Norwich, I am able to exhibit. Here again we have a beaker, in form the exact counterpart of the Dutch cups, though it is slightly heavier.³ The chasing is also curiously similar, though both in design and execution it is lacking in the artistic delicacy of the older cup. A comparison of the reproductions (given in plates 1 and 2) fails to show this, as the heavier work of the Yarmouth cup comes out more clearly in the photograph; it will however be noticed that the lines are far coarser, and far less truly drawn, while the pattern is so

¹ Edinburgh, 1892, p. 425. This cup seems to have become the parent of several others made after the same pattern in Scotland during the 17th century; see especially those of Fintray and Monymusk, both of which are figured in Burns (p. 294).

² *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*. Dr. M. Rosenberg, Frankfurt am Main; 1890: 431.

³ This beaker is 6½ in. high; 4 in. across the top; base 3½ in. diameter. Weight 11 oz. 18 dwts.

carelessly worked that in several instances the junctions of the lines are not true. Of its history, unfortunately, I know nothing, except that it is said to be one of a set formerly belonging to some congregation at Yarmouth, and recently sold there. It bears the following marks (plate 5), very clearly struck :—

1. Lion and Castle of Norwich.¹
2. Double seeded rose, crowned.
3. O. in a shaped shield.
4. A monogram formed of the letters T-S intertwined.

In addition to these marks there is pricked on the base, I-H, 1638. The first of these marks is obviously that of Norwich; and the second is sometimes found in conjunction with it on Norwich plate of this date.² O is the date letter of the year 1637 in the Norwich cycle, which agrees with the date we find pricked on the base. The monogram may be claimed for Timothy Skottowe, a known silversmith at Norwich at this period, though, so far, 1634 has been the latest date of any known work of his.³

Next let us turn to the smaller beaker, figured in plate 3. This also is from Norwich, where I acquired it from Mr. Samuel. In form as in character it at once reminds us of the cups we have been considering, though the detail is somewhat different; the workmanship is very inferior, being of the Yarmouth rather than of the Ellon or Dutch cup type. Its interest lies not so much in its resemblance to the other cups, as in the marks it bears, which are these (plate 6, fig 2) :—

1. Lion's head.
2. The letter T.
3. A monogram formed of the letters T-S, intertwined.

It is obvious that the monogram is identical with the one on the Yarmouth cup, and may equally be claimed for Timothy Skottowe; and if this be so, we may assume that the T is the Norwich date letter for 1642, though we do not find what we should expect, namely the Norwich town-mark of the Lion and Castle, with or without the Crowned Rose. In place of these we have a Lion, which I am unable to identify in connection with Norwich, or indeed to account for in any

¹ It will be noticed that this mark is not struck from the same punch as in the Dutch church cups.

² Cripps, *op. cit.* 90.

³ The Reliquary. As to Skottowe see Cripps (*op. cit.*) 92. History of the Insignia and Plate of Norwich (*ut supra*) 22. Dr. Rosenberg figures two instances of a similar monogram, both from Nurnberg (*op. cit.* 276, 315).

way. A comparison of the Skottowe and Yarmouth cups will show conclusively that they are from the hand of the same artist, the character of the work being exactly similar in both.

By the courtesy of Sir John Evans I am able to exhibit yet another example of a very similar beaker (plate 4) which, though it has no connection with Norwich, is interesting as illustrating how common was the design at this period; for though not exactly similar, there is a very close resemblance between it and all the other examples we have been considering. The marks on this cup are:—

1. Leopard's head crowned.
2. The letter a.
3. An eagle displayed.

which show it as of London make, of the year 1618.

We have thus had five examples before us, which I will call respectively the Norwich, Ellon, Yarmouth, Skottowe and London beakers. The form in all is practically the same, and the ornament very similar; in fact, in the case of the first three, almost identical, and it is, I feel sure, in all cases of English workmanship.¹ The form is however Dutch; indeed one of the examples owns to an Amsterdam origin, while both the Norwich and Skottowe cups bear a third mark which has not been identified as English. Four of our five beakers, moreover, are found in districts having close trade relations with the Low Countries. I have sometimes thought that these beakers might have been imported as it were in the rough, and ornamented here to meet the taste of the English market, the engraver in all the instances, with the exception of the Ellon cup, adding his own mark, with the stamp of the town in which he worked. We do not know what the practice as to the marking of foreign plate imported into this country may have been at this date, but it would seem reasonable to suppose that the addition of an English mark would command a better sale for the article on which it was placed. Moreover, if I am correct in holding that the ornament was in all cases added in England, there was at any rate some ground for stamping them here.

In conclusion it may be well to set down the fate of the four cups since they left the possession of the Dutch Church. When it was proposed to sell them they were sent in the first instance, I believe, to Mr. Moens, by whom they were exhibited

¹ The design is very common at this date in English work. For other instances of it see Cripps (*op. cit.*), 207. The same author's *College and Corporation Plate* (London, 1891), 66. 71, 73. Surrey Arch. Coll. xiii, 61.

at the Royal Society of Antiquaries,¹ while at the same time copies of them were made by Mr. G. Lambert. On Thursday, June 18th, 1891 they were sold at Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods' Rooms. The first was bought by Mr. Levine on behalf of Mr. J. J. Colman of Norwich, in whose possession it now is. The second went to Messrs. Vander and Hedges, and is now owned by Mr. J. C. J. Drucker. The third and fourth were bought by Mr. Samuel, of Norwich, from whom they passed into my hands.² Notices of them will be found in the *Norfolk Archæology*, where they are figured and described.³

¹ *Proceedings*, (2nd series 1891), xiii, 121.

² *The East Anglian*, vol. iv (new series), 106, 114.

³ Vol. x (1888).

[The Plates referred to in the foregoing paper will be found opposite page 454.]

*PLATES REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING
PAPER.*

- PLATE I.** One of the four Communion Cups of the Dutch Church at Norwich.
- „ **II.** Cup, originally from Yarmouth, now in the possession of Mr. Samuel, of Norwich.
- „ **III.** Cup, the work of Timothy Skottowe, of Norwich.
- „ **IV.** Cup in the possession of Sir John Evans, K.C.B.
- „ **V.** Plate marks of the Yarmouth Cup (pl. II).
- „ **VI.** Fig. 1. Plate marks of the Skottowe Cup (pl. III).
Fig. 2. Plate marks of the Dutch Church Cups (pl. I).













FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.

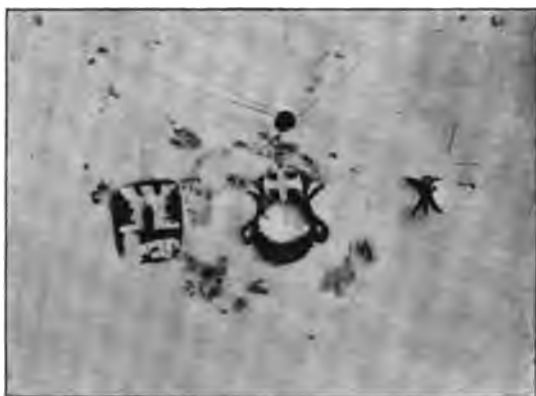


FIG. 2.

La Colonie Huguenotte de Friedrichsdorf.

PAR CHARLES FRÉDÉRIC ROUSSELET.

Comme l'histoire de la Colonie huguenotte de Friedrichsdorf, près Hombourg-les-Bains en Allemagne, est peut-être peu connue de la plupart des Membres de notre Société, il me semble à propos de faire précéder la liste des réfugiés qu'on va lire plus loin, d'un aperçu rapide de la fondation de cette Colonie.

Parmi les Princes allemands qui offrirent un asile aux réfugiés huguenots, lorsque ceux-ci fuyaient en masse les persécutions qui suivirent la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes en France, se trouvait aussi le Landgrave Frédéric II. de Hesse-Hombourg. Déjà au commencement de 1686 il accorda un refuge à plusieurs familles françaises et vaudoises qui se fixèrent à Hombourg. L'année suivante, sur les sollicitations du Ministre vaudois Daniel Martin, il promulga et fit circuler en date du 13 Mars, 1687,¹ un Edit commençant en ces termes :—

“ Nous, par la Grâce de Dieu, Frédéric, Landgrave de Hesse-Hombourg, Prince de Hersfeld, etc., etc., faisons savoir à tous “ ceux de la religion réformée qui agréeront de venir pour “ s'établir dans la dite ville, lieux voisins et autres de notre “ domination, et auxquels ces présentes seront communiquées “ par le soussigné, qu'ils seront reçus aux conditions suivantes.”

Suivent ensuite 11 articles, accordant des terres, l'exemption de tous droits & impôts pendant dix ans, et divers privilèges à ceux qui voudraient venir s'établir dans ses états.

Trente-six familles répondirent d'abord à cet appel généreux et arrivèrent à Hombourg dans le courant de l'été de 1687.²

¹ Cet Edit se trouve imprimé en entier dans la “ Chronique de la Colonie réformée française de Friedrichsdorf.” Hombourg-ès-Monts, 1887, et je renvoie également mes lecteurs à ce livre pour plus de détails sur l'histoire, le progrès et l'état actuel de cette Colonie.

² D'après les nouvelles recherches publiées récemment par Monsieur le Pasteur Henri Denkinger dans son livre : *Notices Généalogiques des Familles et Histoire de la colonie réformée française de Friedrichsdorf*, Lausanne 1896, 176 pp., il paraît que le Pasteur Daniel Martin désirait fonder dans le pays de Hombourg une Colonie purement vaudoise, et que pendant son absence en Suisse, où il s'était rendu pour collecter de l'argent, et probablement aussi

Après avoir été présentées au Prince on leur assigna des terrains sur les bords d'une grande forêt de chênes, qui n'existe plus aujourd'hui, à une lieue de Hombourg. Là ils commencèrent à construire des huttes de gazon qu'ils habiterent pendant plusieurs années, après quoi ils bâtirent de petites maisons (1693) un peu plus commodes, en bois et briques de terre sèche, avec des matériaux que leur fournit encore le Prince Frédéric. Ainsi fut fondé un nouveau village, nommé Friedrichsdorf en l'honneur de ce prince. Après avoir défriché le terrain qui leur avait été accordé, les colons s'occupèrent à créer divers commerces et industries, car la plupart d'entre eux étaient fabricants & commerçants. Le Prince leur accorda divers privilèges, exemptions de droits, etc., dans le but d'encourager ces industries, alors inconnues dans cette partie de l'Allemagne. Il aurait surtout désiré qu'on introduisît dans son pays la fabrication de la soie et à cette fin il garantit à perpétuité (!) l'exemption de tout impôt sur cette matière.

L'industrie qui eut le plus de succès fut d'abord la fabrication de bas sur métier, et ensuite le tissage de flanelles, qui avec le temps prit une grande extension. Vers la fin du siècle dernier il y avait 34 fabriques qui ensemble occupaient près de 10,000 personnes des environs. Cette industrie ne tarda pas à améliorer le sort des réfugiés, et de transformer la Colonie de Friedrichsdorf, d'abord si pauvre, si chétive dans ses commencements, en l'une des plus prospères et des plus considérables de l'Allemagne. Grâce aux privilèges, accordés aux réfugiés dès le commencement, de se gouverner eux-mêmes et de pouvoir exclure de la commune tout allemand (1731), privilège qui fut exercé pendant près d'un siècle, la Colonie est celle qui a le mieux conservé ses traditions et qui n'a pas encore été dissoute ni engloutie, comme tant d'autres par la population du pays adoptif.³

pendant l'absence du Landgrave à Berlin, une trentaine de familles de réfugiés français arrivèrent à Hombourg et occupèrent l'emplacement qui avait été indiqué à Mr Martin pour son nouveau village. Ce dernier se retira encore la même année dans le Comté de Schaumburg où il avait établi des réfugiés vaudois.

³ En 1797 lorsque les armées de la République française envahirent cette partie de l'Allemagne, les officiers français furent bien étonnés de trouver ce village tout français au milieu de l'Allemagne et le nommèrent Petit-Paris. Aussi les généraux républicains Hoche, Hatry et Jourdan accordèrent-ils une Sauve-Garde aux habitants contre toutes réquisitions et contributions de guerre, dont voici le texte intéressant :

L'usage de la langue française s'est conservé jusqu' à nos jours dans presque toutes les familles descendant de réfugiés et cet idiome est encore leur langue maternelle. Aujourd'hui Friedrichsdorf est une petite ville d'environ 1,200 habitants,

Etat Major Général.

Armée
de
Sambre & Meuse.

Au quartier Général à Friedberg le 19
Prairial, l'an 5^{me} de la République
Française, une et indivisible.

Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.

Le Général, Chef de l'Etat-Major, Général de l'armée de Sambre et Meuse, Aux
Maire et Echevins de la Communauté de Friedrichsdorf.

Citoyens,

Le Citoyen Jouvelle adjoint à mon état-major m'a remis la pétition que vous lui avez adressée sous la date du 3 Juin, 1797 (V.S.). Je le charge de vous porter l'assurance que par une exception aux dispositions générales que détermine à votre égard le titre de Français et la cause intéressante de votre retraite en Allemagne où vos ancêtres furent forcés de venir chercher un azile contre les persécutions du despotisme, votre village est dès ce moment exempt de toutes espèces de Réquisitions. De plus, je vous annonce au nom du Général en Chef Hoche que la cote-part que vous auriez pu fournir pour la contribution en numéraire levée sur les Etats de Mlle la Princesse de Hesse-Hombourg, vous sera rendue dès que vous me l'aurez fait connaître. S'il venait par erreur un officier ou tout autre employé de l'armée pour lever des Réquisitions chez vous, l'exhibition de la présente vous servira de Sauve-garde.

Salut et fraternité
Chévin.

D'après la lettre ci-jointe du Gen^l Chévin, le 13^e regt de Chasseurs ou tout autre Corps de la 1^{re} Division ne ferait aucune espèce de réquisition dans la commune de Friedericksdorf.

Hoechst le 20 Messidor an 5.

l'Adj^t. Général Chef de l'état Major
Ed. Mortier.

Les motifs qui ont déterminé le Général Hoche, Commandant en chef l'armée de Sambre et Meuse à accueillir la demande des habitants de la Commune de Friedericksdorf, doivent de même me décider à maintenir l'arrêté qu'il a pris à leur égard : il n'y sera en conséquence levé aucune Contribution ; elle sera exempte de tout logement de troupes à cheval ; et celle qui s'y trouve présentement sera établie ailleurs ; si les circonstances le nécessitent impérieusement il y sera placé de l'infanterie en nombre moindre que celui de cavalerie qui y est présentement.

Le 24 Nivos 6^{me} année républicaine

Le Général en Chef de l'armée de Mayence
Hatry.

Les mêmes considérations qui ont déterminé les Généraux Hoche et Hatry à accueillir la demande des habitants de la Commune de Friedericksdorf, m'ont aussi décidé à maintenir l'exécution de leurs Arrêtés. En conséquence, il n'y sera levé aucune contribution. Elle sera exempte de tout logement de Troupes, et si la nécessité obligeoit d'en mettre, le nombre en sera toujours moindre qu'il sera possible.

A Friedberg le Seize Brumaire an 7 de la République
française une et indivisible.

Le Général en Chef de l'Armée de Mayence
Jourdan.

connue surtout par ses fabriques et ses collèges, et ayant une station de chemin de fer, sur la nouvelle ligne Hombourg-Usingen.

Voici maintenant les noms des 36 chefs de famille mentionnés dans une "Spécification des habitants du Nouveau Village" (donc avant qu'il ait reçu un nom) comme ayant fondé la nouvelle Colonie :—

Louis Manché.	Daniel Robert.
Jacob Bochet.	V ^o Meunier.
Veuve Roussel.	Jean Bonnemain.
Veuve L'homme.	David Bonnemain.
Henri Lejeune.	Esaïe Roussel (ou Rousselet) (1 ^{er} maire)
Jean Enguem.	Jacques Roussel (ou Rousselet).
Loyseau.	Samuel Moilet (2 ^d Maire).
Isaac Bousquet.	V ^o Labbé.
Daniel Colin.	Jean Boudemon.
Cl. Bonnemain.	Jean Chérigaut.
Isaac Rossignol.	P. Vauge.
Pierre L'homme.	Daniel Brunet.
Jean Basset (Passet).	Anne Brunet.
Ch. Muret.	Jean Malsa.
Abraham Dros.	Daniel Boutemy.
Abraham Matthey.	Moïse Boutemy.
Jean Brucher (Boucher).	Abraham Boutemy.
David Feilgerol.	Louis Achard.

A ces familles vinrent bientôt se joindre d'autres réfugiés tant français que vaudois de sorte que la Colonie s'accrut d'année en année, et en 1702 elle se composait de 50 familles environ.

Il existe plusieurs listes des habitants de Friedrichsdorf dressées à certaines dates et qui se trouvent imprimées dans la "Chronique de Friedrichsdorf"; cependant ces listes ne donnent qu'une faible idée du nombre des personnes qui ont habité ce lieu pour un temps plus ou moins long dans les premières années de son existence. En parcourant les premiers registres d'église on rencontre une foule de noms qui ne sont mentionnés dans aucune de ces listes.

Pendant les trente premières années il n'y eut pas de pasteur résidant à Friedrichsdorf, quoi qu'il paraît y avoir eu une petite église dès 1702. Monsieur Pierre Richier, pasteur de

l'église réformée française de Hombourg, et Chapelain du Landgrave Frédéric II, desservait Friedrichsdorf comme annexe. C'est pourquoi tous les actes des mariages, baptêmes et décès de ces premiers temps se trouvent inscrits dans le registre de l'église de Hombourg, de même que ceux de la colonie vaudoise de Dornholzhausen, une autre annexe, fondée en 1699, et les inscriptions de ces trois paroisses sont complètement entremêlées.

Avec l'assistance de Monsieur Paul Lavoyer, instituteur à Friedrichsdorf, j'ai fait extraire et copier dans un livre séparé tous les actes ayant rapport à Friedrichsdorf. Ce livre, pourvu d'un index très complet des noms de toutes les personnes qui y sont mentionnées, se trouve maintenant dans les archives de l'église de Friedrichsdorf. La liste qui suit est un extrait de ce registre, donnant les noms de toutes les personnes : hommes, femmes et enfants, sorties de France qui, pour un temps plus ou moins long, sont venues chercher un asile dans la Colonie, entre les années 1687 et 1736, (sauf quelques-unes arrivées plus tard), au moins autant qu'elles ont laissé une trace par quelque acte civil dans les registres d'église, notre seule source d'information. La liste serait plus complète encore s'il n'y avait pas une lacune considérable de plus de dix ans, dans le registre des morts, lacune probablement due à un cahier qui s'est perdu. La liste contient les noms de 494 personnes et de 234 noms de famille. J'ai tâché d'indiquer l'origine des réfugiés autant que cela a été possible, mais malheureusement les registres, après les premières années, donnent fort peu de détails à ce sujet. La date derrière les noms indique quand la famille est mentionnée pour la première fois dans les Registres.

La carte qui accompagne ce mémoire est une reproduction d'un ancien plan de Friedrichsdorf et de ses environs publié en 1715 avec les actes d'un procès au sujet de ce territoire entre les Seigneurs d' Ingelheim et le Landgrave de Hombourg.

LISTE DES HUGUENOTS RÉFUGIÉS À FRIEDRICHSDORF.

- ACHARD, Louis** (1687), d'Establet près de Dié, en Dauphiné, avec sa femme Catherine Vauge et ses six enfants :—Jacques, Moÿse et Jean (confirmé en 1692), Marthe, Marie et Catherine (âgée de 14 ans en 1693).
- AGOMBARD, Samuel** } (1698) tous deux
AGOMBARD, Pierre } fils de Salomon Agombard et Marie Le Grand, de Bohain en Picardie.
Salomon Agombard de Bohain est nommé dans une liste communiquée par Mr. O. Douen dans son livre : Sur les Eglises Réformées du Dept. de l'Aisne, qui porte "Etat des biens des Religionnaires et nouveaux convertis qui se sont absentés du royaume et de ceux qui sont morts relaps, lesquels biens ont été saisis par l'ordre du roi, etc. 1685-1688."
- ANGUEL, Philippe** (1696) avec ses 4 enfants :—Etienne, Pierre (âgé de 17 ans en 1705), Madeleine et Susanne (âgée de 15 ans en 1705).
- ANDRÉ, Jean** (1688) de St. Gyle en Languedoc, avec sa femme Françoise Ventrecole.
- API, Jacques** (ou Apy) (1697) de — en Provence, avec son fils Etienne.
- ARNOUX, Judith** (1697) fille de Jérémie Arnoux et Jeanne Audvan ses père et mère, de Ste Croix, Canton de Dié en Dauphiné, sortie de France le 7 Decbre 1686, se relugia d'abord à Lausanne, puis en 1693 à Daubhausen, pays de Hesse, et en 1695 épousa Jacques Achard de Friedrichsdorf.
- ARNOUX, Jean** (1715).
- ARNOUX, Marianne** (1716).
- ARRABIN, Jean** (1757) du Dauphiné.
- ASTRUC, Jean** (1700) de Gauge en Sevennes.
- BATTEUR, Jean** (1699).
- BAST, Jean** (1703).
- BARBE, Elisabeth** (1712).
- BARBATAN, Françoise** (1697) femme de Gabriel Barbatan.
- BARRALE, Caspar** (ou Baroll) (1710) de Cambrai en Flandre, fut confirmé à Hombourg le 2 Avril, 1710, après avoir renoncé aux erreurs de la Religion Romaine.
- BAUMONT, Catherine** femme de Pierre Vauge.
- BAXTER, Philippe** (1736) avec sa fille Elisabeth de Marli en Picardie.
- BEAU, Marguerite** (1692) fille de Daniel Beau et femme de Pierre Morin
- BERMON, Jacques** (1699).
- BERT, Marie** (1719).
- BERNARD, Jacques** (1692) et sa femme Marie Hautenon, fils de Jean Bernard, de Brall dans la Vallée de St. Martin, avec leur fille Esther.
- BERBEJIERE, Marie** (1697) femme de Antoine Pascalier, du Dauphiné.
- BIYOT, Anne** (1700).
- BISE, Susanne Anne** (1739) fille de Daniel Bise, en son vivant habitant de Proisie en France (Picardie).
- BLANC, Catherine** (1699) femme de Pierre Vaux.
- BLAMBOIS, Abraham** (1692) avec son fils Abraham (âgé de 15 ans en 1692), et ses 3 filles ; Marie Elisabeth, Marthe (âgée de 14½ ans en 1695), et Susanne (âgée de 13 ans en 1695). Réfugiés d'abord à Daustadt au Palatinat.
- BLANQUIN, Jeanne** (1687) femme de Henry Le Jeune, native de la rue de Bohin en Picardie.
- BLONDELLE, Jeanne** (1719).
- BLONDIN, Marie Jeanne** (1750) femme de Isaac Derbec.
- BODEMON, Jean** (ou Boudemon) (1687) de Bohain en Picardie, avec ses 3 fils ; Pierre et sa femme Madeleine d'Ortiie. Jean (âgé de 16 ans en 1687), Jacob (âgé de 15 ans en 1691), et sa fille Susanne (âgée de 14 ans en 1693).
- BODEMON, Susanne**, femme de Jean Le Jeune.
- BODEMON, Susanne**, femme de Jean Poeler. Cette famille s'était réfugiée d'abord à Daustadt en Palatinat.
- BODET, Jean** (1707).
- BONNEMAIN, David** (1687) avec sa femme Jeanne, de Chervé en Champagne.

- BONNEMAIN, Jean avec sa femme, et ses filles : Anne (âgée de 14 ans en 1690) et Jeanne (âgée de 14 ans en 1696).
- BONNEMAIN, Marie, femme de Pierre Gauterin.
- BONNEMAIN, Cl. (1687).
- BONIN, Marguerite (1703) femme de Daniel Passet.
- BOTTÉ, Michel (1701).
- BOTTÉ, Judith, femme de Abraham Labar.
- BORELLE, David (ou Borel ou Bourelle) (1702) d'Anduse en Languedoc, avec son fils Michel.
- BOUTEMY, Susanne (1687) née Bouvart, Veuve de Pierre Boutemy de Voupe en Tiersas (Voulpaix en Thiérache près Vervins, Picardie) et les suivants, qui probablement étaient leurs enfants.
- BOUTEMY, Daniel (1687)
- BOUTEMY, Abraham (1687) avec sa femme Madeleine Favre, et leurs enfants : Abraham et Marie.
- BOUTEMY, Moïse (1687) avec sa femme Jeanne L'Abbé, et leur fille Jeanne.
- BOUTEMY, Pierre (1690) avec sa femme Susanne Foulon.
- BOUVART, Susanne (1687) veuve de Pierre Boutemy, ci-dessus.
- BOURGUIGNON, Simon (1689) de Rouen, avec son fils Jacques (confirmé en 1692) et sa fille Susanne (âgée de 14 ans en 1688).
- BOQUET, Jacob (ou Bochet) (1687) de Hau en Picardie, avec ses fils Jacob (âgé de 15 ans en 1687) et Abraham (âgé de 16 ans en 1691), et sa fille Susanne (âgée de 17 ans en 1687).
- BOUCHER, Jean (ou Brucher) (1687) avec son fils Nicholas (âgé de 14 ans en 1695).
- BOURGUET, Jeanne (ou Bourynet) (1705).
- BOULLE, Anne (1698) femme de Isaac Foucar.
- BOURSOT, David (ou Bourgeault) (1711).
- BOURSOT, Abraham.
- BOURSOT, Marie, femme de Jacob Feillé.
- BOUSTIDE, Jeanne (1714) femme de Jean Perelier.
- BONNET, Michel (1713) (âgé de 15 ans).
- BRACONIER, Benjamin (1721) avec sa femme Marie.
- BRANCHE, Susanne (1694) femme de Abraham Meunier.
- BREMAN, Pierre (ou Bremant, Bre-mant) (1708) avec sa femme Jeanne Singet.
- BREULEUX, Vernier (1715).
- BREUSE, Estienne (1687) avec sa femme Marie, de Pourrière en Pragela et leurs enfants :-- Estienne et Marie.
- BREUSE, Pierre (1687) avec son fils Daniel.
- BRIQUET, Marie (1716).
- BROCHET, Marguerite (ou Bruchet) (1717).
- BRUEURE, Jean (1725) et sa femme Anne Oudot.
- BRUNET, Daniel (1687) et Anne Brunet.
- BRUNET, Pierre (1690) et sa femme Jeanne, de Pourrière en Pragela Valées Vaudoises, avec leurs 3 fils :-- Daniel, Michel, et Jean, et 4 filles :-- Madeleine, Catherine Susanne, et Marguerite.
- BRUNET, Barthélemi (1688) et sa femme Catherine Sourdlet, de Pourrière en Pragela, avec leurs 4 fils : David (3 ans et demi), Thomas (8 ans), Jean (18 ans), et Michel (confirmé en 1692).
- BRUNET, Catherine, femme de Thomas Passet.
- BUSQUET, Isaac (ou Bousquet) (1687) émigré de la Picardie.
- BUSQUET, Esaie (1691) avec ses trois filles : Susanne, Marie, et Jeanne.
- BUSQUET, Jean (1689) avec sa femme.
- CHALIER, Pierre (ou Carlier ou Cartier) (1692) avec sa mère et sa fille Catherine, fils de feu Jacob Carlié de Laon en la Nois en Picardie, et Jeanne Moneux sa femme.
- CARLIER, Jean (1716) (âgé de 15 ans).
- CARRELLIER, Jacob (1735) fils de feu Isaac Carrellier, en son Vivant habitant de Boypagné en Picardie.
- CHAREAU, Elisabeth (1714).
- CHARPENTIER, Isaac (1696) (âgé de 14 ans), fils de feu Paul Charpentier.
- CHÉRIGAUT, Jacques (1697) et Elisabeth Singet sa femme.
- CHÉRIGAUT, Jean (1687) de Chervé en Champagne, avec son fils Jacques et sa fille Susanne (âgée de 14 ans).
- CHEVALIER, Jean Isaac (1716).
- CHEVALIER, François (1719).

CHIOT, Ysaboth (1707).
 CHIOT, Susanne, femme de Jean Griot.
 CHONIN, Susanne (1699) femme de Pierre Gardieu.
 CHOISI, Jean Baptiste (1693).
 COLIN, Daniel (1687).
 COULON, Marie (1732) femme de Isaac Dumay.
 CRONIER, Jacques (1735).
 DEBUS, Pierre (1723) demeurant à Hanau.
 DE LA COUR, * Marie (1702) femme de Jérémie Garnier de Vitry le Français.
 DELOUSE, Antoine (1712).
 DELOUSE, Felice (âgé de 17 ans en 1718).
 DESCHAMP, David (1698) (âgé de 20 ans), de Neuville en Champagne.
 DESCHAMP, Anne (1698) (âgée de 23 ans), de Neuville en Champagne.
 DESCHAMP, Jeanne (1698) (âgée de 17 ans), de Neuville en Champagne.
 DÉSOR, Jean (1712) et sa femme Susanne Verin (ou Veronne) de Marsimillar près Montpellier en Languedoc, doit aussi avoir été accompagné de son frère Isaac.
 DERBEC, Isaac (1750) avec sa femme Marie Jeanne Blondin.
 DIARS, Susanne (1691) femme de Abraham Veri.
 DISSO, Judith femme de Abraham Dros.
 DONNADIEU, Marguerite (1698) femme de Monsieur Donnadiou demeurant à Braunheim.
 DONNADIEU, Simonie (ou Donadille) (1714).
 DRACOR, Jacques (1716) du lieu de Dracor en Vivaret.
 DROS, Abraham (1687) et sa femme Judith Disso.
 DROMAS, Louis (1736) avec sa fille Elisabeth, de Marli en Picardie.
 DROIN, Daniel (ou Drouin) (1708) (âgé de 18 ans en 1702) de Sédan.
 DROIN, Charles frère du précédent.
 DROIN, Marie sœur des précédents.
 DROIN, Louis.
 DROIN, Jean (âgé de 16 ans en 1705).
 DU NOYER, Theophile demeurant à Marbourg.
 DU BUY, Marie (1694) femme de Noé La Borne.
 DU RUP, Abraham (1698) demeurant à Hanau et Jeanne Elisabeth sa fille.
 DU BOIS, Joseph (1700) demeurant à Hombourg.

DUFRE, Elie (1712) avec Susanne Vincent sa femme et Daniel son fils (de Baret en Vivaret).
 DUFRE, Estienne.
 DUSSOT, Isaac (ou Douçot) (1711).
 DUMAY, Isaac (ou Dumez) (1732) avec sa femme Marie Coulon.
 DUVIVIER, Jean Bernard (1735).
 DUMAS, Jean (1712) demeurant à Offenbach.
 ENGUEN, Jean (1687) avec ses enfants: Estienne (confirmé en 1692) et Marie (âgée de 14 ans en 1693).
 FABER, Pierre (ou Fabre) (1692) fils de Salomon Faber de Taverne en Provence.
 FABER, Denis (1700) fils de Antoine Faber de Aler en Languedoc.
 FABER, Jean.
 FAVRE, Matthieu (1695) (âgé de 15 ans).
 FAVRE, Madeleine, femme de Abraham Boutermy.
 FAZI, Jean (1735) avec sa femme Marguerite Sauvart.
 FERRIER, Pierre (1698) avec sa femme et un petit garçon de 3 mois, fils de Jean Ferrier, de Pourières en Pragela.
 FERRIER, Estienne frère du précédent, avec sa femme Jeanne Griot.
 FERRIER, Moïse leur cousin.
 FEILLE, Jacob (ou Fayeul) (1712) et sa femme Marie Boursot.
 FEILGEROLLE, David (1687) de Sevennes en Languedoc, fils de Estienne Feilgerolle.
 FOUQUET, Daniel (1696).
 FOUQUET, Marie Madeleine.
 FOUQUET, Susanne.
 FOULON, Marie (1699) fille de Isaac Foulon, d'Agancour en Picardie.
 FOULON, Susanne, femme de Pierre Boutermy.
 FOULON, Esther, femme de Louis Manchet.
 FOURNIER, Nicolas (1711) et sa femme Madeleine Rossignol avec leurs fils Daniel et Paul (âgé de 15 ans en 1711) et leur fille Judith.
 FOUCAR, Isaac (1698) et sa femme Anne Boule, de Proisy en Picardie, avec leurs filles Madeleine et Judith.
 FOUCAI, Abraham (1727).
 FOUQUART, Elisabeth (1716) femme de Pierre Veri.
 FONTES, Samuel (1718) et sa femme Marguerite.

* Prière de bien vouloir me communiquer les noms des parents de cette réfugiée et ce qu'il peut être connu en France sur son compte. C. F. R.

- FRANÇOIS, Esther (1687) femme de Samuel Moillet.
- FRIQUET, Jean (1715) et sa femme Isabeau Perron.
- GAUTERIN, Pierre et sa femme Marie Ronnemain, de la Champagne (demeurant d'abord à Hesselborn au pays d'Usingen).
- GAUTERIN, Samuel fils du précédent.
- GAUTERIN, Jeanne (1698).
- GARDIEU, Pierre (1699) et sa femme Susanne Chonin.
- GARNIER, Jérémie (1702) et sa femme Marie de la Cour avec leurs fils Jacques, Claude (confirmé en 1710), et George (âgé de 16 ans en 1705) et leur fille Marie (14 ans en 1705), émigrés de Vitry—le—Français en Champagne.
- GACHON, Etienne (1718).
- GEMELLE, David (ou Gemel) (1689) et sa femme Elisabeth Burquet avec leur fils David (âgé de 14 ans en 1696).
- GEMELLE, Samuel (demeurant à Usingen).
- GOULET, Marie (1699).
- GOSSET, Pierre (1725) de Esqueheri en Picardie.
- GRANDPRÊS, Jacques (1765).
- GRANDPIERRE, Nicolas (1709), fils de Jean Grandpierre demeurant à Ybecourt évêché de Condé.
- GROS, Pierre (1705).
- GRIOT, Thomas (1699) avec son fils Jean et sa femme Susanne Chiot et ses filles Madeleine, Catherine, et Esther (âgée de 16 ans en 1705).
- GRIOT, Jeanne, femme de Estienne Ferrier.
- GRIOT, Jean (1736) fils de Daniel Griot demeurant à Villardamont dans la Vallée de Pragelas du Ht. Dauphiné.
- GUÉRIN, Pierre (1700) et sa femme Jeanne Malgé avec leur fille Jeanne, de Chervé en Champagne.
- HAYE, Jean de la (1691) (âgé de 16 ans).
- HAUTENON, Marie (1698) femme de Jacques Bernard.
- HERAUT, Henri (1688) fils de Jacques Heraut de St. Gyle en Languedoc.
- HOUSDI, Jacques (1715) et sa femme Susanne Vene avec leur fils Isaac (confirmé en 1715) et leur fille Marie (confirmée en 1711, âgée de 15 ans).
- HOCHOKT, Jacques (1723) demeurant à Hanau.
- HUGUE, Anne (1696) femme de Jean Roux.
- HUIBAHK, Jérémie (1698).
- HUILLOT, Jean (ou L'Huillot) (1699) et Susanne Passet, sa femme, avec leur fils Jean (âgé de 15 ans en 1711).
- JOLI, Marie (1700) femme de Jean Passet.
- JOLI, Daniel, demeurant à Hanau.
- JORDAN, Jean (1699).
- JOYEUSE, Jacob (1710) d'Angoulême.
- L'ABBÉ, Daniel (1687) avec son fils Daniel.
- L'ABBÉ, Ezéchiel et sa femme Elisabeth Veri (ou Verin) avec leurs filles : Marie, Marthe (âgée de 15 ans en 1698), Elisabeth, Jeanne, et Judith (âgée de 14 ans en 1695), de la Rue de Bohin en Picardie.
- LA BORNE, Noë (1694) avec sa femme Marie du Buy.
- LAURIER, Catherine (ou du Laurier) (1696) femme de Charles Muret.
- LARDÉ, Pierre (1698) avec sa femme Marie Lavoine et leur fils Pierre et leur fille Judith.
- LAPISE, David (1700) avec sa femme Madeleine Passet, des Vallées Vaudaises et leur fille Françoise (âgée de 16 mois).
- LANGLADE, Jean (1701) demeurant à Offenbach.
- LABAR, Abraham (1703) avec sa femme Judith Botté avec leurs fils Pierre et Moïse (âgé de 14 ans en 1702) et leur fille Elisabeth, de Franquille en Picardie.
- LA FIGUE, Jean (1703).
- LAVIGNE, Pierre (1717) avec sa femme Catherine.
- LEQUEUX, Antoine (1762).
- LEGERET, Jean (1717).
- LE JEUNE, Henry (1687) avec sa femme Jeanne Blanquin de la Rue de Bohin en Picardie.
- LE JEUNE, Jean avec sa femme Susanne Bodemon et leur fille Marie.
- LEBEAU, Abraham (1704) avec ses fils Jean et Antoine, de Guise en Picardie.
- LE COMTE, Jean (1692) avec sa femme Marie Le Faux (réfugiés de Schwetzing au Palatinat) avec leur fille Judith.
- LE COMTE, Estienne (marchand à Francfort).

- LE FAUX, Pierre** (1692) avec son fils Henry et ses filles Marie et Susanne.
LE FAUX, Jacques, de Gouloir en Picardie.
LE FAUX, Marie femme de Jean Le Comte.
LE ROY, Antoine (1691) avec ses filles Anne et Susanne, et son fils Isaac.
LE ROY, Louis.
LE ROY, Judith, épouse de Moise Sombié.
LE ROY, Elisabeth épouse de Jean Treutsa.
L'HOMME, Pierre (1687).
L'HOMME, Abraham.
L'HOMME, Vve.
LOYSEAU, Abraham (1687) de Fontaine ou de Latieras en Picardie, avec ses fils Abraham, Elisée (16 ans en 1688) et Daniel (âgé de 15 ans en 1691).
MALSAC, Jacques (1691) avec sa femme Judith et leur fille Esther.
MALSAC, Jean (1687) avec ses deux fils Daniel et Simon.
MALGÉ, Jeanne (1701) femme de Pierre Guérin (âgée de 80 ans en 1701).
MARTIN, Jacques (1718) avec sa femme Françoise Morel et leur fils Jacques.
MARQUET, Pierre (1703) fils de Jean Adam Marquet de Mouvoisin en Gascogne.
MARCHANT, Jean (1700).
MATRY, Abraham (1687) avec sa femme Marie Pereguitille.
MANCHET, Louis (Manché) (1687) avec sa femme Esther Foulon.
MASSÉ, Lucrece (1698).
MASSÉ, Marie (1696) femme de Benjamin Pascalier.
METRA, Louis (ou Maitra, Metral, Medraz) (1697), fils de Estienne Metra de St. Higuier (?) en Dauphiné.
METRA, Pierre Conrad.
MESLIA, Jacques Nicolas (1716)
MEUNIER, Veuve (1687).
MEUNIER, Abraham (1690) avec sa femme Susanne Branche et leurs fils Jean (âgé de 17 ans en 1688) et Abraham et leur fille Susanne (âgée de 15 ans en 1690) de Chervé en Champagne.
MEUNIER, Marie, femme de Jean Paget.
MELOT, Anne (1702) (âgée de 15 ans) de Gie en Champagne.
MELIN, Susanne (1707) âgée de 22 ans, de Metz.
MELIN, Marie Marguerite, âgée de 18 ans, de Saarlouis.
MIRBA, Pierre (1711) de Lodève en Languedoc, "qui ayant été élevé parmi ceux de la Religion Romaine a renoncé à ses erreurs et a embrassé la profession de la vérité de notre Sainte Religion."
MÉRAUT, Louis (1735) fils de feu Jean Méraut.
MINET, Elie (1706) avec sa femme Anne.
MINET, Jeanne (1698) de Courteron en Champagne.
MOREL, Pierre (1707).
MOREL, Françoise, femme de Jacques Martin.
MONToux, Jacob (1709) (ou Montoux) Pasteur Vaudois à Rohrbach.
MONToux, Madame, femme de Monsieur Jacob Montoux.
MORIT, Moyse (1707) demeurant à Ysembourg.
MONEUX, Jeanne (1712) Veuve de Jacob Carlier.
MORIN, Pierre (1692) avec sa femme Marguerite Beau.
MONGEAU, Pierre de (1687) (âgé de 16 ans) fils de Pierre de Mongeau, de Noyon en Picardie.
MOILLARD, Jean (ou Morlord) de Fontaine-notre-Dame en Picardie. Confirmé en 1688, âgé de 15 ans.
MOILLET, Samuel (1687) avec sa femme Ester François et leur fils Samuel (âgé de 14 ans en 1693) et Noël (âgé de 14 ans en 1696), et leur fille Madeleine (13 ans en 1696).
MOILLET, Jacob.
MOILLET, François (âgé de 14 ans en 1691) tous trois étaient fils de Antoine Moillet de Mondidier en Picardie.
MURET, Charles (1687) avec sa femme Catherine Lorier et leur fille Anne (âgée de 15 ans en 1696).
NEBELOT, Antoinette (1702) avec une fille.
NEVACHE, Susanne (1715).
NICOL, Vincent (1694).
NOBLE, Antoinette (1704).
NOÉ, Louise (1688) femme d'Abraham Rossignol.
ODINO, Jean (1729) maître d'école.

- D'ORVILLE, Jacob Philippe (1697).
 OUDOT, Anne (1725) femme de Jean Brueura.
 OUDOT, Jeanne (1728).
 PAGET, Jean (1698) avec sa femme Marie Meunier et leur fils Jean (15 ans en 1705).
 PALAB, David (1702) âgé de 17 ans, de Tourné près de Montauban.
 PASCALIER, Benjamin (1696) avec sa femme Marie Masset du Dauphiné.
 PASCALIER, Antoine (1697) avec sa femme Marie Berbejière.
 PASSET, Jean (1687) avec sa femme Marie Jolie.
 PASSET, Daniel (1702) avec sa femme Marguerite Bonin.
 PASSET, Thomas avec sa femme Catherine Brunet.
 PASSET, Marie femme de Jacques Paster.
 PASSET, Madeleine femme de David Lapise.
 PASSET, Madeleine (1703) âgée de 73 ans.
 PASTET, Susanne femme de Jean Huillot (tous réfugiés des Vallées Vaudoises).
 PASTER, Thomas (ou Pastre) (1700) fils de Thomas Paster de Sonchéry en Pragelas (Vallées Vaudoises).
 PASTER, Jacques (1700) avec sa femme Marie Passet et leur fille Esther (14 ans en 1705).
 PASTER, Philippe fils de Philippe Paster, demeurant à Rohrbach dans le pays de Hesse-Darmstadt.
 PASTER, Susanne femme de Conrad Perron.
 PASTER, Marie habitant à Vinsbach.
 PERELIER, Jean (1714) avec sa femme Jeanne Boustide.
 PEREGUITILLE, Marie (1691) femme de Abraham Matey.
 PERRON, Conrad (1717) avec sa femme Susanne Paster.
 PERRON, François (1712) demeurant à Hombourg.
 PERRON, Isabeau femme de Jean Fiquet.
 PIGEON, Jean (1716) avec sa femme Madeleine Virchot.
 PIEDRAT, Jean (1699).
 POELER, Jean (1692) avec sa femme Susanne Bodemon, et leur fils Jean et filles Marie, Judith et Catherine (réfugiés d'abord à Dautstadt en Palatinat).
 PRESSERA, Samuel (1709) avec sa femme Judith.
 PRIVAT, Antoine (1707) fils d'André Privat, avec sa mère Marie Sostane.
 PRIVAT, Jean demeurant à Offenbach (suivant une tradition émigré de St. Hyppolite en Languedoc).
 PROVENÇAL, Jeanne (1691).
 REBOUTTÉ, Jacob (ou Rebouttez) (1715) fils de Isaac Reboutté en son vivant bourgeois de St. Pierre en Picardie.
 REBOUTTÉ, Michel.
 REY, Jean (1699) avec sa femme Marie.
 RENIER, Catherine (1695) femme de Dominicus Sollicofre de Francfort.
 RENAULT, Jean (ou Renant) (1688) de Chervé en Champagne, avec ses deux filles Jeanne et Susanne.
 RIERTE, Marguerite (1718) veuve de Pierre Bruchet.
 ROBERT, Daniel (1687).
 ROBERT, Jeanne (1693) fille de Jean Robert de Namur.
 ROBERT, David (1688) avec son fils David (âgé de 16 ans en 1688) de Vivie (?) (ou Didié) en Bourgogne.
 ROBIN, Jean (1711).
 ROGÉ, Jean (1710) avec sa femme Marie.
 ROSSIGNOL, Isaac (1687) fils de Daniel Rossignol, en son vivant demeurant à Diller-sur-Morin, dans la Brie.
 ROSSIGNOL, Abraham (1689) avec sa femme Louise Noë et leurs fils Isaac et Jacques.
 ROSSIGNOL, Daniel, demeurant à Carlsdorf, pays de Hesse.
 ROSSIGNOL, Magdeleine femme de Nicolas Fournier.
 ROSSET, Marguerite (1698) femme de Monsieur Donnadiou demeurant à Brannheim.
 ROUSSEAU, Jacob Ciriace (1750).
 ROSSIER, David Samuel (1721) Pasteur de l'Eglise de Friedrichsdorf, fils de Josué Rossier, ci-devant Pasteur à Chateau d'Oex, dans le Canton de Berne.
 ROUILLON, Abraham (1698) avec sa femme Marie Ville, et leur fils Jean (17 ans en 1702) de Dupé en Picardie.
 ROUSSEL, Henry (1707) fils de Claude Roussel du lieu de Lasale en Languedoc.

ROUSSEL, Elisabeth, V^{ve} (1687).

ROUSSELET, * Esaie (1687) (écrit d'abord Rousset, Roussel et Rousselé), premier Maire de Friedrichsdorf, de Pernière (?) près de Soissons, avec ses fils Jacques et Pierre (âgé de 15 ans en 1687) et sa fille Marie.

ROUX, Jean (1696) avec sa femme Anne Hugue.

ROUX, Jacques, réfugiés des Vallées Vaudoises.

SALE, Daniel (1721).

SAVOIE, Justine (1696) (âgée de 13 ans) fille de feu Pierre Savoie.

SAUVANT, Marguerite (1735) femme de Jean Fazi.

ST. AMANT, Marie (1691).

SIMON, Abraham (1698) avec son fils Jean.

SINGET, Jean (1704) (ou Cinget).

SINGET, Anne.

SINGET, Elisabeth, femme de Jacques Chérignaut.

SINGET, Jeanne Marguerite, femme de Pierre Berman.

SOMBRÉ, Isaac (1700), de Prajaux en Picardie, avec son fils Daniel.

SOMBRÉ, Moïse avec sa femme Judith Le Roy.

SOMBRÉ, Abraham avec sa femme Maria.

SOURDET, Catherine (1687) femme de Barthélémi Brunet de Pourrière en Pragela.

SOUSTANE, Marie (1707) femme de André Privat.

THOLOZAN, Pierre (1700) avec sa fille Anne.

TIRIET, Jean (1698) de Chivon près de Sedan, avec sa femme Marie Eshin (?)

TREUTSA, Jean (1691) avec sa femme Elisabeth Le Roy.

TROYEN, Daniel (1735) avec sa femme Susanne Telyeron.

VAUGE, Pierre (1687) de la Mothe (ou d'Estalon) en Dauphiné avec sa femme Madeleine Beaumont et

leurs enfants : Jérémie et Jeanne.

VAUGE, Jacques avec sa femme Elisabeth Labar.

VAUGE, Pierre (16 ans en 1691).

VAUGE, Antoine.

VAUGE, Catherine femme de Louis Achard.

VEAUX, Pierre (ou Vant) (1699) avec sa femme Catherine Blanc.

VEZE, Susanne (1715) femme de — Housdi.

VELLAIS, Pierre (ou Vaillais) (1700) fils de feu Antoine Vellais et Marie Capelleri.

VENTRECOLE, Francoise (1688) femme de Jean André, de St. Gyle en Languedoc.

VERI, Abraham (1691) (Verry) fils de Estienne Veri de la Rue de Bohin en Picardie, avec sa femme Susanne Diara.

VERI, Elisabeth, femme d'Eséchiel L'Abbé.

VERI, Jean avec sa fille Jeanne.

VERI, Isaac.

VERI, Pierre avec sa femme Elisabeth Fouquart et leurs filles Elisabeth et Madeleine.

VERIN, Sieur (1700) de — en Champagne.

VERIN, Susanne, femme de Jean Bonnemain.

VERIN, Marguerite.

VERIN, Susanne (ou Veron, Veran) (1712) femme de Jean Désor.

VIRCHOT, (1716) femme de Jean Pigeon.

VILLIOT, Jean (ou Villau) (1702) et sa femme et 2 enfants, des Vallées Vaudoises.

VILLIOT, Daniel (1725).

VINCENT, Paul (1729).

VINCENT, Susanne (1707) femme d'Elie Dufré.

VILLE, Marie (1699) femme d'Abraham Rouillon.

VIGI, Jean (1693) et sa femme Louise demeurant à Francfort.

* N'ayant encore pu trouver en France la mention de ce réfugié, mon aïeul, je prie les personnes qui pourraient avoir rencontré ce nom de bien vouloir me le communiquer. Sa signature n'est pas connue, son fils Jacques signait Rousset, mais le petit-fils de Jacques, Pierre (4^{me} maire) signait Rousselet en 1735. Il n'y a pas de lieu du nom de Pernière près de Soissons, mais il existe un hameau et une ancienne ferme du 13^{me} Siècle de La Perrière près de Crouy à quelques kilomètres de Soissons ; serait-il possible de savoir qui habitait cette ferme en 1680-5 ? C. F. R.

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mes commencing with *De, Du, De La, Des, Le, and La*, should be looked for not under the letters *D* and *L* but also under the first letter of the remaining part of the while names usually spelled without any of these particles should be looked for when prefixed as well as in their proper place. Several of the lists of names referred to in the index were compiled by English scribes, and there are many obvious errors in them the similarity of the forms of certain letters. It should also be remembered that in manuscripts, whether written by persons acquainted with the language in which they are composed or not, the spelling of names is often phonetic, and indeed at times a mere echo to the correct form.

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[Mr. Shaw states that the Act of 1696 relating to wine duties directed 15,000*l.* a year to be paid for five years (p. 340) and says nothing about the repeal of the Act. He also says nothing in his Paper about the Act relating to duties on malt, &c. under which the warrant of 1697 printed in Appendix B to his Paper (p. 382) was issued, and yet it would appear from the form of his reference to the four subsequent warrants of 1698, 1699, and 1702 (p. 383) that they were issued under the authority of the second not the first mentioned of these two Acts. At the time of the issue of the warrants of 1702 the term of five years said to be referred to in the first of these Acts had expired. Unless, therefore, the allowance under this Act had been renewed by a third Act not referred to, or had somehow been continued by the Act relating to duties on malt, &c., it would appear that the warrants issued by Queen Anne between the years 1707 and 1714 (pp. 392, 394) were really for grants to be made out of the "Royal Bounty," and so have been properly placed in Section 2 (*post*) of this analysis of the warrants in Appendix B. In fact those of 1710 and 1714 are referred to by the refugees themselves as being for grants out of the Royal Bounty (p. 354 *note*). If, however, there was a third Act, not mentioned by Mr. Shaw, under which the warrants of Queen Anne were issued, it may have been one charging the payments to be made to the refugees upon "First Fruits and Tenths," a mode of raising the money for which Mr. Shaw states he can find no authority except that of Michel Malard (pp. 350, 351). In this case these particular warrants of 1707 to 1714 should have been comprised in Section 1 (*post*).]

(1) *Warrants relating to money granted by Act of Parliament.* [Possibly the moneys received by the refugees under the warrants referred to in this Section, as well

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as those mentioned in Section 2, were known to the recipients as the Royal Bounty (*see* warrant of 1718 in Section 2) notwithstanding that the payments under the warrants of Section 1 were apparently all made under the authority of an Act (or Acts) of Parliament.]

WILLIAM III. 1696. Warrant under the authority of an Act relating to duties on wines, &c., for a sum not exceeding 15,000*l.* to be paid to Edward Nicholas, who is to pay 3000*l.* to "La Salle de Monginot" and other persons named, clerks, to be distributed by them in the relief of French Protestant ministers, and 12,000*l.* in the relief of other French Protestants according to directions to be received by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, named, or from persons nominated by them for the distribution thereof, 380, 381.

1697. Warrant under the authority of an Act relating to duties on malt, mum, &c., for a sum not exceeding 15,000*l.* to be paid to Edward Nicholas, the whole to be paid by him in the same proportions for the same purposes according to directions to be received by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, named, or from persons nominated by them for the distribution thereof, 382, 383. [The expenditure under this warrant is accounted for by Edward Nicholas Treasurer and Receiver-General to Queen Mary, in the Privy Purse Accounts where there is a reference to another warrant of like purport dated 1698, 353 *note*. Queen Mary died 28 Dec., 1694.]

1698, 1699, 1702. Similar warrants for 15,000*l.* each, 383.

ANNE. 1702. Similar warrant for 15,000*l.*, 383.

(2) *Warrants relating to money granted voluntarily by the Crown, usually termed the "Royal Bounty."*

QUEEN MARY. [As the Queen acted as Regent during her consort's absences from England it may be found on examination of the warrants mentioned below that some of

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them were signed by her in this capacity, and that they should therefore have been included in the list of those issued by William III.]

1691. Warrant to pay to John Braguier (or Braguier) or his assigns 3000*l.* to be distributed by him in the relief of distressed French Protestants, 378.

Same year. Like warrant for 1000*l.*, 379.

1692. Like warrant for 4,000*l.*, 379.

Same year. Like warrant for the same sum, 379.

1693. Like warrant for 3,600*l.*, 379.

Same year. Like warrant for 1,000*l.*, 380.

1694. Warrant to pay 2,100*l.* for the relief of distressed French Protestants to Sir Leonard Robinson, Chamberlain of the City of London, or his assigns, to be distributed according to directions to be received by him from the "Commissioners appointed for the care and inspection of the said poor," 380.

WILLIAM III. 1691. Warrant to pay to John Braguier 4,000*l.* to be distributed by him in the relief of distressed French Protestants, 379.

1692. Like warrant for 6,400*l.*, 379.

[Summary of the receipts and expenditure of the "comité françois qui a administré les charités royales," showing the money paid to them by Sir John Morden from 1689 to 1693 as well as the receipts from other sources, 352 *note*, 353 *note*.]

[1695. Mention in a warrant of 18 December in this year of a payment, then stopped, to "John Braguier, Treasurer to the French refugees, of 100*l.* weekly to begin the 18th day of September last, 351."]

ANNE. [1705. "Etat de la distribution de la somme de 15,000*l.* etc. pour l'an 1705," showing apparently that there was a warrant of this year, 358 *note*.]

1707. Warrant to pay to Spencer

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Compton 15,000*l.* for French Protestants, 392. [“*Remarques sur la conte rendu del'an 1707,*” 358 *note*.]

1708, 1709, 1710. Like warrants for 15,000*l.* each, 392.

1714. Warrant to pay to Edward Nicholas 5,000*l.* (*sic*) for French ministers, 394.

[Statement by the Committee administering the Royal Bounty fund regarding the payments made under the warrant of 1710, and referring to a gift of 1,500*l.* (*sic*) to French ministers by Queen Anne in 1714 and to a warrant of the same year, 1714, issued by George I. under which 13,500*l.* had been received and devoted to the extinction of part of the arrears of the reign of Anne, 354 *note*; date of payment under this latter warrant, 355 *note*.]

GEORGE I. 1714. Warrant under which 13,500*l.* was received, *vide supra*.

1715. Warrant for the payment of 15,000*l.*, 355. [Payments under this warrant, 355, 355 *note*.]

1717. Warrant to pay to Wm. Clayton or his assigns the sum of 15,000*l.* as the King's “free gift and royal bounty,”—3,000*l.* for the relief of French Protestant ministers and converts from the Church of Rome in holy orders, and 12,000*l.* for the relief of other French Protestants and lay proselytes, the whole to be paid by him according to directions to be received by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury and other persons, named, or from persons nominated by them for the distribution thereof, 355, 408, 409.

1718. Warrant referring to the payment by William III. and Anne of the yearly sum of 15,000*l.* “of their free gift and royal bounty” for the relief of French Protestants, stating that in the two years ending Michaelmas 1716, 30,000*l.* had been paid by the King for the same purpose,—3,000*l.* a year in the relief of ministers and clerical proselytes and 12,000*l.* a year in the relief of lay persons and lay proselytes in general, and directing Walter Chetwynd, Paymaster of the King's

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“Annual Bounties and Pensions” to continue the payment of 15,000*l.* yearly in the same proportions from Michaelmas, 1716, according to directions to be received by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. (as in the warrant of 1717), 409-411. [Payment made under this warrant to Lady Day, 1717, thence to Midsummer, 1719, in arrear, 355.]

[For the years 1723 and 1724, *see* 355 *note*.]

1726. Warrant to Walter Chetwynd, Paymaster of the King's Annual Bounties and Pensions annulling the payment of 15,000*l.* a year instituted by the above warrant of 1718, and, having regard to the number of pensions to French persons borne on the “establishment” of the King's “Annual Bounties and Pensions,” which were in addition to those paid under this warrant of 1718, cancelling part of the large arrears due under this warrant, and directing the future payment 8,591*l.* yearly to French Protestants, of which sum 1,718*l.* 4*s.* is to be for the relief of ministers and clerical proselytes, the money to be distributed quarterly according to directions to be received by him from the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. (as in the warrant of 1717), 355, 412-414.

GEORGE II. 1727. Warrant continuing the allowance of 8,591*l.*, but omitting the clause relating to clerical proselytes, 414.

[Remarks upon the Committee administering the Royal Bounty and upon the proselytes. 358 *note*.]

(3) *Lists or establishments under the royal Sign Manual of annual pensions granted voluntarily by the Crown in addition to those known as the Royal Bounty.*

ANNE. (In the lists of this reign French names are “mixed inextricably” with English and other names).

1703. Establishment, names not given in text, 385.

1703 (?). Additional Establishment of “yearly pensions or boun-

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ties" payable by Edward Nicholas, or such other person or persons as may be directed to pay the same, payments to commence from Midsommer, 1702, names given, 385-388.

1704. Additional establishment, pensions payable by Edward Nicholas to the staffs of the French and Dutch Chapels of St. James's, and to others, names, 388, 389.

1705. Pensions instituted payable by Edward Nicholas, names, 389, 390.

Same year. The like, 390.

1706. The like, 391, 392.

1707. The like, 392.

1708. Pensions instituted payable by Spencer Compton, names, 393.

1710. The like, 394.

GEORGE I. 1714. Warrant for the payment by Edward Nicholas of arrears to several of the late Queen's pensioners, names not given in text, 394, 395.

1715. Establishment of pensions to be paid to "persons of quality, widows and children of officers slain in service who are refugees for religion, and some others," by Jacob de la Motte Blagny or such other person or persons as may be appointed therefor, vacancies in list caused by death to be notified by "a certificate" signed by three at least of the principal refugees residing in London, names, 395-401.

1716. Similar establishment of pensions to be paid by Jacob de la Motte Blagny or others appointed therefor, cancelling all previous establishments, names, 401-407.

Same year. Pensions instituted payable by Jacob de la Motte Blagny, names, 407, 408.

[Payments made under these establishments in 1714, 1715, 1716, and 1717, prior to the issue of the next warrant of 1717, 355 *note*.]

1717. Pensions payable by Mr. Clayton instituted, to take the place of pensions formerly paid to persons now dead on Mr. de la Motte Blagny's list of "French pensions," names, 411.

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1721. Similar list of pensions instituted, names, 412.

1723, 1728. Establishments of each of these years of pensions to "French refugees" payable by Jacob de la Motte Blagny, each cancelling previous establishments, names, 415-419.

GEORGE II. 1727, 1731. Establishments of each of these years of "French pensioners," each cancelling previous establishments, 419-423.

[Remarks upon the warrants in this Section and in Section 4, 358-360.]

(4) *Warrants for payments to French Protestants in the military service of England.*

WILLIAM III. 1689. "Establishment" continuing the payment of daily "pensions of allowances" charged upon the military establishment of England to "officers and gentlemen" named, apparently all French, 372, 373.

Same year. "Additional establishment" incorporating into the three regiments of French foot certain "French reformed officers," named, who had come to England with the King, and were then serving in Ireland, and fixing their rank, regiments, and daily pay, 373-377.

Same year. Warrant to Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster General of the Forces, raising the daily "pension or allowance" in the "establishment of pensions" of eight "gentlemen" named, apparently all French, who have served in the cavalry, from the rate paid to those who had served in the foot to that paid to those who had served in the cavalry, 377, 378.

1692. "Additional establishment" augmenting the pay of the "reformed officers" of Lord Galway's regiment of Horse, names not given, 379.

[1697-1699. Reference in the Privy Purse Accounts for these years, kept by Edward Nicholas, (who had been Treasurer and Receiver General to Queen Mary),

FRENCH PROTESTANTS IN ENGLAND, their relief under briefs, royal warrants, &c., (*continued*).

of the payment to M. Rovigny of 1,097*l. per annum* to be distributed by him amongst "51 families of French refugee officers, etc.," 351 *note*.]

[References to pensions to French refugee officers instituted by William III., 359 *bis*; reference to three regiments of French refugees in his service, 348.]

1701. Warrant to the Earl of Ranelagh, stating that direction has been given that the daily "pensions" to certain "persons" named, apparently all French, have been "removed from the Earl of Ranelagh's office" and placed upon the Irish "establishment," and authorising the allowance to these persons, as the King's "free gift and royal bounty," of sums equal to half a year's total of their respective pensions "for the charge of transporting themselves" to Ireland, 383-385.

[1715, 1716. For Establishments of these years including pensions paid amongst others to widows and children of French officers, *see* Section 3.]

[Remarks upon the warrants in this Section and in Section 3, 358-360.]

See also Bounty, Royal.

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— *see also* Frisell and Friselle.

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Friedrichsdorf, *La Colonie Huguenote de*, Paper entitled, by C. F. Rousselet, 445; shelter accorded by the Landgrave of Hesse-Hombourg, to French and Vaudois refugees at Hombourg in 1686, 455; edict issued

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Friedrichsdorf, Chronique de la Colonie réformée française de, 455 *note*.

Friedrichsdorf, Notices généalogiques des Familles et Histoire de la Colonie réformée française de, 455 *note*.

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Rochdale : *Fishwick.*
Rochester : *Aveling, Livett, Payne.*
Roman antiquities : *Bodger, Fryer,
Goddard, Greenwell, Morland,
Morris, Shrubsole, Turner, Ward.*
 Altars : *Bodington.*
 Coins : *Hill.*
 Kilns and pottery : *Cunnington.*
 Monuments : *Cox.*
 Pig of lead : *Cox, Haverfield.*
 Roads : *MacDonald.*
 Sandals : *Wells.*
 Sewers : *Bellairs.*
 Sites : *Fox, Haverfield.*
 Tools (iron) : *Evans.*
 Waterpipes : *Shrubsole.*
Rome : *Forbes.*
Ross : *Vigors.*
Round Towers : *Fitzgerald, Westropp.*
Runic monuments : *Cox.*
Rushmore : *Pitt-Rivers.*
- St. Andrews : *Brook.*
Sandal (Yorks) : *Walker.*
Sandals : *Barrett, Wells.*
Sandgate : *Fynmore, Rutton*

- Saxon antiquities: *Brock, Griffith, Irvine, Payne, Read, Stevens.*
- Scotland: *Allen, Anderson, Black, Brook, Christison, Coles, Duns, Goudie, Gray, Macdonald, MacKay, Mackinlay, McLeod, Munro, Rhys, Russell.* See Aberdeen, Burghhead, Bute, Campbeltown, Craignish, Crawford, Dalarnan, Delgon, Dunollie, Edinburgh, Eldon, Falkirk, Fern, Forgan-denny, Holywood, Kettins, Kirkcudbright, Kirkoswald, Lewis, Luining, Midton, Musselburgh, Newbattle, Pittenweem, St. Andrews, Shetland.
- Sculptured antiquities: *Allen, Browne, Frazer, Higgins, Thomas.*
- Seals: *Hope, Murphy, Wyon.*
- Selattyn (Shropshire): *Bulkeley-Owen.*
- Shamrock: *Frazer, Sulmon.*
- Shelvoek: *Kenyon.*
- Shetland: *Goudie.*
- Shoes (raw-hide): *Mackay.*
- Shrewsbury: *Blakeway, Drinkwater, Fletcher, Lloyd, W. (G. D. F.)*
- Shropshire: *Calvert, Duignan, Kenyon.* See Chetton, Chirbury, High Er-call, Oswestry, Selattyn, Shelvoek, Shrewsbury, Wenlock.
- Silchester: *Evans, Fox.*
- Somersetshire. See Axbridge, Burton Pynsent, Exmoor, Glastonbury, High Ham, Huish Episcopi, Langport, Langport Eastover, Long Sutton, Stoke-under-Hamdon, Wedmore, Wells.
- South Molton: *Worth.*
- Southampton: *Clutterbuck.*
- Spofford: *Collins.*
- Stainton-in-Furness: *Cowper.*
- Stillington (Bishop): *Jex-Blake.*
- Stockton: *M. (A. S.)*
- Stoke-under-Hamdon: *Batten.*
- Stone Age: *Bell, Duckins, Duns, Findlay, Gray, Hayden, Knowles, Owen, Shrubsole.*
- Stoneham (North): *Kitchen.*
- Strata Marcella: *J. (M. C.)*
- Stratford Langthorne: *Stevens.*
- Sussex: See Chichester, Eastbourne, Lewes, Wadhurst.
- Surrey: *Cooper, Crisp, Sterenson.* See Beddington, Compton, Croydon, Dorking, Lambeth.
- Suffolk: See Wenhaston.
- Sweathouse: *Latimer.*
- Talley: *Owen.*
- Tara: *Murphy.*
- Targets: *Anderson.*
- Tavey Cleave: *Gould.*
- Teilo: *Willis-Bund.*
- Teynham: *Payne.*
- Theydon Garnon: *Waller.*
- Tiles: *Brakspear, Frazer.*
- Timolin: *Hartshorne.*
- Toller (Great): *Lewis.*
- Torrington (Great): *Doe.*
- Tournaments: *Green.*
- Treceiri (Carnarvonshire): *Christison.*
- Trewern Hall: *M. (E.R.).*
- Tumuli: *Fryer, Goddard, Letts, Read.*
- Urns (funeral): *Chamberlain, Clazey, Coles, Cunningham, Gray, Lowe.*
- Valle Crucis: *Hughes, Smith.*
- Wadhurst: *Gardiner.*
- Wales: *Allen, Allen (Mrs. T.), Davies, Dwnn, Eisteddfod, Fisher, Ll. (W.F.), Lloyd, M. (E.R.), Montgomeryshire, Owen, Rhys, Rowley-Morris, S. (G.) Taylor, Thomas, Tierney, Vaughan, W.(R.), Williams, Willis-Bund, Wyon.* See Bettws, Brecon, Bridgend, Cardiff, Churchstoke, Darowen, Dolcaradog, Dolforwyn, Eindon, Gower, Kerry, Leighton, Llan-beblig, Llandrinio, Llandysillio, Llaneilian, Llantwit Major, Llan-wddyn, Meiford, Northop, Plas Mawr, Strata Marcella, Talley, Treceiri, Teilo, Valle Crucis.
- Wallasey: *Pritt, Radcliffe.*
- Wansdyke: *Pitt-Rivers.*
- Wardon: *Compton.*
- Warminster: *Ponting.*
- Welford: *Markham.*
- Wells: *Browne, Buckle, Church, Hope, Moore, Owen.*
- Wedmore: *Sanford.*
- Wenhaston: *Keyser.*
- Wenlock: *Vaughan.*
- Whalley (Lancashire): *Micklethwaite.*
- Whitefield (Kent): *Brook.*
- Wills: *Brigg, Crisp, M.(E.R.), Mont-gomeryshire.*
- Wilton: *Yates.*

Wilts : *Dartnell, Goddard, Holgate, Willis, Wiltshire.* See Box, Broadchalke, Broomsgrove, Collingbourne Ducis, Falstone, Heytesbury, Ivy Church, Longleat, Martin, Oldbury Hill, Stockton, Warminster, Wilton.
Winchester : *Jacob, Kershaw, Winchester.*
Windsor : *Hope.*
Wirral : *Cox, Irvine.*

Woodstock : *Marshall.*
Worcestershire : *See Northfield.*
Wragby : *Sankey.*

Yorkshire : *Baildon, Ellis, Glynne, Thoresby.* See Arthington, Bosville, Dencaster, Guisbrough, Hampsthwaite, Kirkstall, Leeds, Netherthong, Osgoldcross, Pampocalia, Sandal, Spofford, Wragby.

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REPORT
OF THE
SUB-COMMITTEE
ON A
PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEY
OF
ENGLAND AND WALES.

**PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE CONGRESS OF
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES IN UNION WITH THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.**

1895

CONGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES, 1894.

Report of the Sub-Committee on the Photographic Survey of England and Wales.

The Sub-Committee has considered the subject referred to it by the Congress, as to the best method of promoting a general Photographic Record of the Country on the lines adopted by the Society for the Photographic Survey of the County of Warwick.

The Sub-Committee is of opinion that the establishment of such a general Photographic Record of all works of antiquity is of the highest importance, and that the Societies in Union should use their best efforts to establish, for their particular counties, associations on the basis of that so successfully initiated by the Warwickshire Society, and followed by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

It may be expected that Societies organized on these lines, besides being of the greatest value to antiquaries, will be readily supported by the many interested in photography, who will be glad to feel that their efforts are incorporated and preserved for ever in what will eventually become a national collection. A more intelligent interest will be created in what is often at present a desultory and useless amusement, and the Archæological Societies will doubtless be strengthened by the addition of many intelligent members.

The following Regulations are suggested for adoption :—

1. That all photographs be as large as possible, whole plate being preferred, but in no case less than $\frac{1}{4}$ plate.
2. That they be printed in permanent process.
3. That while artistic effect is a valuable addition to a picture, it should not be achieved at the sacrifice of the work illustrated, but the point of view should be chosen to show as clearly as possible the details of the subject.

This is especially important in the case of tombs, effigies, and various architectural details, where it will often be impossible to combine picturesque effect and valuable record. While, therefore, it will be necessary to keep up a certain standard of artistic skill, plates should be preferred which clearly show architectural or other facts that can only be adequately recorded by the deliberate sacrifice of picturesque effect.

4. That some arrangement should be made to supply a scale in all illustrations, since without this many are practically valueless.

Particulars of size can be added in the accompanying description, but it is far better that an actual scale should be given by the inclusion in the picture of a graduated staff or a 3 ft. rod or walking stick, which may generally be unobtrusively introduced. In a series of photographs of Roman masonry now in preparation for the Society of Antiquaries a graduated scale,* marked clearly with English and French measures, is in all cases included. The scale must, of course, be placed in the same plane as the object to be photographed.

The Congress most strongly recommends the adoption of the double scale, which will render the photographs of European value, and materially assist English scholars in the work of comparison.

5. That a description in all cases accompany the photograph, giving the size, general condition, and as many particulars as possible of the object illustrated.

6. That all particulars as to history, date, etc., be carefully edited by competent authorities, as otherwise much false and often ridiculous information may be spread and perpetuated.

7. That the copies of the photographs for the collection be mounted by the curator on stout cards, uniform with those of the Warwickshire Survey, and the descriptive particulars legibly written or printed on the back, and the title on the front.

The plan adopted in Warwickshire of selecting a Hundred for the work of each year, and committing one square of the 6-inch Ordnance Map to individual or associated workers, provides for a systematic and exhaustive record that will be much more valuable than desultory or haphazard contributions. The jealousies that might arise in the selection of examples of prominent interest will also be avoided.

Where a county is divided amongst several Photographic Societies, the number of localities to be illustrated can be increased accordingly.

The following Rules are copied from those of the Warwickshire Survey Section of the Birmingham Photographic Society :

“ That the 6-inch Ordnance Map be adopted as the basis of the Survey.

“ That the work be conducted, as far as may be convenient, on the lines of the Hundreds.

* Printed copies of this scale (Price 6d., post free, or 5s. per dozen), can be obtained on application to the Assistant-Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W.

"That in order to systematise the work it is desirable that members shall confine their work, as far as possible, to the Hundred selected for the ensuing year.

"That each square of the Ordnance Map (containing, roughly, six square miles) shall be considered a distinct field for work, and that any member may have allotted to him such square as he may select, unless such square has been previously allotted."

Another and perhaps better way, which has been adopted by the Guildford Society, is to divide the 6-inch Ordnance Map into distinct blocks, with natural boundaries, and to furnish the members to whom a block is allotted with a corresponding plan cut from the 1-inch Ordnance Map, and mounted on card.

To facilitate access to objects to be illustrated, cards of introduction should be provided, and issued to those who undertake work. It is suggested that the cards be made to run for one year only, and be not re-issued except to those who are doing satisfactory work.

It is desirable that a Committee should prepare a schedule of the principal objects of which it is desired to obtain records, but such a list should not be regarded as in any way exhaustive, and may be supplemented by individual observation.

The photographing of portraits, already begun by the Warwickshire Society, is also of great value where it can be effected.

Besides objects of archæological interest, photographs should be welcomed that give types of natives and groups of school children. These will be of the highest value to ethnological students. The ethnological photographs should, if possible, be taken in accordance with the directions laid down by Mr. Francis Galton. These may be obtained from the British Association, at Burlington House.

Photographs of objects of natural history, and of landscapes or geological features, should be encouraged and accepted, as they may be ultimately gathered into a separate collection.

Many of the County Societies are for the study of natural history as well as of archæology, and where this is not the case proper custodians can eventually be found for the various collections.

It is desirable, to avoid risk of loss by fire, that at least three sets of Prints should be preserved by way of record: one by the County Society; a second by the British Museum; and a third, of archæological plates, by the Society of Antiquaries. The third prints from those plates which illustrate science might be deposited with the societies representing the various subjects, such as the Anthropological Institute or the Geological and Linnæan Societies.

It is thought that, pending the general adoption of County Museums, the various County Archæological Societies would be the best custodians of the collections; but it will probably be more acceptable to those who photograph that it should be clearly understood that the custody is temporary and may be withdrawn at any time.

It will constantly be the case that photographs of a neighbourhood will be taken by strangers, but it is thought that the general adoption throughout England of such a scheme as that proposed will be sufficiently widely known to induce such photographers to communicate their work to the various centres, although they may not be personally interested in such centres.

The Sub-Committee suggests that the various Archæological Societies should take the initiative in founding local associations for the preparation of the Photographic Record.

These associations should have their own executive, and the County Society should suggest the names of certain competent archæologists to serve on the councils. Where Photographic Societies already exist, efforts should be directed to bringing these into union and supplying the necessary information.

Sir J. B. Stone, who had so much to do with initiating the Birmingham scheme, strongly urges that a national society should be formed for the purpose of promoting the Photographic Record, and the Committee are of opinion that a strong central body would be of the greatest service, and they recommend the Congress to do their best to assist such a scheme, should it be put forward under good auspices.

The Sub-Committee wishes to point out that it is not necessary and, perhaps, not altogether desirable, that the County Archæological Societies should add to their work, already arduous enough, this of the Photographic Record.

It will be sufficient that they should promote local Photographic Societies, form a medium of union, and supply skilled advice on the subject of archæology.

RALPH NEVILL,
GEORGE E. FOX,
W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE.

**HARRISON AND SONS,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN S LANE.**

Forms of Schedule prepared by a Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed to Organise an Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Francis Galton, F.R.S., J. G. Garson, M.D., and E. W. Brabrook, F.S.A. (Chairman), representing the Anthropological Institute.

Edward Clodd, G. L. Gomme, F.S.A., and Joseph Jacobs, M.A., representing the Folklore Society.

G. W. G. Leveson Gower, V.P.S.A., George Payne, F.S.A., and General Pitt-Rivers, F.R.S., representing the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Sir C. M. Kennedy, C.B., K.C.M.G., and E. G. Ravenstein, representing the Royal Statistical Society.

A Member representing the Dialect Society.

Dr. J. Beddoe, F.R.S.; Arthur J. Evans, F.S.A.; Sir H. H. Howorth, F.R.S.; Professor R. Meldola, F.R.S.

John Rhys, M.A., Jesus Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford, and also Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., E. S. Hartland, F.S.A., Edward Laws, the Ven. Archdeacon Thomas, F.S.A., S. W. Williams, F.S.A., and J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A. Scot. (Secretary), representing the Cambrian Archaeological Society, and forming a Sub-Committee for Wales.

Joseph Anderson, LL.D., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Professor D. J. Cunningham, F.R.S., C. R. Browne, M.D., and Professor A. C. Haddon, M.A., representing the Royal Irish Academy, and forming a Sub-Committee for Ireland (Prof. Haddon, Secretary).

E. Sidney Hartland, F.S.A., Secretary.

This Committee has already made two preliminary reports to the Association, in which the names of 367 villages or places in various parts of the United Kingdom have been indicated as especially to deserve ethnographic study. The list, large as it is, is not exhaustive. For these and such other villages and places as may appear to be suitable, the Committee propose to record—

- (1) Physical types of the inhabitants;
- (2) Current traditions and beliefs;
- (3) Peculiarities of dialect;
- (4) Monuments and other remains of ancient culture; and
- (5) Historical evidence as to continuity of race.

*. All communications should be addressed to 'THE SECRETARY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY, British Association, Burlington House, London, W.'

The most generally convenient method of organising a simultaneous inquiry under these five heads appears to be the appointment of a sub-committee in each place, one or more members of which would be prepared to undertake each head of the inquiry. For the ancient remains advantage should be taken of the work of the Archaeological Survey where it is in operation. The general plan of the Committee is discussed in an article, *On the Organisation of local Anthropological Research*, in the 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute' of February 1893.

For the use of inquirers copies on foolscap paper of the Forms of Schedule have been prepared, giving a separate page or pages of foolscap for each head of the inquiries, on which are the questions and hints prepared by the Committee, the lower portion of each page, to which should be added as many separate sheets of foolscap as may be required, being left for answers; and, with regard to the physical observations, a single page of foolscap has been set aside for the measurements of each individual to be observed. The requisite number of copies of the foolscap edition of the schedules and of extra copies of the form for the persons to be photographed and measured will be supplied on application.

Communications should all be written on foolscap paper, and the writing should be on one side only of the page, and a margin of about one inch on the left-hand side of the page should be left, with a view to future binding.

Directions for Measurement.

Instrument required for these measurements:—The 'Traveller's Anthropometer,' manufactured by Aston & Mander, 25 Old Compton Street, London, W.C.; price 3*l.* 3*s.* complete; without 2-metre steel measuring tape and box footpiece, 2*l.* 10*s.* With this instrument all the measurements can be taken. In a permanent laboratory it will be found convenient to have a fixed graduated standard for measuring the height, or a scale affixed to a wall. For field work a tape measure may be temporarily suspended to a rigid vertical support, with the zero just touching the ground or floor.

A 2-metre tape, a pair of folding callipers, a folding square, all of which are graduated in millimetres, and a small set-square can be obtained from Aston & Mander for 1*l.* 6*s.*: with this small equipment all the necessary measurements can be taken.

Height Standing.—The subject should stand perfectly upright, with his back to the standard or fixed tape, and his eyes directed horizontally forwards. Care should be taken that the standard or support for the tape is vertical. The stature may be measured by placing the person with his back against a wall to which a metre scale has been affixed. The height is determined by placing a carpenter's square or a large set-square against the support in such a manner that the lower edge is at right angles to the scale; the square should be placed well above the head, and then brought down till its lower edge feels the resistance of the top of the head. The observer should be careful that the height is taken in the middle line of the head. If the subject should object to take off his boots, measure the thickness of the boot-heel, and deduct it from stature indicated in boots.

Height Sitting.—For this the subject should be seated on a low stool or bench, having behind it a graduated rod or tape with its zero level with the seat; he should sit perfectly erect, with his back well in against the scale. Then proceed as in measuring the height standing. The square should be employed here also if the tape against a wall is used.

Length of Cranium.—Measured with callipers from the most prominent part of the projection between the eyebrows (*glabella*) to the most distant point at the back of the head in the *middle line*. Care should be taken to keep the end of the callipers steady on the *glabella* by holding it there with the fingers, while the other extremity is searching for the maximum projection of the head behind.

Breadth of Cranium.—The maximum breadth of head, which is usually about the level of the *top* of the ears, is measured at right angles to the length. Care must be taken to hold the instrument so that both its points are exactly on the same horizontal level.

Face Length.—This is measured from the slight furrow which marks the root of the nose, and which is about the level of a line drawn from the centre of the pupil of one eye to that of the other, to the under part of the chin. Should there be two furrows, as is often the case, measure from between them.

Upper Face Length.—From root of nose to the interval between the two central front teeth at their roots.

Face Breadth.—Maximum breadth of face between the bony projections in front of the ears.

Inter-ocular Breadth.—Width between the internal angles of the eyes. While this is being measured the subject should shut his eyes.

Bigonial Breadth.—Breadth of face at the outer surface of the angles of the lower jaw below the ears.

Nose Length.—From the furrow at root of nose to the angle between the nose and the upper lip in the middle line.

Breadth of Nose.—Measured horizontally across the nostrils at the widest part, but without compressing the nostrils.

Height of Head.—The head should be so held that the eyes look straight forward to a point at the same level as themselves—i.e., the plane of vision should be exactly horizontal. The rod of the Anthropometer should be held vertically in front of the face of the subject, and the upper straight arm should be extended as far as possible and placed along the middle line of the head; the shorter lower arm should be pushed up to the lower surface of the chin. When measured with the square the depending bar must be held vertically in front of the face (with the assistance of the spirit-level or plumb-line), and the small set-square passed up this arm from below in such a manner that its horizontal upper edge will come into contact with the lower contour of the chin. The distance between the lower edge of the horizontal bar of the square and the upper edge of the set-square can be read off, and this will be the maximum height of the head.

Height of Cranium.—The head being held in precisely the same manner as in measuring the height of the head, the instrument is rotated to the left side of the head, its upper bar still resting on the crown, and the recording arm (or the set-square) is pointed to the centre of the line of attachment of the small projecting cartilage in front of the ear-hole.

NOTE.—It is essential that these rules should be strictly followed in order to secure accuracy. All measurements must be made in millimetres. If possible, the subject's weight should be obtained, and recorded in the place set apart for remarks. The observer is recommended to procure 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' 2nd edition, from the Anthropological Institute, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.; net price, 3s. 6d.

Place

Name of Observer

Physical Types of the Inhabitants.

Number	Date of Measurement	Surname	Christian Name	Age	Sex	Town or Village	County
SURNAME		SURNAME of your Father		SURNAME of your Mother before she was married		What district do your Parents' people come from ?	
						Your Father's ?	
						Your Mother's ?	
Occupation							
Have your Father's people occupied that part of the country for long ? if not, state what you know of their original locality							
GENERAL CONDITION : (1) stout ; (2) medium ; (3) thin.				Photograph number. (N.B.—The photograph of the person measured should be sent along with this schedule.)			
SKIN : (1) pale ; (2) ruddy ; (3) dark.				Freckled (?)			
HAIR : (R) red ; (F) fair ; (B) brown ; (D) dark ; (N) black.				(1) straight ; (2) wavy ; (3) curly.			
COLOUR OF BEARD : (B) ; (F) ; (B) ; (D) ; (N).							
EYES : (1) blue ; (2) light grey ; (3) dark grey ; (4) green ; (5) light brown ; (6) dark brown.							
SHAPE OF FACE : (1) long and narrow ; (2) medium ; (3) short and broad. (a) cheek-bones inconspicuous ; (b) cheek-bones prominent.							
PROFILE OF NOSE : Compare with outline figures at foot, and give the number with which the nose under examination most closely corresponds.							
LIPS : (1) thin ; (2) medium ; (3) thick.							
EARS : (A) flat ; (B) outstanding ; (a) coarse ; (b) finely moulded.							
LOREN OF HAIR : (1) absent ; (2) present ; (a) attached ; (b) detached.							

Standing		Sitting		Length	Breadth	Length	Breadth	Upper Face Length	Breadth	Inter-ocular Breadth	Bigonial Breadth

Nose		Height of Head	Height of Cranium
Length	Breadth		



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

REMARKS

Physical Types of the Inhabitants—(continued).

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS.

Facial characteristics are conveniently recorded by means of photographs, taken in the three ways explained below. Amateurs in photography are now so numerous that it is hoped the desired materials may be abundantly supplied. At least twelve more or less beardless male adults and twelve female adults should be photographed. It will add much to the value of the portrait if these same persons have also been measured. The photographs should be mounted on cards, each card bearing the name of the district, and a letter or number to distinguish the individual portraits; the cards to be secured together by a thread passing loosely through a hole in each of their upper left-hand corners. Three sorts of portrait are wanted, as follows:—

(a) A few portraits of such persons as may, in the opinion of the person who sends them, best convey the peculiar characteristics of the race. These may be taken in whatever aspect shall best display those characteristics, and should be accompanied by a note directing attention to them.

(b) At least twelve portraits of the *left* side of the face of as many different adults of the same sex. These must show in each case the *exact* profile, and the hair should be so arranged as fully to show the ear. All the persons should occupy in turn the same chair (with movable blocks on the seat, to raise the sitters' heads to a uniform height), the camera being fixed throughout in the same place. The portraits to be on such a scale that the distance between the top of the head and the bottom of the chin shall in no case be less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. Smaller portraits can hardly be utilised in any way. If the incidence of the light be not the same in all cases they cannot be used to make composite portraits. By attending to the following hints the successive sitters may be made to occupy so nearly the same position that the camera need hardly be refocussed. In regulating the height of the head it is tedious and clumsy to arrange the proper blocks on the seat by trial. The simpler plan is to make the sitter first take his place on a separate seat with its back to the wall, having previously marked on the wall, at heights corresponding to those of the various heights of head, the numbers of the blocks that should be used in each case. The appropriate number for the sitter is noted, and the proper blocks are placed on the chair with the assurance that what was wanted has been correctly done. The distance of the sitter from the camera can be adjusted with much precision by fixing a looking-glass in the wall (say five feet from his chair), so that he can see the reflection of his face in it. The backward or forward position of the sitter is easily controlled by the operator, if he looks at the sitter's head over the middle of the camera, against a mark on the wall beyond. It would be a considerable aid in making measurements of the features of the portrait, and preventing the possibility of mistaking the district of which the sitter is a representative, if a board be fixed above his head in the *plane of his profile*, on which a scale of inches is very legibly marked, and the name of the district written. This board should be so placed as just to fall within the photographic plate. The background should be of a medium tint (say a sheet of light brown paper pinned against the wall

beyond), very dark and very light tints being both unsuitable for composite photography.

(c) The same persons who were taken in side-face should be subsequently photographed in *strictly* full face. They should occupy a different chair, the place of camera being changed in accordance. Time will be greatly saved if all the side-faces are taken first, and then all the full faces; unless, indeed, there happen to be two operators, each with his own camera, ready to take the same persons in turn. The remarks just made in respect to (b) are, in principle, more or less applicable to the present case; but the previous method of insuring a uniform distance between the sitter and the camera ceases to be appropriate.

It is proposed that composites of some of these groups shall be taken by Mr. Galton, so far as his time allows.

Place _____ Name of Observer _____

2. Current Traditions and Beliefs.

FOLKLORE.

Every item of folklore should be collected, consisting of customs, traditions, superstitions, sayings of the people, games, and any superstitions connected with special days, marriages, births, deaths, cultivation of the land, election of local officers, or other events. Each item should be written legibly on a separate piece of paper, and the name, occupation, and age of the person from whom the information is obtained should in all cases be carefully recorded. If a custom or tradition relates to a particular place or object, especially if it relates to a curious natural feature of the district, or to an ancient monument or camp, some information should be given about such place or monument. Sometimes a custom, tradition, or superstition may relate to a particular family or group of persons, and not generally to the whole population; and in this case care should be exercised in giving necessary particulars. Any objects which are used for local ceremonies, such as masks, ribbons, coloured dresses, &c., should be described accurately, and, if possible, photographed; or might be forwarded to London, either for permanent location, or to be drawn or photographed. Any superstitions that are believed at one place and professedly disbelieved at another, or the exact opposite believed, should be most carefully noted.

The following questions are examples of the kind and direction of the inquiries to be made, and are not intended to confine the inquirer to the special subjects referred to in them, or to limit the replies to categorical answers. The numbers within brackets refer to the corresponding articles in the 'Handbook of Folklore' (published by Nutt, 270 Strand, London), which may be consulted for advice as to the mode of collecting and the cautions to be observed,

- (4) Relate any tradition as to the origin of mountains or as to giants being entombed therein.

Are there any traditions about giants or dwarfs in the district?
Relate them.

Is there a story about a Blinded Giant like that of Polyphemus?

- (13) Describe any ceremonies performed at certain times in connection with mountains.
- (16) Relate any traditions or beliefs about caves.
- (19) Are any customs performed on islands not usually inhabited? Are they used as burial places?
- (25) Describe any practices of leaving small objects, articles of dress, &c., at wells.
- (29) Are there spirits of rivers or streams? Give their names.
- (32) Describe any practices of casting small objects, articles of dress, &c., into the rivers.
- (33) Are running waters supposed not to allow criminals or evil spirits to cross them?
- (39) Describe any customs at the choosing of a site for building, and relate any traditions as to the site or erection of any building.
- (42) Is there a practice of sprinkling foundations with the blood of animals, a bull, or a cock?
- (43) Does the building of a house cause the death of the builder?
- (48, 49, 50) Relate any traditions of the sun, moon, stars.
- (62) Describe the customs of fishermen at launching their boats.
- (63) Give any omens believed in by fishermen.
- (66) Is it unlucky to assist a drowning person?
- (84) What ceremonies are performed when trees are felled?
- (85) Describe any custom of placing rags and other small objects upon bushes or trees.
- (86) Describe any maypole customs and dances.
- (87) Describe any customs of wassailing of fruit trees.
- (90) Are split trees used in divination or for the cure of disease?
- (98) Describe any ceremonies used for love divination with plants or trees.
- (105) Describe the garlands made and used at ceremonies.
- (110) What animals are considered lucky and what unlucky to meet, come in contact with, or kill?
- (132) Describe any customs in which animals are sacrificed, or driven away from house or village.
- (133) Describe customs in which men dress up as animals.
- (137) Give the names of the local demons, fairies, pixies, ghosts, &c. Have any of them personal proper names?
- (139) Their habits, whether gregarious or solitary. Do they use special implements?
- (140) Form and appearance, if beautiful or hideous, small in stature, different at different times.
- (144) Character, if merry, mischievous, sulky, spiteful, industrious, stupid, easily outwitted.
- (145) Occupations, music, dancing, helping mankind, carrying on mining, agricultural work.
- (146) Haunts or habitations, if human dwellings, mounds, barrows, mines, forests, boggy moorlands, waters, the underworld, dolmens, stone circles.
- (190) Give the details of any practices connected with the worship of the local saint.
- (191) Are sacrifices or offerings made to the local saint; on what days; and when?

- (192) What is the shrine of the local saint ?
- (210) Witchcraft. Describe minutely the ceremonies performed by the witch. What preliminary ceremony took place to protect the witch ?
- (294) Are charms used to find evil spirits and prevent their moving away ?
- (295) Are amulets, talismans, written bits of paper, gestures, &c., used to avert evil or to ensure good ? If so, how ; when ; where ?
- (297) Are skulls of animals, or horses, or other objects hung up in trees to avert the evil eye and other malign influences ?
- (298) What methods are employed for divining future events ? What omens are believed in ?
- (353) What superstitions are attached to women's work as such ?
- (356) Are women ever excluded from any occupation, ceremonies, or places ?
- (358) What superstitions are attached to the status of widowhood ?
- (366) Are particular parts of any town or village, or particular sections of any community, entirely occupied in one trade or occupation ?
- (368) Have they customs and superstitions peculiar to their occupation ?
- (369) Do they intermarry among themselves, and keep aloof from other people ?
- (373) Have they any processions or festivals ?
- (422) What parts of the body are superstitiously regarded ?
- (432) Are bones, nails, hair, the subject of particular customs or superstitions ; and is anything done with bones when accidentally discovered ?
- (436) Is dressing ever considered as a special ceremonial ; are omens drawn from accidents in dressing ?
- (452) Are any parts of the house considered sacred ?
- (453) Is the threshold the object of any ceremony ; is it adorned with garlands ; is it guarded by a horseshoe or other object ?
- (454) Are any ceremonies performed at the hearth ; are the ashes used for divination ; is the fire ever kept burning for any continuous period ?
- (456) Is it unlucky to give fire from the hearth to strangers always, or when ?
- (467) Is there any ceremony on leaving a house, or on first occupying a house ?
- (509) What are the chief festivals, and what the lesser festivals observed ?
- (515) Explain the popular belief in the object of each festival.
- (516) Describe the customs and observances appertaining to each festival.
- (540) When does the new year popularly begin ?
- State the superstitions or legends known to attach to—
- | | |
|--|----------------------------|
| (a) Hallowe'en. | } Both old and new styles. |
| (b) May Eve. | |
| (c) Midsummer Day, and St. John's Eve. | |
| (d) Lammas, or August 1. | |
| (e) New Year's Day. | |
| (f) Christmas. | |

Is there any superstition as to the first person who enters a house in the New Year? Is stress laid upon the colour of complexion and hair?

- (567) What are the customs observed at the birth of children?
- (588) Describe the ceremonies practised at courtship and marriage.
- (623) Describe the ceremonies at death and burial.
- (669) Describe any games of ball or any games with string, or other games.
- (674) Describe all nursery games of children.
- (686) Is there any special rule of succession to property?
- (703) Is any stone or group of stones, or any ancient monument or ancient tree connected with local customs?
- (706) Are any special parts of the village or town the subject of particular rights, privileges, or disabilities; do these parts bear any particular names?
- (711) Describe special local modes of punishment or of lynch law.
- (719) Describe special customs observed at ploughing, harrowing, sowing, manuring, haymaking, apple-gathering, corn-harvest, hemp-harvest, flax-harvest, potato-gathering, threshing, flax-picking, and hemp-picking.

The collections under this head will be digested by Professor Rhys and the representatives of the Folklore Society.

Place _____ Name of Observer _____

3. Peculiarities of Dialect.

DIRECTIONS TO COLLECTORS OF DIALECT TESTS.

1. Do not, if it can be helped, let your informant know the nature of your observations. The true dialect-speaker will not speak his dialect freely or truly unless he is unaware that his utterance is watched. In some cases persons of the middle class can afford correct information, and there is less risk in allowing them to know your purpose.

2. Observe the use of consonants. Note, for example, if *v* and *s* are used where the standard pronunciation has *f* and *z*. This is common in the south.

3. Observe very carefully the nature of the vowels. This requires practice in uttering and appreciating vowel sounds, some knowledge of phonetics, and a good ear.

4. Record all observations in the same standard phonetic alphabet, viz., that given in Sweet's 'Primer of Phonetics.' A few modifications in this may be made, viz., *ng* for Sweet's symbol for the sound of *ng* in *thing*; *sh* for his symbol for the *sh* in *she*; *ch* for his symbol for the *ch* in *choose*; *th* for the *th* in *thin*; *dh* for the *th* in *then*. If these modifications are used, say so. But the symbol *j* must only be used for the *y* in *you*, viz., as in German. If the sound of *j* in *just* is meant, Sweet's symbol should be used. On the whole it is far better to use no modifications at all. Sweet's symbols are no more difficult to use than any others after a very brief practice, such as every observer of phonetics must necessarily go through.

5. If you find that you are unable to record sounds according to the above scheme it is better to make *no return at all*. Incorrect returns are misleading in the highest degree, most of all such as are recorded in the ordinary spelling of literary English.

6. The chief vowel-sounds to be tested are those which occur in the following words of English origin, viz., *man, hard, name, help, meat* (spelt with *ea*), *green* (spelt with *ee*), *hill, wine, fire, soft, hole, oak* (spelt with *oa*), *cool, sun, house, day, law, or* words involving similar sounds. Also words of French origin, such as *just, master* (*a* before *s*), *grant* (*a* before *n*), *try, value, measure, bacon, pay, chair, journey, pity, beef, clear, profit, boil, roast pork, false, butcher, fruit, blue, pure, poor*, or words involving similar sounds.

The best account of these sounds as tested for a Yorkshire dialect, is to be found in Wright's 'Dialect of Windhill' (English Dialect Society, 1892), published by Kegan Paul at 12s. 6d. Sweet's symbols are here employed throughout.

Sweet's 'Primer of Phonetics' is published by the Oxford Press at 3s. 6d.

A list of test words (of English origin) is given at p. 42 of Skeat's 'Primer of English Etymology,' published by the Oxford Press at 1s. 6d.

7. The task of collecting words which seem to be peculiarly dialectal (as to form or meaning, or both) has been performed so thoroughly that it is useless to record what has been often already recorded. See, for example, Halliwell's (or Wright's) 'Provincial Glossary' and the publications of the English Dialect Society. In many cases, however, the *pronunciation* of such words has not been noted, and may be carefully set down with great advantage.

The Rev. Professor Skeat has been kind enough to draw up the foregoing directions, and the collections under this head will be submitted to him.

Place _____ Name of Observer _____

4. Monuments and other Remains of Ancient Culture.

Plot on a map, describe, furnish photographs on sketches, and state the measurements and names (if any) of these, according to the following classification:—

- Drift implements. Caves and their contents.
- Stone circles. Monoliths. Lake dwellings.
- Camps. Enclosures. Collections of hut circles.
- Cromlechs. Cairns. Sepulchral chambers.
- Barrows, describing the form, and distinguishing those which have not been opened.
- Inscribed stones.
- Figured stones. Stone crosses.
- Castra (walled). Earthen camps.
- Foundations of Roman buildings.
- Cemeteries (what modes of sepulture).
- Burials, inhumation or cremation.
- Detailed contents of graves.

Types of fibulæ and other ornaments.

Coins. Implements and weapons, stone, bronze, or iron.

Other antiquities.

A list of place-names within the area. No modern names required.

Special note should be made of British, Roman, and Saxon interments occurring in the same field, and other signs of successive occupation.

Reference should be made to the article 'Archæology' in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology,' p. 176.

These relate to England only. The sub-committees for other parts of the United Kingdom will prepare modified lists.

The collections under this head will be digested by Mr. Payne.

Place _____ *Name of Observer* _____

5. Historical Evidence as to Continuity of Race.

Mention any historical events connected with the place, especially such as relate to early settlements in it or more recent incursions of alien immigrants.

State the nature of the pursuits and occupations of the inhabitants.

State if any precautions have been taken by the people to keep themselves to themselves; if the old village tenures of land have been preserved.

Has any particular form of religious belief been maintained?

Are the people constitutionally averse to change?

What are the dates of the churches and monastic or other ancient buildings or existing remains of former buildings?

Do existing buildings stand on the sites of older ones?

How far back can particular families or family names be traced?

Can any evidence of this be obtained from the manor rolls; from the parish registers; from the tythingmen's returns; from guild or corporation records?

Are particular family names common?

In what county or local history is the best description of the place to be found?

Evidences of historical continuity of customs, dress, dwellings, implements, &c., should be noted.

The collections under this head will be digested by Mr. Brabrook.

Notes Explanatory of the Schedules.

By E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, F.S.A., Secretary of the Committee.

The object of the Committee is to obtain a collection of authentic information relative to the population of the British Islands, with a view to determine as far as possible the racial elements of which it is composed. The high interest of the inquiry for all archæologists need not be here insisted on. A satisfactory solution of the problems involved will mean the re-writing of much of our early history ; and even if we can only gain a partial insight into the real facts it will enable us to correct or to confirm many of the guesses in which historians have indulged upon data of a very meagre and often delusive character.

The methods it is proposed to adopt have regard to the physical peculiarities of the inhabitants, their mental idiosyncrasies, the material remains of their ancient culture, and their external history. In modern times great movements of population have taken place, the developments of industry and commerce have brought together into large centres natives of all parts of the country, and even foreigners, and thereby caused the mingling of many elements previously disparate. These have enormously complicated the difficulties of the inquiry. They have rendered many districts unsuitable for every purpose except the record of material remains. Scattered up and down the country, however, there are hamlets and retired places where the population has remained stationary and affected but little by the currents that have obliterated their neighbours' landmarks. To such districts as these it is proposed to direct attention. Where families have dwelt in the same village from father to son as far back as their ancestry can be traced, where the modes of life have diverged the least from those of ancient days, where pastoral and agricultural occupations have been the mainstay of a scanty folk from time immemorial, where custom and prejudice and superstition have held men bound in chains which all the restlessness of the nineteenth century has not yet completely severed, there we hope still to find sure traces of the past.

The photographic survey, which has been carried out so well at Birmingham and elsewhere, and has been initiated in our own country, will prove a most valuable aid to the wider work of the Ethnographical Survey. Photographs of the material remains of ancient culture are explicitly asked for in the schedule. In addition to them, photographs of typical inhabitants are urgently desired. Some judgment will, of course, require to be exercised in the selection of types, and a considerable amount of tact in inducing the subjects to allow themselves to be taken. It has been found effective for this purpose, as well as for that of measuring the people, that two persons should go out together, and setting up the camera in the village, or wherever they find a convenient spot, *coram populo*, they should then proceed gravely to measure and photograph one another. This will be found to interest the villagers, and some of them will gradually be persuaded to submit to the operation. A little geniality, and sometimes a mere tangible gratification of a trifling character, will hardly ever fail in accomplishing the object. The experience of observers who have taken measurements is that it becomes

extremely fascinating work as the collection increases and the results are compared.¹

This comparison, if the subjects have been selected with judgment, and accurately measured and photographed, should enable us to determine in what proportions the blood of the various races which have from time to time invaded and occupied our soil has been transmitted to the present population of different parts of the United Kingdom. From the ancient remains in barrows and other sepulchral monuments, and from the study of the living peoples of Western Europe, the characteristics of the races in question are known with more or less certainty, and every year adds to our information concerning them. A much more complex problem, and one wherein archaeologists have a more direct interest, is how far the culture of the races in question has descended to us, and how far it has been affected by intruding arts, faiths, and inventions. To solve this, appeal is made first to the historic and prehistoric monuments and other material remains, and secondly to the traditions of many kinds that linger among the peasantry. Here the first business, and that with which the practical work of the survey is immediately concerned, is the work of collection. To photograph, sketch, and accurately describe the material remains; to note and report the descriptions and drawings already made, and where they are preserved; to gather and put into handy form the folklore of each country already printed; and to collect from the surviving depositaries of tradition that which may still be found—namely, tales, sayings, customs, medical prescriptions, songs, games, riddles, superstitions, and all those scraps of traditional lore stored in rustic memories, impervious and strange to the newer lore of to-day—these are the necessary preliminaries to the study of the civilisation of our ancestors.

Archæologists have paid too exclusive attention to the material remains. They have forgotten to inquire what light may be thrown upon them by tradition. By the term tradition I do not mean simply what the people say about the monuments. Antiquaries soon found out that that was always inaccurate, and often utterly false and misleading. Hence they have been too much inclined to despise all traditions. But tradition in the wide sense of *the whole body of the lore of the uneducated*, their customs as well as their beliefs, their doings as well as their sayings, has proved, when scientifically studied, of the greatest value for the explanation of much that we must fail to understand in the material remains of antiquity. To take a very simple instance: when we find in Gloucestershire barrows, cups, or bowls of rough pottery buried with the dead, we call them food-vessels, because we know that it is the custom among savage and barbarous nations to bury food with the dead and to make offerings at the tomb, and that this custom rests on a persuasion that the dead continue to need food and that they will be propitiated by gifts; and we further infer that the races who buried food-vessels with their dead in this country held a similar opinion. Or, to take another burial custom: General Pitt-Rivers reported last year to the British As-

¹ The Ethnographical Survey Committee has a few sets of instruments for taking the measurements, which can be placed temporarily at the disposal of the local committee. Perhaps I may here also express the opinion that if the personal photographs and measurements called for expenditure beyond what could be met by local enthusiasm, the Committee might not be indisposed to contribute by way of a small payment for each photograph and set of measurements.

sociation that he had found in excavations at Cranborne Chase bodies buried without the head. If we were ignorant of the practices of other races we should be at a loss to account for such interments. As it is, we ask ourselves whether these bodies are those of strangers whose heads have been sent back to their own land, or their own tribe, in order to be united in one general cemetery with their own people; or whether the heads were cut off and preserved by their immediate relatives and brought into the circle at their festive gatherings to share the periodical solemnities of the clan. Both these are savage modes of dealing with the dead, one of which, indeed, left traces in Roman civilisation at its highest development. The knowledge of them puts us upon inquiry as to other burials of the prehistoric inhabitants of this country, which may help us in reconstructing their worship and their creed. I for one do not despair of recovering, by careful comparison of the relics preserved to us in the ancient monuments with the folklore of the existing peasantry and of races in other parts of the earth, at least the outlines of the beliefs of our remote predecessors.

Any such conclusions, however, must be founded on the essential unity that science has, during the last thirty years, unveiled to us in human thought and human institutions. This unity has disguised itself in forms as diverse as the nationalities of men. And when we have succeeded in piecing together the skeleton of our predecessors' civilisation, material and intellectual, we are confronted by the further inquiries: What were the specific distinctions of their culture? and How was it influenced by those of their neighbours or of their conquerors? This is a question only to be determined, if at all, by the examination of the folklore of the country. We may assume that the physical measurements, descriptions, and portraits of the present inhabitants will establish our relationship to some of the peoples whose remains we find beneath our feet. And it will be reasonable to believe that, though there has been a communication from other peoples of their traditions, yet that the broad foundation of our folklore is derived from our forefathers and predecessors in our own land. In Gloucestershire itself we have strong evidence of the persistence of tradition. Bisley Church is said to have been originally intended to be built several miles off, 'but the Devil every night removed the stones, and the architect was obliged at last to build it where it now stands.' This is, of course, a common tradition. The peculiarity of the case is that at Bisley its meaning has been discovered. The spot where, we are told, 'the church ought to have been built was occupied formerly by a Roman villa;' and when the church was restored some years ago 'portions of the materials of that villa were found embedded in the church walls, including the altars of the Penates, which are now, however, removed to the British Museum.'¹ Here, as Sir John Dorington said, addressing this Society some years ago at Stroud, is a tradition which has been handed down for fifteen or sixteen hundred years. This is in our own country, and it may be thought hard to beat such a record. But at Mold, in Flintshire, there is evidence of a tradition which must have been handed down from the prehistoric iron age—that is to say, for more than two thousand years. A cairn stood there, called the *Bryn-yr-Ellyllon*, the Hill of the Fairies. It was believed to be haunted; a spectre clad in golden armour had been

¹ *Gloucestershire N. & Q.* vol. i. p. 390 quoting an article in the *Building News*. See also Sir John Dorington's Presidential Address, *Trans. B. & G. Arch. Soc.* vol. v. p. 7.

seen to enter it. That this story was current before the mound was opened is a fact beyond dispute. In 1832 the cairn was explored. Three hundred cartloads of stones were removed, and beneath them was found a skeleton 'laid at full length, wearing a corslet of beautifully wrought gold, which had been placed on a lining of bronze.' The corslet in question is of Etruscan workmanship, and is now, I believe, to be seen in the British Museum.¹

Examples like these—and they stand by no means alone—inspire confidence in the permanence of what seems so fleeting and evanescent. Folklore is, in fact, like pottery, the most delicate, the most fragile of human productions; yet it is precisely these productions which prove more durable than solid and substantial fabrics, and outlast the wreck of empires, a witness to the latest posterity of the culture of earlier and ruder times.

But if these traditions have thus been preserved for centuries and even millenniums, they have been modified—nay, transformed—in the process. It is not the bare fact which has been transmitted from generation to generation, but the fact seen through the distorting medium of the popular imagination. This is a characteristic of all merely oral records of an actual event; and this it is which everywhere renders tradition, taken literally, so untrustworthy, so misleading a witness to fact. The same law, however, does not apply to every species of tradition. Some species fall within the lines of the popular imagination; and it is then not a distorting but a conservative force. The essential identity of so many stories, customs and superstitions throughout the world is a sufficient proof of this, on which I have no space to dwell. But their essential identity is overlaid with external differences due to local surroundings, racial peculiarities, higher or lower planes of civilisation. There is a charming story told in South Wales of a lady who came out of a lake at the foot of one of the Carmarthenshire mountains and married a youth in the neighbourhood, and who afterwards, offended with her husband, quitted his dwelling for ever and returned to her watery abode. In the Shetland Islands the tale is told of a seal which cast its skin and appeared as a woman. A man of the Isle of Unst possessed himself of the seal-skin and thus captured and married her. She lived with him until one day she recovered the skin, resumed her seal-shape and plunged into the sea, never more to return. In Croatia the damsel is a wolf whose wolf-skin a soldier steals. In the *Arabian Nights* she is a *jinn* wearing the feather-plumage of a bird, apparently assumed simply for the purpose of flight. In all these cases the variations are produced by causes easily assigned.

The specific distinctions of a nation's culture are not necessarily limited to changes of traditions which it may have borrowed from its neighbours or inherited from a common stock. It may conceivably develop tradition-peculiar to itself. This is a subject hardly yet investigated by students of folklore. Their labours have hitherto been chiefly confined to establishing the identity underlying divergent forms of tradition and explaining the meaning of practices and beliefs by comparison of the folklore of distant races at different stages of evolution. But there are not wanting those who are turning their attention to a province as yet unconquered, and indeed almost undiscovered. Even if they only succeed in establishing a negative, if they show that all traditions supposed to be peculiar

¹ Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 431, citing *Archæologia* and *Arch. Cambrensis*.

have counterparts elsewhere, they will have rendered a signal service to science, and produced incontrovertible testimony of the unity of the human mind and the unintermittent force of the laws which govern it.

Alike for the purpose of ascertaining the specific distinctions of culture and the influences of neighbouring nations and neighbouring civilisations, an accumulation of facts is the prime requisite. If we have reason to believe in the persistence of tradition, we shall have confidence that relics will be discovered in our midst of the faith and institutions of our remoter ancestors ; and, in accordance as we venerate antiquity or desire to preserve what remains of the past, we shall hasten to collect them. Nor can we be too quick in so doing. The blood of our forefathers is a permanent inheritance, which it would take many generations and a large intermingling of foreigners seriously to dilute, much less to destroy. But tradition is rapidly dying. It is dwindling away before the influences of modern civilisation. Formerly, when the rural districts were isolated, when news travelled slowly and nobody thought of leaving his home save to go to the nearest market, and that not too often, when education did not exist for the peasantry and the landowners had scarcely more than a bowing acquaintance with it, the talk by the fireside on winter evenings was of the business of the day—the tilling, the crops, the kine. Or it was the gossip and small scandals interesting to such a community, or reminiscences by the elders of the past. Thence it would easily glide into tales and superstitions. And we know that these tales and superstitions were, in fact, the staple of conversation among our fathers and generally throughout the West of Europe, to go no further afield, down to a very recent period ; and they still are in many districts. In England, however, railways, newspapers, elementary education, politics, and the industrial movements which have developed during the present century have changed the ancient modes of life ; and the old traditions are fading out of memory. The generation that held them is fast passing away. The younger generation has never cared to learn them ; though, of course, many of the minor superstitions and sayings have still a considerable measure of power, especially in the shape of folk-medicine and prescriptions for luck. We must make haste, therefore, if we desire to add to the scanty information on record concerning English folklore.

As a starting-point for the collection of Gloucestershire folklore I put together, a year or two ago, the folklore in Atkyns, Rudder, and the first four volumes of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries* ; and it was printed by the Folklore Society and issued as a pamphlet.¹ Other works remain to be searched ; and it is probable that a good deal more may be found already in print, if some who are interested in the antiquities of the country will undertake the not very arduous, but very necessary, labour of collection. When all is gathered, however, it will only be a small part of what must have existed at no distant date—if not of what still exists, awaiting diligent inquiry among living men and women. How to set about the inquiry is a question that must be left very much to the individual inquirer to answer. Valuable practical hints are given in the *Handbook of Folklore*, a small volume that may be bought for half-a-crown and carried in the pocket. Confidence between the collector and those from whom he is seeking information is the prime necessity. Keep your notebook far in

¹ *County Folklore. Printed Extracts—No. 1, Gloucestershire.* London : D. Nutt, 1892. 1s.

the background, and beware of letting the peasant know the object of your curiosity, or even of allowing him to see that you are curious. Above all, avoid leading questions. If you are looking for tales, tell a tale yourself. Do anything to establish a feeling of friendly sympathy. Never laugh at your friend's superstitions—not even if he laugh at them himself; for he will not open his heart to you if he suspect you of despising them.

There is one other division of the schedule to which I have not yet referred. The Dialect is perishing as rapidly as the folklore; it is being overwhelmed by the same foes. Peculiarities of dialect are due partly to physical, partly to mental, causes. From either point of view they are of interest to the investigator of antiquities. Hence their inclusion among the subjects of the Ethnographical Survey. Nobody who has once understood how much of history is often wrapped up in a single word can fail to perceive the importance of a study of dialect, or how largely it may contribute to the determination of the origin of a given population. The reduction of dialect into writing requires accuracy to distinguish the niceties of pronunciation, and some practice to set them down; but a little experience will overcome most difficulties, which, after all, are not great. It is believed that most of the words—as distinguished from their pronunciation—in use have been recorded in the publications of the English Dialect Society or elsewhere. But it is better to record them again than to leave them unrecorded. Nor should it be forgotten in this connection that a word often bears a different shade of meaning in one place from what it bears in another. In recording any words, care should therefore be taken to seize not only the exact sound, but the exact signification, if it be desired to make a real contribution towards the history of the country, or the history of the language. Of the method of collection and transcription it is needless to add to the directions in the schedule.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF LONDON.

(INAUGURATED APRIL 15, 1885.)

Objects.

(1) The interchange and publication of knowledge relating to—

- (A) The History of the Huguenots in France :
- (B) The Huguenot Emigrations from France and adjoining countries :
- (C) The Refugee Settlements throughout the world, particularly those in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands, and the resulting effects of those Settlements upon the Professions, Manufactures, Commerce, and Social Life of the several places in which they were made :
- (D) Huguenot Genealogy and Heraldry, and Huguenot Church and other Registers.

(2) To form a bond of fellowship among some of those who desire to perpetuate the memory of their Huguenot ancestors, or who admire the characteristic Huguenot virtues.

ÉCOLE DE CHARITÉ PROTESTANTE FRANÇAISE
DE WESTMINSTER,
BLOOMSBURY STREET, W.C.

This School was established in 1747 for the education and maintenance of girls of French Protestant Refugee descent. Children are admissible between the ages of 7 and 11, and are elected by the votes of the subscribers and donors. The number at present in the school is fifteen.

Subscriptions and donations will be gratefully received, and full particulars of the school afforded, by the Treasurer, R. ST. A. ROUMIEU, Esq., 10 Lancaster Place, Strand, W.C., and the Hon. Secretary, W. M. BEAUFORT, Esq., 18 Cadilly, W.

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